A COMPARATIVE STUDY ON MEDIA PRIMING AND LOCAL OPINION LEADERS ON SABAOT LAND CONFLICT IN MT. ELGON

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A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN COMMUNICATION STUDIES, SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI.

NOVEMBER, 2016
DECLARATION

I, Emmaculate Kebin Kiboi, do hereby declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented for the award of any degree in any other University.

Signature__________________________________ Date ____________________________

Emmaculate Kebin Kiboi

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The research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University Supervisor.

Signature__________________________________ Date ____________________________

Elias Mokua, PhD
DEDICATION

I hereby dedicate this project to my family, The Kibois.

May God bless you abundantly for your support.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I thank the Almighty God for his guidance and provision that saw me through all this.

It took the support of many people for my research to be successful. I am very grateful and appreciative of all the economic, moral, and intellectual support accorded me by everyone who did so.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

SLDF  Sabaot Land Defense Force
KADU  Kenya African National Union
KANU  Kenya African National Union
ICC   International Criminal Court
UN   United Nations
KNCHR  Kenya National Commission on Human Rights
(MMS) Multimedia Messaging Services
CNN  Cable News Network
SPSS  Statistical Package for Social Sciences
KNCHR  Kenya National Commission for Human Rights
HRW  Human Rights Watch
NGO  Non-Governmental Organizations
ABSTRACT

This study explored how media reported the conflict in Mt. Elgon and whether it represented the beliefs of Mt. Elgon residents. Media and conflict have been linked together and the media’s reporting has an impact on conflict direction. Mt. Elgon conflict was never isolation and the media played its part. However, recent reports have indicated that the militia could be regrouping, a sign that the conflict never ended and might be looming in the near future. The study looked at how the media primed the conflict and whether it played its roles in conflict situation. It further compared media reports and the opinions of the local residents. A content analysis of 130 newspapers was conducted sampled from two major dailies in Kenya: The Standard and the Daily Nation, between 2007 and 2008. Key informant interviews were also done to be able to complement the content analysis and establish what the beliefs and opinions of the local leaders is of this conflict and the media reports. The results show that the media remained objective and not biased in reporting the Mt. Elgon land conflict. The media gave very little prominence to the conflict in Mt. Elgon with scanty reports and poorly positioned accounts of this conflict. The media faced one outstanding challenge of not being able to access the area of conflict and had to rely on a few people on the information on conflict situation as gathered from the interviews. Therefore, the media did not substantively play its roles in agenda setting, watchdog, and informing the public. Local leaders have come out to state that the media’s reporting of this conflict was contrary to what was happening on the ground. They have also said that the media did not give this conflict the necessary attention while appreciating that in deed it was very tough for the media to penetrate the conflict area.
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

This chapter introduces the reader to the background of the study, problem statement, justification of the study and the study’s objectives.

1.2 Background of the Study

A conflict happens when two parties of the same origin have differences (Imbusch, 1999). Conflict has also been defined as an interactive process manifested in incompatibility, disagreement or dissonance within or between social entities (Rahim, 2010).

During the conflict in Sudan (now divided into two countries) the country faced major conflict by rebels said to be of African origin against the Sudanese government and aided by a paramilitary force comprised of "Arabs" tribesmen. The government in bid to suppress the rebellion, launched a counter-insurgency policy through which, paramilitary group known as Janjaweed would together with the Sudanese army engage in a scorched-earth campaign. This did not distinguish between rebel fighters and the black African civilian population deemed to be in support of the rebellion (Daly, 2007).

During this period of conflict, the Christian Monitor Newspaper depicted the conflict (1989 – 2005) as a period during which Islamic government reigned as ethnic. Race and religious frames were predominant in the coverage. The conflict was described as happening between a predominantly "Arab North" and a "black African south." The narrative focused on depicting the north as an entity bent on imposing an Arab identity on the south while the south was shown as
resisting this attempt. The religious frame painted the conflict as arising from different identities in which the largely Muslim northerners were trying to impose their religion on the Christian.

Before April 2003, Darfur was little-known beyond the boundaries of Sudan. Largely arid, remote, and far from the center of power in Khartoum, Darfur was a region that remained on the fringes even within the Sudanese state (Prunier, 2008). The perennial fights over grazing land and water resources between the region's Arab and African tribes were feuds that were usually contained through traditional conflict-solving mechanisms, which few thought would add fuel to the simmering political tensions in the western province and result in open warfare in 2003 (Millard & Robert, 2008)

The media in one of their reports had an Arab army campaigning against black African in Darfur. This conflict generated some considerable media attention. Tales of ethnic-cleansing brought back strange memories of the Rwanda genocide, where a hamstrung UN peacekeeping force led by Roméo Dallaire, a Canadian general, watched as murder was carried out with impunity. (Millard & Robert, 2008)

The Sudan conflict is a good example that provides the three dimensions of conflict (resource, political, and social cultural courses). This case shows that resource based conflicts including land as is the case in Sabaot can escalate to very high levels resulting into human loss. This study focuses on land conflicts using the case of Sabaot land conflict.
1.2.1 Land Conflict

Land conflict is a disagreement where parties involved have different interests over the property rights to land: the right to use the land, to transfer it and the right to compensate it (Werhmann, 2008). Hence land conflict is a misappropriation, restraint or disagreement over land property. A land conflict, therefore, can be understood as a misuse, restriction or dispute over property to land.

Land conflicts have resulted into numerous negative effects on economies of developing countries due to weak land management systems and institutions. Such countries have witnessed very spatial, social, and ecological development. This is mainly because such countries witnessed numerous opportunities for economic gain by illegal action hence many poor people lack access to land (Werhmann, 2008). There can be disastrous effects on individual as well as groups and even entire nation. Groups in the society experience clashes usually perceived as clashes between cultures in real senses are clashes related with land conflicts. This depicts the situation among most Kenyan land conflicts and clearly the Mt. Elgon conflict between the Soy and the Mosop clans of the Sabaot community in Kenya, which is the subject of this study.

Nine years after the outbreak of the Mt. Elgon inter-clan conflict by the Sabaot Land Defence Force (SLDF) Militia group, the conflict is yet to be resolved. Although the Kenyan government managed to bring everything to a stop, the conflict in Mt. Elgon was never addressed. Wehrmann 2008, further argues that land conflicts can occur anywhere and anytime due to the greed, unavailability and the continuous increase in value can escalate the whole situation. Given chance, Land Conflict can occur where there is an opportunity for free land whether it belongs to
the community, state or private land. Disputes with inheritance, and generally those with neighbors are usually about land.

The media and conflict are inherently linked, a connection that has increasingly become important in the world where the outbreak of war is still a reality, despite evidence that the number and frequency of wars have reduced globally. Center for Systemic Peace, a U.S based organization that monitors armed conflict across the globe reported that the number of armed conflicts has reduced by 60% globally.

1.2.2 The News Media and Conflict

The importance of the media is increasingly evident in developing countries such as Kenya. Citizens tend to rely on the mass media for information about local conflicts. This media function of informing and educating the masses is important because the public cannot be expected to rely solely on word-of-mouth and personal experience for their information.

The importance of the role that media plays in the public sphere have resulted into several viewpoints in mass communication research. According to Herman and McChesney 1988, the media are instruments of communication that allow the public to participate in various processes. Similarly, Bagdikian 2004, established that national news has a significant impact on the national political agenda. Whereas media highlight is likely to be attended to by policy-makers that which is ignored and not given emphasis by the media is more likely to be forgotten. It is important that as different sectors are given attention by the media, land issue should also be put into consideration.
Additionally, Kawamoto 2003, has observed that even though the media are primarily profit-making entities, their primary function is public service, manifested in the work of journalists and editors whose role is collecting, analyzing and communicating news of interest to their respective audiences. Through this role, the media generates public awareness about issues, injustices and other problems in society, and, therefore, wield tremendous influence similar to that of society's most powerful institutions as in the case of Sabaot community.

Mass media impact policy (agenda setting) both among the public and decision makers. This can be seen in the levels of cooperation between the establishment and foreign affairs correspondents where the former impact the process of the news, through the conveyance to reporters, with a level of significance that is vital to all citizens (Pollock, 2003). While conflicts have been part of the human society, the way they are perceived and the motive that gives rise to them have always varied. The media has a role to play in escalating or de-escalating conflict. In this case media can influence policy makers in de-escalating the Sabaot land conflict.

New technological developments have resulted in new forms of communication through new media, such as Internet usage increased worldwide. Communication-wise, these developments will empower individuals and disempower institutions. Ordinary people will be empowered to create and share their narratives, becoming politically strengthened in the process. According to McNulty 1993, the western media coverage of war and genocide in Rwanda was largely portrayed as ethnic or tribal. The war in Africa is determined by the extent to which western powers are willing to be involved both from military to humanitarian perspective (Allen &
Seaton, 1999). The media in Kenya has the power to escalate or de-escalate this conflict depending with how it is reported.

According to Wall 1997, the coverage of Bosnian conflicts and that of Rwanda were depicted differently. The conflict in Bosnia was described as an unusual occurrence in Europe while the Rwandan crisis was cast as an ordinary event prevalent in Africa, an unavoidable phenomenon and strange to western understanding. The Sabaot community being a small minority tribe in Kenya may have been given minimal prominence on the issue of conflict.

Even though some research has been done to determine the root cause of the land conflict, it is still unclear how the media covered this conflict. Whether the media represented the beliefs of Mt. Elgon residents concerning the cause of the conflict that links to how the government responded is one of the objectives of this study.

1.2.3 The Sabaot Land Conflict in Mt. Elgon

Mt. Elgon is an extinct mountain that lies on the border of Kenya and Uganda. The hills of the homeland gradually rise from an elevation of about 5000 to 14,000 feet above the sea level. There is a good supply of rain, rivers and black volcanic soils which is an indicator flora and fauna. The numerous mountains and gorges form spectacular scenery with waterfalls. The Mountain itself is about 50 miles in diameter. The place holds two tribes, the Bukusu from the Luhya community and the Sabaots from the Kalenjin community.

The conflict in Mt. Elgon region between Sabaot clan (Soy and Mosop) started in late 2005 but intensified over the subsequent two years. According to Kenya National Commission on Human
Rights (KNCHR) 2008 report on the investigation of torture in Mt. Elgon by the military, Land and SLDF activities on the same elicited different views. Political beneficiaries were listed as some of the beneficiaries of the third phase resettlement scheme and some of the political leaders were the main financers of the SLDF

Political disagreements were intense during the 2005 constitution referendum as most people voted Orange as opposed to Banana. This was not positively received by some of the politicians as they felt like it was rebellion. The security situation in the region became a threat but at the same time members of the militia group SLDF enjoyed protection and support prominent officers in the area.

Media being influential reported the conflict, which seems to have influenced the government to send troops to Mt. Elgon to restore peace. However, as a result, lives were lost but peace restored. On 4th October 2015, Standard digital media reported that there were reports on regrouping of the militia group. The local government officers refuted this saying that what happened were just ordinary killings. One of the recommendations of the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights was that a suitable method of land sharing between the Mosop and Soy should be deployed in a manner that both communities are comfortable with so as to restore a lasting peace in the area. When conflict is not resolved, it tends to grow and from a particular issue and spread to other issues. Since the conflict was not resolved, it led to increased confrontation and agitations leading to chaos. This study therefore compares news media priming and local opinion leaders on Sabaot Land in Mt. Elgon.
1.3 Statement of the Problem

Land issue has been a topic of discussion of Kenya's socio-political and economic struggles since colonial times and especially after the violence that erupted in Kenya following a rejected presidential election in 2007/2008. This violence saw some of the Kenyan opinion leaders, including a journalist, taken to the International Criminal Court (ICC) for questioning. The media was widely blamed for having played a role in stirring the conflict in the 2007/2008 post-election violence. There have been debates on whether the media played its role of informing and influencing policy decision making in relation to de-escalating the conflict. In 2013, it was evident that most media houses preached peace more than reporting on the voting process and this has been largely credited to the manner in which the post-2013 elections turned out.

Just over nine years after the land conflict in Mt. Elgon was considered ended. There has been an observable regrouping of the militia in this region. Tracing back, the Mt. Elgon conflict started in 1932 when the British colonialists relocated the Sabaot from Trans Nzoia region to Mt. Elgon to create white highlands. The recent seeming regrouping of the militia points to a failure by the government to successfully bring this conflict to an end. This inability to re-settle the affected community has led to the formation of a militia group called Sabaot Land Defence Force that fought for justice in the land (James Ndungu, Saferworld).

The news media has a great role in informing and influencing government decisions and were better placed to play a greater role in ending the conflict. The knowledge of media priming that can lead to informing the decisions that would end such conflicts becomes very critical. Unfortunately, there are no readily available specific studies that have been done in Kenya on
Media priming of land conflicts. This study, therefore, focuses on news media priming by the Kenyan media on the Mt. Elgon land conflicts. This will be important in understanding and establishing the function of media in shaping public opinion and perceptions of land issues in Mt. Elgon that led to the formation of the SLDF.

Understanding the role that can be played by the media in conflict de-escalation is critical and not only to the Mt. Elgon conflict but also to similar conflict such as Kipsigis –Luo conflict. Such conflicts as was witnessed with the Mt. Elgon one, if not solved, leads to deaths, displacement of people, hatred amongst communities, destruction of property, and derails development. This study, therefore, compares the perception of Mt. Elgon opinion leaders and media priming analysis, on the longstanding land conflicts in the area to measure media's accuracy in priming sensitive issues like land conflicts that lead to death, displacement, among others.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The study looked at media priming of the Sabaot land conflicts and whether it reflects the beliefs of the local opinion leaders. This is important in determining the role of media in conflict de-escalation. The main objective of the study was comparing news media priming and beliefs of Mt. Elgon opinion leaders on Sabaot land conflict with an aim of defining the media’s role in conflict de-escalation.
1.5 Specific Objectives

1. To investigate the beliefs on causes of land conflict in Mt. Elgon by local leaders and compare them with media reports of the causes of the land conflict;
2. To establish whether media priming on Sabaot Land conflict represents the beliefs of the Mt. Elgon residents;
3. To determine the extent to which media as a watchdog contributed to de-escalating the Sabaot Land conflict.

1.6 Research Question

1. What are the main beliefs on causes of land conflict Mt. Elgon by local leaders and how did the media report them?
2. Did the media priming on land conflict represent the beliefs of the Sabaot community?
3. How did media as a watchdog contribute to de-escalating the Land conflict in Mt. Elgon?

1.7 Justification of the Study

Recent reports from the media indicate that there has been an occasional regrouping of SLDF. This is an indication that the problem was not fully addressed. With the fact that this conflict was not resolved, and individuals who were party to this were silenced, it is important to know how media reports conflict and how these reports could have played a role in conflict de-escalation.

1.8 Significance of the Study

The findings of the study will benefit the sector players like the media, policy makers and the public in general by providing them with a picture of how they interacted in the conflict.
Policymakers and stakeholders in the land sector in Kenya and the media can also use the study results when reviewing their strategies in resolving land conflicts in Kenya. The study also contributes to the body of knowledge existing on media’s role in conflict situation and provides further insights into related studies.

1.9 Scope of the study
Inter-ethnic conflict is not a new phenomenon in Kenya. There have been different inter-ethnic conflicts ranging from land boundaries, land ownership and political division. The study will limit itself to land conflict in Mt. Elgon that led to the emergence of Sabaot Land Defence Force (SLDF) and how the media reported it.

1.10 Theoretical Framework
Media Priming theory was the basis on which the study was conducted. Based on this, the study investigated media’s involvement in coverage and reporting of conflict and specifically the Mt. Elgon land conflict.

1.10.1 Media Priming Theory
Propagated by Iyengar, Peters and Kinder in 1982, the theory looks at how media information affects the audience in making decisions on issues where media sets the agenda. Media priming is also treated as an effect of agenda setting as it provides a basic view, which makes judgement faster and easy (Iyengar, Peters and Kinder, 1982).
In media priming, information from the media influences the public’s interpretation and other pieces of information by directing people’s line of thoughts. Therefore, media production of news influences the standards by which focus is given to some issues while others are ignored (Goidel et al. 1997; Domke et al. 1998; Graber 1988).

The effect of media priming can be explained in terms of schematic thinking. During an analysis of new information or decision-making, publics may relate information and schemata readily available rather than look for or search for complete information on the subject (Roskos-Ewoldsen et al. 2002).

This theory helps in analyzing the media content in reporting the Sabaot community land conflict. The essence was to substantiate whether or not the media in its role as society’s watchdog de-escalated or escalated the conflict, mediated the dispute or whether the media was crucial in resolving the conflict.
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Overview

This chapter presents literature on conflict and media priming. It focuses on global, regional and local conflict. It also looks at the role played by the media in conflict resolution.

2.2 Introduction to land conflict and media framing

Land is a treasured resource that has seen the creation and growth of wealth. It raises power in the economy that is a basis for political and social power. The struggle for Kenya’s independence was because of land’s centrality in human being’s life (Njuguna & Baya, 2001). Land conflict has existed globally, regionally and locally for a long time. Underlying factors such as Urbanization, population, and agriculture have immensely contributed to the increased cases of land conflict (Cotula, Toulmin, & Hesse, 2004).

Media has played a key role in its role of informing the public on conflict. It is considered to have the most powerful impact and grants considerable influence on how people perceive conflict. Media also shapes their opinions and behavior about the conflict. This is through the ability to report on some conflict and not others, therefore, portraying some as more important than others. Through this, media influences the dynamic and outcomes of the conflict and thus also shapes the prospects of success of conflicting parties. Hence, the parties involved in a conflict exploit the media to push their goals.

A conflict does not arise on its own there has to be a triggering factor. Conflict is seen as a clash between individuals that comes up as a result of a difference in ideas between people, attitudes,
interests and even perceptions. A conflict results in heated arguments, physical abuses and loss of peace and harmony. Since conflict is a process, the intensity of a particular conflict is determined with how the conflict existed.

2.3 Role of Media in conflicts

Media forms and shapes the opinion of what its public hears about a conflict. Based on their experiences, reporters have formed opinions on conflict situations hence influence the way publics perceive and hear about conflict. Economic interests in terms of how much story will be sold has been in the line of media’s interest in terms of who will or will not buy their story.

“If it bleeds, it leads” has been a common Journalist’s principle meaning that bad stories or negative stories take the day. Control on the media by different countries determines the kind of stories that media focuses on and how they are reported. In most instances, media focuses on conflict and violence hence distorting the public’s way of perceiving reality that conflict is okay and peace is abnormal. Studies show that media’s information on conflict has greater than that of conflict prevention and building peace (Wolfsfeld G. 2004).

2.4 Role of media in conflict prevention

The influence on policy makers from the media is large since the media thinks about how to prevent and respond to a conflict situation. Through media, policy makers are also able to pass across their message. In humanitarian disaster situations, CNN has been seen to have taken over policy making. The kind of images send on issues like genocide, natural disasters such famine and brutal force by the policy makers when intervening with the military to end conflict even
when it is not in the best interest of the country to adopt this kind of policy. In Bosnia, the role played by the media was important that it motivated the public to push the policy makers to intervene and stop the conflict. (Gilboa, Eytan. 2002).

Media is used to send messages between conflicting sides. In this case media acts as the diplomats by sending messages to test reactions on negotiations. Messages and signals may be sent to other groups through the media. The news media also invites leaders from the opposing sides to TV or Radio to discuss matters openly hence creating a bridge among enemies and building confidence that is needed to negotiate and bring the conflict to an end. (Gilboa, Eytan. 2002).

Media events have extensive effects at the beginning of negotiations such as building confidence, facilitating negotiations or breaking diplomatic deadlocks to create favorable environments for negotiations. Press releases or programmes in the radio can help reach agreements and negotiations. The media may also facilitate negotiations through the promotion and mobilization of public agreements (Gilboa, Eytan. 2002).

Media has the ability to promote positive relationships in conflict situations through lessening polarization between groups by showing the other group in the same light, showing people in the same problem, condemning violence and sharing similar interests amongst other tactics that it uses.
2.5 Media reporting on land conflict

Mass media is a powerful institution in the society. Media makes the production of news its business. This production consists of reporters and editors who gather and assemble news (Douglas, 1992). Media is seen as a major role player in societal conflicts. This perceives media as a powerful entity that tries to control conflict, as a biased participant who either defends or attacks status quo, as a ‘watchdog’ that providing feedback on local issues to its audiences, a gatekeeper setting the agenda, filters issues and accentuates other positions to maintains objectivity, as a mediator that builds consensus and manages community tensions, as a corporate entity who celebrates conflicts and benefits through increased sales in covering conflicts (Reese, Gandy, & Grant, 2001).

Although these roles differ depending on the type of dispute, nature and history of coverage, and audience of media, what is outstanding is that the mass media is an active agent in the social construction of the public image and a conflict. The press helps to promote people in all areas of life through its extensive influence that also shapes policy. It also helps to enlighten people demand their rights, and its impact is felt beyond a given circulation area. (Hall & Et al, 1978)

In his analysis of land reform in Zimbabwe, Tendai pointed out that some scholars had criticized Western journalists for distorting the truth about the land issues in Zimbabwe. The international media focused on the shortfalls of media coverage of land issues (Chari, 2003). The coverage lacked objectivity, and the media representation was highly influenced by the colonial links between and Britain and the global capitalist interests of the West also influenced the way the foreign media represent land issues in Zimbabwe.
Hence, what the media says is happening and how the media interprets tends to become the point of reference. Studies have shown that negative media reports influences public opinion and interests. News sources do frame every disaster the way they want (Salwen 1995). During a crisis media is able to collect a huge amount of information and disseminate quickly. The general public always want the media to help them understand what is happening and tell them how to react to the situations at hand and even call for support in conflict situations and rescue missions if needed (Graber, 1984). In such a case, media sets the agenda, primes and frames issues. Priming is attributed to agenda setting where media gives prominence to an issue and not only defines what the audience thinks, but also how they think about the particular issue.

Public beliefs are shaped by people’s imaginations usually highlighted and reported by the media on the events of the world. Because of the media’s inclination on what the policy makers should focus on, the media is usually seen of as the lead in setting what occupies public debates and discussions even in the world of policy makers. This is what usually determines what is taken as news items and what is given coverage in subsequent media reports (Hall et al, 1978).

Media coverage has led to some action in times of conflict as has been seen in Rwanda, Somalia, Bosnia and Iraq amongst other countries. "CNN is the sixteenth member of the Security Council", noted Boutros Boutros-Ghali, former UN Secretary General as reported by Minear et al (Minear, Scott, & Weiss, 1996). Several key policy makers have also alluded to the powerful role that the media has in conflict situations similar to the former UN secretary General. "Live television coverage doesn't change the policy, but it does create the environment in which the policy is made", remarked Colin Powell (McNulty, 1993).
2.6 Role of media in conflict de-escalation

Referred to as the fourth estate, the news media in the society serves as a watchdog by keeping the government honest and watching people's interests (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2001). Media should keep the government responsive and responsible with regards to how it treats its citizens. In reporting conflict, information may be biased and media may be accused of manipulation and propaganda (Herman and Chomsky, 1988). News selection has been determined by factors such as the news agencies, finances, source dependence and competition in ratings (Ericson at al. 1987). Factors that determine news coverage are journalist’s knowledge, pre-defined news formats, deadlines, the authority of sources, and the possibility of obtaining good pictures. If the news item does not fit into this format or in the existing theme, then the media is unlikely to publish them (Soothill & Walby, 1991).

2.6.1 News values

Media is viewed as a supplier of information in public life. In Agenda setting theory, McShaw 2005, indicates that media affects its audience contrary to user and gratification theory that suggests that the audiences also have power over the media as they can choose what to and what not to consume.

News values have been linked to the importance of the event to the audience, distance around which the news is happening, the oomph in the news, the timeliness and controversy, prominence and the influence that the news has on the country organization and individuals (Mencher, 1994).
News is defined as an interesting new happening as represented by the news media. News is globally important and fast changing media form. It now flows at incredible speed, 24/7, across internet, TV, print, radio – where they are available. It, and rumors around it, can leapfrog from local to international contexts, and from formal to informal ones, using satellites, broadband, blogs, ‘tweets’ and multimedia messaging services (MMS) (Mencher, 1994).

This area has been explored through what are called ‘news values’ or ‘news criteria’, the structuring principles which, media analysts have argued, lie beneath the everydayness of news. Galtung laid out a now famous argument – that news is structured according to unspoken values rather than ‘discovered' remains a key one (Galtung & Mari Ruge, 2011).

To evaluate newsworthiness, the level of reporting and editing have been a question to ponder. Judgements on newsworthiness varies between different desk editors and changes over time. News gathering models have been used to describe news production process. In one model, the news desk makes a selection among the flow of events that consists of the selected events. Gatekeepers has been a common term associated with news editors (White, 1950) "Mr. Gate" decides what is news, and what is not news. The news desk is conceived of as searching for news stories. "News" does not come to the journalist; rather, the journalist "tracks down" the news and reveals what s/he has found (Njastad, 1999).

Some of the News values as seen to be concentrated on by media is negativity. ‘If it's news, it's bad news – long-term, constructive events are said to be much less likely to feature as news than a catastrophe or images of violence. News does use ‘positive' stories (e.g. medical
breakthroughs), usually as the ‘happy ending’ of some bulletins. But it tends to take the assumed normal and every day for granted. It is driven to make big stories out of the deviant: crime, dissidence, disaster (Galtung & Ruge 2011).

2.7 Review of Theory

Priming being an important idea in the effect of media as compared to agenda setting that brings the salience of an issue, priming tries to explain how information disseminated by the media is conceptualized by the publics and how it influences the process of decision making. Media has an effect on the judgment or character of the publics through stimulating thoughts.

Thus, one can argue that the news media is an important source of information. It has the ability to control the dissemination of information and how people understand the messages all around the world. The process in which information is transferred to various publics forms a line of communication that is designed to meet the audience’s goals. In framing theory, a frame is a structure of interpretations, collection of narratives and stereotypes that publics depend on to understand, interpret and respond to occurrences.

In communication, framing defines how news media coverage can shape mass opinion by using these specific frameworks to help guide their reader to understanding. Agenda setting and media priming theory are based on more similar reasoning processes (Scheufele, 2000) both theories put salience on issues. However, agenda setting seems to be more than just a substance of convenience (Takeshita 2006) apparent significance and doubt affect the degree of agenda setting. The existence of different publics ensures that not all are affected by the same amount of
importance given to media coverage and not all information is easily accessible. The ability by
the media to set the agenda has a negative effect when journalists redefine reality by reporting
some issues as more important as compared to the others (Takeshita 2006)

2.7.1 Applications

Priming analyses the impact of media on its publics. The world is surrounded by the effects of
media hence it is important to understand media effects. Applying priming concept helps to
understand the effects of negative news to the public. In cases of political campaigns, media
influences its public on choosing the right candidate as observed on priming.

2.8 Phases of Conflict

2.8.1 Latent stage

Latent Stage is the first phase of conflict in the five stages of a conflict. In this stage, there is an
existence of conflict but people involved may be not aware. The idea of an underlying condition
is commonly held and thus the bases of an emergence of conflict. In the case of Mt. Elgon
conflict, the government of Kenya in the mid-1960s for the first time established the idea of a
resettlement plan for the Mosop. According to Galtung 1980, the notion of a possible conflict
may be unrecognized by opponents, and it may pose difficult conceptual and empirical issues.
Some of the reasons that the government wanted to resettle the Mosop was so that they can be
protected by the government from the recurring attack, to be included better into Kenya so as to
be easily provided for better state services and since they inhabited a water catchment area the
government wanted to preserve and protect. (Galtung 1980)
Usually, the foundation for the conflict is attributed to the inner mechanisms of one adversarial party that drives its insistent, expansionist, or dominating conduct against other bodies (Galtung, 1980). In 1971 the government started the first resettlement process, called Chepyuk I (1971 – 1974). This resettlement plan aimed at relocating the Mosop from the moorland to places further south close to the Soy homelands.

Imbalances in the resources of potential adversaries are a potential source of conflict; the most influential group may use its ability to acquire more resources at the expense of the weaker group. The far bigger system within which potential adversaries may exist can also be the grounds for conflicts between them. Hence, a system of sovereign states, without legal governing authority, puts countries against one another other to contend over control of resources and freedom from domination. A domineering system comprises of a basis for underlying conflict between the dominating persons subordinated persons (Dahrendorf, 1988).

2.8.2 Emergence

Emergence occurs when latent conflict builds until there is an activating factor. This triggering event, depends on how severe, causes an outburst which may end quickly or can last for a long time. Now that conflict has begun either the conflict is resolved or it intensifies until a stalemate is reached or someone concedes (Galtung, 1980). A series of factors such as poor preparations, lack of deeds of ownership and corruption led to dissatisfaction among the Mosop and envy from the Soy, forcing the government to announce a second resettlement phase in the 1980s (Chepyuk II) and ultimately also Chepyuk III (1993-2006), but the problems remained.
Moreover, the long duration of these resettlement phases led to new problems, mainly that the situation on the ground (population, economic activity) changed and did no longer correspond to the planned conditions. According to Jonas Baumann, a mixture of misuse of deed of ownership allocation in exchange for political support, a feeling of negligence by those not receiving land and an ethnicization of politics and landownership in Kenya in general and of the resettlement plans in particular allowed for extremism. (Galtung, 1980).

2.8.3 Escalation

Conflict escalation can last a long time, and can also end quickly. Immediately conflicts intensify, participants get to a point where none can win, and none wants to neither back down nor accept loss. This phase arises for various reasons: such as unsuccessful strategies, unavailable resources that fuel the conflict or reduce support of conflict by those involved. In other instances, conflict had been dormant for so long that the triggering factor usually leads to a violent resolution. (Galtung, 1980).

Escalation is viewed in two dimensions: scope and strength. Conflicts may arise by the increasing number of groups and people involved in it. They may increase in intensity that is indicated by increasing violence, which eventually results to loss of lives. Escalation of non-violent means comprises of huge numbers of people engaging in non-violent protest and confrontation, strengthening of convincing efforts, or the promise of greater rewards. (Galtung, 1980).
2.8.4 Entrapment

During escalation in the conflict, entrapment may occur. Entrapment is one in which individuals constantly redefine the nature of their involvement as they become committed to the nature of their course of action. Decision-makers feel compelled to continue investing their resources to justify previous costs incurred in the pursuit of some goal. (Rubin & Brockner, 1975; Teger, 1980). In this case, the parties feel the need to go down on certain levels or ways because of the already invested amount of time, resource, resource or money, in this particular choice.

Entrapment can be in existence in the early stages of a negotiation and can contribute in the rising of a dispute. Hence, entrapment involves decision making process where parties intensify their commitment to a chosen action so as to prove or make good or previous commitment.

Therefore, Entrapment is a unique form of conflict escalation, in which the process has a huge influence on the party's opinion of the best substitute to a negotiated agreement (Fisher et al. 1991). Hence is there a possibility that the conflict in Mt. Elgon is still at entrapment level in as much as it has de-escalated?

2.8.5 De- Escalation

The change from escalation to de-escalation occurs slowly as a result of combining changes within the disagreeing parties to the conflict, changes in their relations, or changes in the larger socio-political system in which the conflict is fixed. The transition path can take a variety of courses and is sometimes marked by sharp and sudden changes. In a commonly discussed path, one side largely imposes its tens of settlement on the other side; the yielding side may be largely
forced or otherwise persuaded to alter its goals so that the issues lose their strength (Fisher et al. 1991).

De-escalation comes when much energy has been spent on the conflict. It may be not possible to sustain it or the other will accept defeat so that an agreement may be reached. Once de-escalation is complete, the settlement, or resolution, phase begins where the dominant party to the conflict makes concessions to placate the non-dominant party. During conflict settlement parties parties may not necessarily be happy but neither is hurt. The key part of this stage is to ensure that the conflicting parties can co-exist. If this cannot be realized, then the conflict has not been resolved fully. (Galtung,1980).

2.8.6 Termination

Settling a conflict is usually a process. Lengthy negotiations may be involved and as a result an agreement must be reached. External parties may intervene and help the conflicting parties come to a point of agreement and be implemented. Termination of the conflict may be achieved by an understood accommodation. The termination may help the conflicting parties achieve their intended goals on the agreed terms.

It may reflect on the goals that an adversary intended to achieve. It may also be founded on an agreement of what cannot be altered under the prevailing conditions or a more fundamental transformation in one of the parties. Mt. Elgon Conflict, however, was forcefully brought to an end by the government sending troupes to silence the militia groups. Lack of proper address to the problem is what has led to the regrouping of SLDF.
2.9 Types of Conflicts

2.9.1 Relationship Conflict

Relationship conflict occurs when the perception of the differences among two or more parties is negative which leads to negative emotions, miscommunication, and negative behaviors among the parties involved in the situation. A relationship conflict is a disagreement or a struggle that happens between two people within a relationship whether it is work or personal related relationship. This type of conflict is a result of having misperceptions, stereotypes, or negative behaviors and emotions. (Galtung 1980)

2.9.2 Value Conflict

Values are the beliefs and assumptions that people have as part of their lives that helps them set the basis for their ethical actions. People from the same culture tend to have equivalent values and assumptions regarding their social world. These beliefs and assumptions become part of their lives and it determines their behaviors and actions. On the other hand, when two parties are not sharing the same values and beliefs or if they come from different cultural backgrounds, their expectations start to interact and sometimes it leads to creating conflicts because each party believes strongly in the way they do things and the way of thinking about things while the other party thinks in the same manner. This makes them both believe that each other's behaviors are strange and wrong (Galtung 1980). In the case of disagreement or differing views on morals, the conflict is termed as value conflict.
2.9.3 Interest Conflict

This is the conflict that comes up when parties disagree and one person feels that what they would prefer as an outcome is not what the group prefers or the second party in the conflict. Normally, in this case, one party to the conflict believes that if the contrary outcome is adopted then they will lose on their own interest. This type of conflict can be experienced when two people who have relationship conflict are required by a team manager to work as a part of a team (Galtung 1980).

2.10 Causes of conflict

Globally, land conflicts occur as a result of many reasons. Major causes of conflicts are however as a result of politics, corruption, greed, ethnicity and boundaries. Although conflicts are not unique to Africa, its conflicts are somewhat unique. This uniqueness is reflected in the dramatic increase in the number of conflicts in the recent decades (Adedeji, 1999). Africa's conflicts have wrought destruction of property and human lives adversely affected the emerging institutions of governance.

Conflicts in the current society have been as a result of the kind of situation that environment has exposed its habitants to. The causes of African conflicts are complex and defy the explanation of any single analytical perspective. While some African causes are linked with economic and poverty, debt and structural adjustment (Brown & Adekanye 1995); others reduce them to political and governance-related factors such as struggle for power, the fragility of African state and ethnicity (Adedeji, 1999); yet others point to ecological factors such as competition over farming and grazing land and other natural resources.
Initially, as stated by Mazrui 2008, African land did not have any boundary in it until the colonial period. Such issues have only been made known by the media which broadcasts news. The media has hence played a major role in stirring up conflict, keeping its audiences on track and even coming up with strategies to address conflicts. Very many dangerous clashes have existed between blacks and white but in most cases they are as a result of the white wanting to overpower the blacks and to entrench their legacy. Wars during anti-colonial times were not as fatal as those during post-colonial period. Many lives were lost during the wars fought at anti-colonial times. Most of these wars can be attributed to sociological and political confusion created in Africa by the "white" colonialism. The traditional ways of resolving conflicts were displaced with the arrival of colonialism which also failed to create equivalent strategies (Mazrui, 2008)

Most wars arising in Africa that occur along borders are not necessarily fought because of these borders. Before colonialism actually Africans did not have virtual borders with many people just living as groups with no marked boundaries. With the arrival of the whites, people started to mix up and issues of boundaries arose (Mazrui, 2008). The introduction of the boundaries by the colonial rulers in Africa, most of which were political, saw many people live together even without shared likes and systems. This resulted in a confusion and people ended up staying with those they had nothing in common. The people’s quest to re-unite with those they grew up with and they consider their own has seen many wars crop up in Africa (Mazrui, 2008).
2.11 Causes of conflict in Kenya

Kenya’s diversity along various ethnicity has led to coalitions between certain tribes in the quest to get limited resources and even to rise to power. The largest ethnic groups comprise of Kikuyus, Luos, Luhyas and Kalenjins who occupy the Central, Nyanza, Western and Rift Valley regions of Kenya respectively (Ng’ang’a, 2006).

2.11.1 Ethnicity

Several conflicts have arisen in Kenya with their main cause as ethnic disagreements or ethnic inclination. The concept of ethnicity occurs when people’s needs and interests are solved or addressed with an inclination of tribal affiliations. When conflicts arise from ethnic differences they are driven by non-fulfilment or threats to the fulfilment of basic needs (Kelman, 1996). In Kenya, ethnicity is being used by many people as their form of identity and influences a lot of things like politics. It is a cause of distrust and mistrust between communities. Many stereotypes have come out of ethnicity leading to different strains of conflicts.

2.11.2 Historical injustices and boundaries

Due to the various ways of resettlement in the colonial period, land has been a major factor as per what the colonialists allocated and what was formerly owned by specific groups of people. The historical injustices have been one of the underlying factors behind much of the conflict in Kenya. The definition of boundaries and land allocation done in the periods before and after colonialism in Kenya were not done in a manner that had a lot of bias. These biases and favoritism have gone down history and have been seen as sources of major conflicts in regards to land conflict. Inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic conflicts are very common because of the scarcity of
land and boundaries that are not so well defined. In the case of Nyanza region, the Kipsigis community believe that Luo and Kisii communities have invaded their land and so they have a duty to defend it. The Kisii and Luo community, on the other hand, claim that they have legally bought or leased the land and should be left to carry out their daily business. The delays in the issuing of title deeds also worsen the situation. Disputes related to boundaries and land ownership become hard to resolve when they arise (Njuguna et al, 2004).

2.11.3 Politics

Since independence, politics in Kenya have been driven by tribal affiliations (Edward Miguel, 2004). The presidents of Kenya have based their control on unstable tribal coalitions. This has greatly impacted on the relationship of the common ‘mwananchi’. It has been almost automatic that ethnic communities support their own politically and this has also affected the minority groups who seemingly have no one to support and therefore cling on a leader that is likely to win so as to get ‘support’ when they are in power, when it is the role of all leaders to deliver to all despite the ethnic group. It has also affected the judgment of the people on who best fits to be a leader as many support communities and not necessarily look at the potential of these leaders regarding delivery.

Lately politics have been more reason that has led to conflict in Kenya. Political leaders have ended up in offices as according to ethnic superiority. This has led to bad choices and eventually conflict that has torn apart many communities in Kenya. Politics in Kenya are high rewarding and has led to many people entering into it. There is a mentality of ‘winner takes it all’ so people believe that if win you get everything so no one wants to be left aside. Politics has also been
abused by many players. It has led to a lot of violence, crime, theft of land and corrupt misuse of public resources. When you hold a public office in Kenya, you are considered an elite and have access to any of the public resources and opportunity to Public office is seen as a means of political elite to access state resources and opportunities for practice greed (Njuguna et al, 2004). Kenyans have ended up with bad leaders and this has been attributed to inadequate public education on civic issues.

Most of the conflict in Kenya has been revolving around abuse of power no matter how they manifest themselves. We cannot assume that all of these conflicts are simply ethnic based or because of clan and religious issues (Wayande, 1997). Even with that, it is clear that the foundation of 2007 violence that erupted after elections was majorly around land which later on had some tribal inclination. Some of the causes can be traced back to colonial issues and leadership after that period. The argument was that land was isolated by the colonialists and then unfairly divided out to Kikuyu community and other groups whom the Kalenjin as the originally inhabitants of the Rift Valley region view as outsiders. This comes even after these communities have lived together side by side for a very long period. When multi party started in Kenya, violence was used to kill and displace opposition party voters to keep them from voting (CIPEV Report).

Political conflicts in Nyanza started way back in the 1970s, a time when the late Jaramogi Oginga Odinga differed with Kenyatta and formed Kenya People's Union (KPU) with other members of the parliament. When Mzee Jomo Kenyatta visited Kisumu city to open Nyanza General Hospital and a rotten egg was thrown to him, in reaction his security forces opened fire
on the crowd and killed many people. At this point, the hatred between Luos and Kikuyus heightened (Njuguna et al, 2004).

Members of the Luo Nyanza feel that members of an ethnic group in Kenya can have their turn to ‘eat’ only when one of their own ascends the presidency. Regions that are favorites to the presidency get priority in the development and the ethnic community that has produced the president at any given time gets better treatment from the government regarding infrastructure and appointments to senior government positions. Similarly, there is conflict over fishing waters in Lake Victoria. Conflicts have arisen between fishermen from Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania about the extent to which each should fish in Lake Victoria waters. (Brown, 2002).

Western Kenya has not witnessed a lot of conflict and displacements in the recent past. The last of the wars that can be traced in Western Region was in the 1970s. This was when the Angola-Msumbiji factions frightened residents of Vihiga and Kakamega. The group was defeated in the 1980s when their efforts were overpowered by the authorities. While the conflict was played out in ethnic terms, the cause was fundamentally political, instigated by high-level government officials for partisan purposes, related to the return to multi-party competition (Brown, 2002).

In Mt. Elgon region, the emergence of militia group Sabaot Land Defence Force (SLDF) was formed over the controversy of land allocation. SLDF started growing with illegitimate duties, a roadside court, and various types of crimes especially killing and mutilating people. The subsequent ‘Operation Okoa Maisha’ contained the threat two years later after many had been
affected. Many of the SLDF militia separated and dispersed to different regions in Kenya and also neighboring countries and may regroup in future.

The boundaries mainly political created by the colonial masters had no mechanisms for conflict resolutions and solving clan disputes. The reality of ethnic communities divided by international borders had serious implications for the development of the internal conflict. In cases where an international boarder divides the same ethnic community, although conflict may appear as internal, it may be internationalized through contagion. Factors motivating such include ideological sympathy by outsiders for one side of the ethnic group. Migration of ethnic communities to other countries may alter the ethnic demography of their new settlements, and this may generate more conflict which in nature of things is already internationalized (Mwagiru, 2006).

2.11.4 Lack of respect to the rule of law and human rights

According to UN-HABITAT/ OHCHR (2005), people lost their property due to crimes and many were deprived of their rights to own and use land especially the local people. The state also overthrew ownership of land by residents through privatization of their lands by the state. In Kenya, this phenomenon has manifested itself in different forms and has seen numerous conflicts arise.

Further, Ortega (1996) and Landes (2000) argue that traditional chiefs, too, increasingly enter into illegal practices, selling land they are supposed to hold in trust to non-group members or the state, causing landlessness among their people. In Kenya, many other land conflicts result from
the various sales and double allocation of land, either due to legal pluralism or undocumented customary tenure or due to competing state agencies all legitimized to do so.

Balamir 2002 posits that due to rural-urban migration as well as natural population growth, most cities in developing countries cannot formally absorb all their citizens. People, therefore, tend to squat on public land as the chances of being evicted there are slightly lower than on private or common property. The problem remains, however, for the city as well as for the squatters living in uncertainty. One can argue that if the government wants to repossess the land, it will lead to conflict between the squatters and the state. Nevertheless, Babette Wehrmann (2008) argues that the most violent conflicts over land are those that involve two groups or what often is called inter-clan clashes fighting over their property. This can lead to massive displacements, deaths and loss of property.

2.12 Cause of land conflict in Kenya

According to Peter Veit, Kenya had endured a long history of land conflicts, dating back to its colonial period when first the Germans and then the British promulgated policies and practices that alienated people from their customary land and pitted one ethnic group against another (www.focusonland.com/download/52076c59cca75). These policies were extended after independence. Ethnic divisions, especially over traditional land, were exploited for short-term political ends. This saw communities being displaced from their ancestral land and others being favored and this gave rise to land grievances (land conflicts). Further, the Ndung'u report from 2004 revealed that former Presidents Kenyatta and Moi, as well as cabinet ministers, former
high-ranking civil servants and other influential people, have been among the major beneficiaries of illegal allocations of public land.

Elvin Nyukuri (2008), found out that many land conflicts in Kenya are as a result of disputes that result from poor systems. Most of the land conflicts actually have been seen to be confined within other forms of conflict or disagreements. Sometimes, what this means is that issues of land conflict are inherent within other conflicts and not gazette as land conflict. In the case of Mt. Elgon conflict, this can be shown through looking at the disagreements between the Mosop and Soy out of poor land ownership structures. All of these conflicts are characterized by the misuse of political power for personal ends, through de facto patronage networks.

Moreover, Nyukuri (2008) argues that the land conflicts in Kenya have historical background causes. These include colonial territorial administration, tensions in land tenure systems, inequality and competition in land allocation, environmental stresses and eviction and political asymmetry.

2.13 Research Gaps

Media still remains a powerful tool in informing and shaping public discourse. Through the various roles played by the media, the public relies mostly on it as source of information and what and how the debates on matters affecting them would go. Media's role in times of conflict has also been seen to hugely vary where the media can either contribute to the escalation or de-escalation of a particular conflict. The media has successfully played critical roles in de-escalating conflict like the case in Zimbabwe (Chari 2013). Through agenda setting, priming and
bias, the media has been seen to be at a position to successfully define what policy makers do in different circumstances.

Although there have been many studies done looking into the role played by the media as regard various conflict situations the world over and even in Africa and Kenya, there is not much literature that talks about the role played by the media in the Mt. Elgon conflicts. Available literature is not saying much about whether the media played a key role in the de-escalation or escalation for that matter, of the conflicts in Mt. Elgon. Because of this, there is a need to conduct studies that investigate how media reported this conflict and what role they played.
CHAPTER THREE

METHODODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology or procedures used in data collection and analysis. It explains techniques that were followed to obtain data and how they were developed. It includes research design, sample population, sample size, sampling techniques, and data collection methods and data analysis procedures.

3.2 Research design, methods and instruments

The study used a descriptive survey design to investigate media reporting on conflict in Mt. Elgon and what the opinion leaders in Mt. Elgon say about the conflict. Descriptive survey designs are used in the initial and exploratory studies to allow scholars gather information, summarize, present and interpret for the purpose of clarification (Orodho 2009). Descriptive survey designs are used to collect information about people's attitudes, opinions, habits or any of the variety of education or social issues.

Mixed methods (qualitative and quantitative) were used in data collection. Qualitative method was used in collecting key information from the respondents. This included key informant interviews which provided in-depth data that would not be attained via the use of questionnaires (Mugenda, 2008).

Quantitative method was used in content analysis of past newspapers. Content analysis assumes that behaviour patterns, values, and attitudes found in communication material reflect and affect
the behaviours, attitudes of the people who create the material. It is therefore an indirect way of making inference about people. Instead of asking questions, we examine what they read and watch and then work backward.

Although this is in written words, the results have been presented in numbers such as percentages, number of words in the story placement. Daily Nation and Standard newspapers have been selected for use because they are the major source of print news. Apart from surveys, the study will undertake content analysis of sampled from Standard and The Nation in the period of 2007 and 2008.

3.3 Population and Sampling
Mugenda and Mugenda 1999, define population as a complete set of individuals, events or objects that have a common observable characteristic. It is an aggregate of all conforms to a given specification. The target population is a complete set of individuals that have a common characteristic to which the researcher will be able to simplify the results of the study.

According to the National Census 2009, Mt. Elgon residents and specifically the Sabaot total up to 172,377. This is about 11% of the Kenyan population. This study focused on the opinion leaders from this community and media experts and analysts. This is because opinion leaders form a critical part of this community and usually represent the views of the people. Media experts and analysts were considered for this study because their perspectives help understand the role of the media in this particular conflict.
Sampling is the process of picking or selecting a number of individuals for a research study in a way that the characters selected represent the large group from which they are selected (Mugenda 1999). The study used non-probability sampling and specifically purposive sampling in interviews because it allows the researcher to use cases that have required information with respect to objectives of the study. These cases are handpicked because they are informative and have the required characteristics (Mugenda, 1999). The sample sizes for the interviews were eight (8). They comprised of political leaders (2); public officers (2); religious leaders (1); clan leader (1); media expert (1); and political analysts (1).

In Content analysis, the study employed systematic random sampling to pick a sample of 130 papers. Systematic random sampling involves a random choice of numbers at evenly spaced intervals until a sensible sample is formed. The sample may be presented in alphabetical order, geographical, numerical or some other order. The items are serially numbered.

The first item is selected at random generally by following the rotary method. Following items are selected by taking every kth item from the list where "k" refers to the sampling interval or sampling ratio, that is, the ratio of population size to the size of the sample.

Symbolically \( k = \frac{N}{n} \) where:

- \( K \) = sampling interval
- \( N \) = population size
- \( n \) = sample size.
Thus, from a population of 1460 a sample size (n) of 130 gives an interval of 11.23. The thirtieth of January 2007 was randomly chosen as the first sample. Hence the Daily Nation and the Standard appearing every eleventh day (K) sampled and analyzed.

3.4 Study Area

The locale of the study was in Mt. Elgon, Kenya. This is the place that was affected by the inter-clan conflict between the years 2006-2008. Four wards were affected by the conflict however the researcher collected data in Kopsiro ward due to resource constraints. The research focused on opinion leaders in Mt. Elgon and newspaper analysis as reported between the years 2006-2008.

3.5 Data collection

Data refers to all the information a researcher gathers for the study. The study will use both quantitative and qualitative data. Quantitative data was collected through content analysis. This was through the analysis of two major newspapers during the period 2006-2008.

Qualitative data was collected through interviews. An interview is an oral administration of a questionnaire (Mugenda 1999). Key informant people including opinion leaders, administrators and communication experts were the people targeted with the interviews. To ensure accuracy, validity and integrity of the tools for data collection, the researcher conducted a mock interview using the interview guide to make meaningful observations like errors in questions. The mock interview was conducted with two people (not included in the final sample size). The purpose of this is to enhance the validity of the instruments, therefore, improving the interview guide.
3.6 Data analysis and presentation

Quantitative data was analyzed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software. The quantitative data has been presented in the form of graphs, pie charts, and tables. This has enabled simple tabulation and arrangement of responses in a frequency distribution. Qualitative data is descriptive in nature and cannot be represented in numerical formats. The data is in the form of behavior, attitudes, and opinions. This type of data was analyzed and presented through descriptive narrative or themes.

3.7 Ethical considerations

Permission was sought from the administration to allow the researcher proceed with the study in Mt. Elgon. The potential respondents were well versed about the nature of the study and its purpose. Privacy of the respondent was also guaranteed due to the sensitivity of the research. A consent form was provided to the respondent (Appendix i). A copy of field work certificate (Appendix iii). A certificate of Correction (Appendix iv) , A declaration of originality form (appendix v) and plagiarism results confirm the uniqueness of the study and indicate the researcher duly acknowledged source materials used for the study (Appendix vi).
CHAPTER FOUR
PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS, INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Overview

This chapter presents the results found during data collection. This study has compared news media priming and the beliefs of opinion leaders of Mt. Elgon on the land conflict. To achieve this, key informant interviews were conducted on opinion leaders in Mt. Elgon to understand the reasons behind the inter-ethnic land conflict. Content analysis was also done on the major dailies in Kenya: Daily Nation Newspaper and Standard Newspaper, to help in understanding how the media reported the conflict in Mt. Elgon. The data from the sampled papers was analyzed to test the different research questions that were being investigated in this study. The 130 sampled papers were systematically sampled between January 2007 and December 2008. This is the period when land and ethnic conflict was intense. This sample constituted 65 papers from each of the dailies as seen in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1: Sampled Papers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Nation</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Standard</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author 2016
4.2 Findings

The findings have been presented according to the objectives. Each objective has been stated and the findings on the interviews and content analysis discussed.

4.2.1 Objective 1:

To investigate the main beliefs on causes of land conflict in Mt. Elgon by local leaders and compare them with media reporting of the causes of the land conflict

The essence of this objective was to investigate the beliefs of Mt. Elgon Residents on the causes of land conflict in Mt. Elgon as reported by the main dailies (Daily Nation and the Standard Newspaper) during the conflict period. To be able to achieve this, an analysis was conducted to establish the tone, nature, and type of phrases used in the dailies. An analysis was done in the data to find out how fair and balanced the media accounts were on the conflict. Generally, it can be noted that the analysis indicated that most of the accounts were fair and balanced and showed with men, women, and youth featuring in the stories.

Further the accounts found in the content analyzed found gave the history and causes of the land conflict in Mt. Elgon. The government wanted to subdivide land. Division of land had been done in three phases. The first phase being 1989, Phase two was in 1991 and phase three was to be divided at two and a half acres per person. 866 people from the Soy clan and 866 from the Ndorobo. Besides land being at the center of the conflict, the accounts enumerated other reasons as ethnic and communal tensions, protests over traditional land rights, intra and inter-ethnic clashes, differences due to different kinds of land tenure systems such as among the Soy and Ndorobo sub clans.
An analysis was done on the data to find out how fair and balanced the media accounts of the conflict were. Generally, the analysis indicated that 44% of the accounts were fair and balanced. There was a serious attempt by the accounts that gave history and causes of the land conflict. They showed sensitivity to gender with men, women, and youth featuring in the stories. The tone used in the accounts was neutral with the media not showing bias in their reporting. 16% of the papers was biased in its reporting and this can be linked to the interviews done on a journalist who pointed out that the area could not be accessed hence they depended on information from Kenya Red Cross, and people who had flee from the area of conflict. In this case, there was likely to be a biased reporting due to lack of communication. This finding conforms to what other studies have found which stated that the media is a major role player in societal conflicts.

In this analysis of what the media accounts and the key informant interviews conducted considered as the causes of conflict, there were other factors that emerged. These included:

- **Corruption**

An elder in the area during one of the interviews indicated that corruption in resource sharing as the main cause of land conflict in Mt. Elgon where local administration chiefs began to look for how to get more land and hence colluded with the land surveyors. There was also favoritism by the administrators hence a lot of people were locked out while others were given more land than it had been indicated. He noted that:

“Land was not allocated to people that were supposed to get. We have people from outside the community who together with the surveyors colluded and we given land. Ideally people were supposed to be given two and a half acres but some have close to five acres and it's not clear which criteria was used to follow this”
Delay by the government to resettle people also led to the rise this is according to a religious leader in the area. New people from outside the community were given land hence leading to the rightful owners lacking land.

- Politics

Politics also played a key role in the land conflict in Mt. Elgon. During the interviews, the study revealed that a politician in Mt. Elgon campaigned for the Soy clan to be given more land in the phase 3-settlement plan. This didn’t go down well with the rest of the team that had not been allocated land. It also did not please the Nدورobo clan who had been left out during the first and second phase of land allocation. The opponent campaigned that both communities be given 50/50 land share. It was also claimed that the politicians have been using this strategy to campaign. First, they stir conflict then later campaign with promises of ending the conflict and resettling the people. He noted that:

“Politicians have taken advantage of the illiterates in this part of the area and can easily lie to them. This is the same way they lied that they were going to resettle them. One part wanted to settle 50% Nدورobo and 50% Soy. While the other wanted to settle only the Soy community since they had not been settled in phases one. Due to this, the communities got divided and the killings began”

This finding is in line with previous studies that have placed politics and corruption as a source of major conflicts in Kenya, including major land conflicts. Politics and corruption in Kenya have previously led to different kinds of conflict among them land conflict in Kenya. Despite the different forms in which conflicts have manifested themselves, the basis of political conflict goes back to governance on as much as they may be treated as ethnic. According to Njuguna, 2004,
Public office has been seen as a means of political elite to access state resources and opportunities for predatory behavior (Njuguna et al, 2004).

4.2.2 Objective 2

To establish whether media priming on Sabaot Land conflict represents the beliefs of the Mt. Elgon residents.

This objective aimed to understand whether media being the fourth estate influenced government's decision by the way the reports were primed and also whether these reports reflected on the belief of people of Mt. Elgon on the cause of land conflict. By analyzing the dailies on the nature of reporting, positioning and placement of the media accounts, the study analyzed the data to find out how prominent or not the media considered the conflict in regards to positioning and placement.

4.2.2.1 Page placement for the accounts

The size of the media articles (accounts) shows prominence given to an issue. When the media intends to give an issue prominence, the issue is usually allocated a lot of space in the dailies apart from being given prominent placement in terms of page number. An analysis was also conducted to be able to establish how this aspect of media priming was used in the case of the Mount Elgon conflict.

33.8% of the accounts were placed between page 1 and 3; 13.9% between page 38 and page 51; and the rest of the accounts, 47.7%, placed in the middle pages. Front pages were considered
The placement of an article is important. The closer it is to the front page of the newspaper the more salient issue it has been given. Readers start from the front and they may make or not make it to the back page. Therefore, articles considered as most important are given a priority on the front pages. Less important articles are placed on other pages in the issue.

The Mt. Elgon conflict was therefore not given importance because most of the articles were found in the middle pages.
4.2.2.2 Account by page coverage size

Figure 4.2 Page sizes for the media accounts in the dailies

Source: Author 2016

In media priming, the larger the amount of words or the size of the story the more important the issue is considered. In this study, 2.3% of full page was given to the Mt. Elgon conflict according to the content analysis. Most of the stories were given half a page. As presented in the figure 4.2 above. From the given data above, the media did not give much prominence to the conflict in Mt. Elgon. This is evident on the size of the stories written and where they were placed in the newspaper.

4.2.2.3 – Positioning of media accounts in the dailies

50.8% of the accounts were placed in the middle pages with the front page placing only 14.6% of the accounts while the back page had 34.6% of the accounts as summarized in figure 3 below.
Media gives prominence to messages and makes them more salient by positioning them in strategic places. The positioning and placement of the conflict in Mount Elgon was not very prominent because over half of the accounts, 51%, were placed in the middle. The conflict, according to this finding, was not given prominence. This is because only 15% of the accounts were given front page placement. Most of prominent issues are usually placed in the front and/or back pages of the newspapers a case that was very minimal with the Mount Elgon conflict. The above findings have also been reflected on the interviews. According to an interviewee, media could not access the conflict area because it was dangerous. Once media tried to access the conflict area and were badly beaten by the militia. Hence, media depended on the government officials and the Kenya Red Cross to access get reports on conflict.

Source: Author 2016
“Had media been allowed to access the area and have one on one with people, maybe the situation would be different. Media did not exactly report on what was on the ground e.g. a headline ran with the caption “SLDF Versus Mooreland” In reality Mooreland as a militia group didn’t exist.”

Further, a journalist who managed to access the area because it was his home was abducted and taken into the forest, he was not mistreated but what he saw left him with psychological torture. This hence made it difficult for media to try to access the area because their lives were put in danger.

“It was very difficult for media to access the area due to the kind of hostility that was there. Most of the reporters relied on information from the people who flee the conflict zone and Redcross”

Since a lot of articles were put in the middle page, it is a clear indicator that media did not put prominence to the issue, Media priming theory indicates that the media serves as an important source of information and influential means of communication. This power has control on what people understand and the events that occur around the world daily. An article that runs frequently on the cover page of a paper is likely to catch the attention of relevant authorities and lead to action.

4.2.3 Objective 3

To determine whether media used its role of watchdog in de-escalating the conflict

Media is known to influence decisions and set agenda in the society. Known as the fourth estate, media can either escalate or de-escalate conflict depending on its presentation. An analysis was done to take account of what kind of content was carried in the two dailies during the period under review. This was to be able to establish what the dailies reported.
Most of the accounts appearing on the two dailies were commentaries as opposed to articles done by media on the same topic. Sometimes the public treats everything found in the newspaper as news. Commentaries provide different perspectives on the matter while news articles have to stick to the media ethics of reporting. Opinions to the editors also followed. From the table below it can be noted that the media did not give attention to the issue as compared to what the public did. Since most of the people are influenced more by what they read, Commentaries tend to give one sided story and since it is what more in the newspapers appeared, it could have participated in escalating the conflict. Below, in figure 4.4, is a summary of account typology.

Figure 4.4: Typology of media accounts of the Mt. Elgon conflict

In the dailies, accounts featured a number of players in the conflict including the Sabaot Land Defence Force (SLDF) that was the militia group, the Kenya Army that was sent for peace keeping, Kenya National Commission for Human Rights (KNCHR) who tried to look at the root cause of the land conflict, the Human Rights Watch (HRW), and a number of NGOs operating in the area.
Words frequently used by the media and also bodies mentioned in the papers can summarize the situation in a given area. Bodies such as Kenya Red Cross showed the situation of a place as delicate and the need for help on issues such as food. The accounts therefore tried to give the context of this conflict. Parties involved as was accounted for in the media is shown in Table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2: Accounts from the media on the parties involved in this conflict

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Valid</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SLDF</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>36.9</td>
<td>36.9</td>
<td>36.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KNCHR</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>48.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya army</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>50.8</td>
<td>50.8</td>
<td>99.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author, 2016

The media also never played a role as a watchdog by being neutral in priming the conflict in a way that could either lead to escalation or de-escalation of the conflict. The nature of reporting of this conflict as done by the media was very neutral and they did not take a position. This is illustrated in the figure 4.5 below.
Information from the interviews showed that the media had difficulties trying to access the conflict area and depended on information from Red Cross, government officials and people that had escaped the area. In Bukonoi, journalists were beaten and kicked out by SLDF. Some of the information was misleading. According to a respondent,

“Media reported in a suggestive manner that pushed the government into sending forces. For example, the media reported that the Militia leader, Wycliffe Matwekei, was also the Deputy Commandant. This became a threat to the government. The Nation Newspaper ran a story with a headline ‘SLDF VERSUS MORELAND’ while in reality Mooreland did not exist.”

Equally, an interview with a journalist from Nation Media who was able to access the area during the period of conflict indicates that he asked for permission to do a documentary on the conflict issue. However, this was a strategy since he was in touch with the Militia leader,
Wycliffe Matwakei, and had also alerted a few journalists from other media houses. He notes that:

“By the time they left the site, I received the first phone call from the intelligence and follow up phone calls from the public officers in office asking him not to run the story. Hence much of the information gathered and let out to the public was influenced from the high authorities.”

By previously pointing out that the conflict was politically motivated, it is evident that higher authorities influenced much of the information that was given to the public.

This finding resonates with what Reese et al, had indicated about media reporting in conflict situation. They stated that the media’s role as a powerful entity that tries to control conflict, as a biased participant who either defends or attacks status quo, as a third party ‘watchdog’ who provides influences the public on local problems and as a gatekeeper who sets the agenda, filters issues and accentuates other positions to maintain a balance of views, as a mediator that builds consensus and manages community tensions, as a corporate entity who celebrates conflicts and benefits through increased sales in covering conflicts (Reese, Gandy, & Grant, 2001).

4.3 Strategies that media can use to de-escalate conflict

Media being a powerful tool can come up with strategies of helping in conflict resolution. Key informants in the interview indicated that for media to help in resolving the conflict, they should try and visit the grounds in which the conflict occurred and also give prominence to the issue at hand. This will cut down the biased reporting as they will be able to determine the importance of this matter.
According to research, the government should also address land title deed issues so that people can start developing. This will also avoid repeat of the same. Allocation of title deeds will expose the vacant land so that the landless can be allocated land. The above strategies can only be achieved if the media reported well on the issues.

4.4 Analysis of the findings

Land conflict occurs globally and the causes have been noted as politics, corruption, greed, ethnicity and boundaries. There has been a dramatic increase of conflict in Africa in the recent decades (Adedeji, 1999). As reported in the key informant interviews, the main cause of land conflict was poor allocation of land that involved corruption. The interviewees indicated that political leaders at the time were behind the land conflict in Mt. Elgon. Therefore, according to the respondents, it was politically motivated. Apart from land conflict being politically motivated, Politics have brought up other conflicts such as ethnic conflict where political leaders ethnicity determines who takes the office. Public office is seen as a means of political elite to access state resources and opportunities for predatory behavior (Njuguna et al, 2004).

Historical injustices have been underlying factors behind land conflict in Kenya. Collusion between the administrative officers and the surveyors who were looking for ways to get more land and sell land to ‘outsiders’ led to conflict. The administrators also aggravated the situation by favoring some people while denying others land which rightfully belonged to them such as the Ndorobo land given to the soy who had already been allocated land in phase 1 and 2. According to a journalist interviewed in this study, corruption was the main cause of land conflict in the area with favoritism during land allocation. A religious leader interviewed
indicated that the conflict was fueled by government delays to resettle people. Termination of the conflict in Mt. Elgon was a forceful one lack of proper address to the problem may likely lead to a re-occurrence of the conflict.
CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Overview

The purpose of this study was to compare media priming on Sabaot land conflict and the beliefs of Mt. Elgon residents. To enable the attainment of the overall purpose of the study, a number of issues were investigated. These included investigating the main beliefs of land conflict in Mt. Elgon, how the media primed the conflict in Mt. Elgon and whether the media played its role of a watchdog.

The study established that land conflict in Mt. Elgon has been in existence for a long time. Division of land that has been central to this conflict had been done in three phases the first being in 1989 phase two in 1991 and phase three was yet to happen. Failure by the government to resettle the residents on time led to population pressure on the piece of land, and as the people gave birth and the population continues to increase, there arose a need to carry out settlement of these people.

Further, the study established that when the resettlement plan was put in place, corruption set in leading to a number of people missing places to settle in. At the same time, politics cropped in and played a central part in the conflict. Politicians used the land issue as a platform for campaigns. One side promised to resettle both the Ndorobo and soy in 50/50 share while the opponent promised to only settle the Ndorobo since the Soy had been settled in phase one and two. This was one of the causes of the land conflict.
The study also found that media's role of informing and conveying information also featured in the case of Mt. Elgon conflict. In their reporting of the accounts of this conflict, the media reported fairly on the conflict trying to give both sides of the story. The media also remained gender sensitive in their reporting of this conflict. The media, in reporting of this conflict, represented the beliefs of people in Mt. Elgon. They, however, were faced with various challenges in reporting the conflict including their inability to access the conflict area. This challenge, therefore, meant that the media had to rely on other sources of gathering information especially dependence on people for information. This challenge sort of subdued the media's ability to be able to give in-depth coverage of the story and even have an opportunity to frame the conflict in their way. Most of the media accounts and frames were heavily sourced from the residence which at the time were able to access the conflict area.

5.2 Conclusion

Mt. Elgon is an extinct mountain that lies on the boarder of Kenya and Uganda. The hills of the homeland gradually rise from an elevation of about 5000 to 14,000 ft. Above the sea level. There is a good supply of rain, rivers and black volcanic soils. The numerous mountains and gorges form spectacular scenery with waterfalls. The mountain itself is about 50 miles in diameter. The place holds two tribes, the Bukusu from the Luhya community and the Sabaots from the Kalenjin community.

Because of its fertile nature, the area is prone to conflict that is a result of people sharing scarce and fixed natural resources like land. Just like the cause of conflicts in Africa being are complex and defying the explanation of any single analytical perspective, the conflict in Mt. Elgon
situation also has a number of related causes. While some African causes are linked with economic and poverty, debt and structural adjustment (Brown & Adekanye 1995); others reduce them to political and governance related factors such as struggle for power, the fragility of African state and ethnicity (Adedeji, 1999). In Mt. Elgon, population pressure, politics, corruption, and lack of rule of law are some of the main reasons why there has been conflict in this area bordering on land use, allocation, and ownership.

External factors such as poor infrastructure and weather conditions can render a conflict zone inaccessible and hence making it difficult to be able to manage the conflict. In most cases, when conflict zones are inaccessible, the conflicts do escalate. In Mt. Elgon, the place is not well accessible especially by non-residents, and this played a role in escalating the conflict since there was no proper interventions, there could be a struggle in accessing the area for non-residents.

Media and conflict have always been tied together whenever a conflict rises. The role of the media in a conflict situation had always been criticized, but generally, there is consensus that the media has an important role to play in any conflict situation. The roles do range from informing, agenda setting, gatekeeping, watchdog, and being partisan to the conflict situation. In the conflict at Mt. Elgon, the media, from the content analysis and the interviews, did not have an opportunity to play an active role. This was due to various constraints faced by the media. Media had minimal and restricted access to the conflict area; they were not allowed to go in and cover the story hence the minimal coverage of the issue and failure to give the story prominence because media did not have sufficient information. Trying to access the area by the media posed
security issues to the media hence the failure to divulge into the conflict area. As such, most of the accounts of the conflict were either commentaries or opinions. These types of media accounts usually do not dictate so much what the daily discourse would be and in most cases also rely on the media set agenda.

The media did not set the agenda during this conflict neither did it influence the conversations and information about the conflict. It also did not play its role of a watchdog in this conflict and were unable to contribute to either the conflict escalation or de-escalation process. Most of the accounts were neutral and could not shape the conflict either way. This is evidenced by the way most of the media accounts of this conflict were positioned, framed, and the size of coverage of length of the accounts. The largest percentage of the media accounts of this conflict were hence placed in the middle pages contrary to where prominent stories are put in the papers.

The media was crippled in terms of playing its role of a watchdog. Because they could not get access and were not able to be in control of what was coming out, the media did not give much priority in reporting this conflict. Much of the information on the dailies were commentaries as opposed to news items and feature stories that media should have written. When media prioritizes an issue it sets the agenda and hence a likelihood of proper action being taken. However, when the public writes commentaries in the paper they do not mostly follow the media ethics hence some information written could escalate the conflict as compared to if media took up this. These cannot be really attributed to the work of the media since they have personal bias and opinions independent of the media.
5.3 Recommendations

This study would like to make the following recommendations based on its findings, analysis, and interpretation.

- There is need to offer journalist operating in conflict areas such as Mt. Elgon protection. This is because danger inhibits the gathering of information. Indeed, the perception that the media escalated the situation is borne out of relying on scanty information to write stories. Much has been exposed by the two dailies and findings indicate the government can do more to avoid such conflicts. Where they occur interventions must be neutral and immediate. Media, being seen as a powerful entity that tries to control conflict as biased participant who defends or attacks status quo a third party who provides feedback to the local problems and as a gatekeeper who sets the agenda, filters issues and accentuates other positions to maintain balance of views. (Reese, Gandy & Grant, 2001). Media plays a huge part in de-escalating conflict. Although roles of the media differ depending on the type of dispute, nature and history of coverage and the audience of the media, an outstanding factor is that media is an agent of that constructs public image and that of conflict. Through intensive influence, media impacts can be felt. Therefore, it is important that the government protects the media and media persons covering news in war areas so as to be able to access proper information.

- The study also recommends that the government looks at the infrastructure in the Mt. Elgon area and help in making the area more accessible. This will break the isolation of the area and provide an opportunity in for people to be in contact with the rest of the world. In case of conflict, the area can be easily accessed. SLDF claims to form their government was the felt need of being isolated. When the issue of infrastructure is addressed, there will be the felt
sense of belonging as part of the nation. Therefore, the area will be easily accessible for reach by administrative for relief especially when needed.

- The study also recommends a further study to be conducted to establish why the media was blocked from accessing the Mt. Elgon area. This will ensure that in case of further conflicts in this area and even other areas, media access is guaranteed.
REFERENCE


Appendix i: Consent Form

Dear Respondent,

I want to thank you for taking the time to meet with me today. My name is Emaculate Kebin Kiboi, a Master of Arts student from the University of Nairobi. I would like to talk to you about the land conflict that erupted in Mt. Elgon from 2006. The purpose of this interview is to collect data for an academic research project titled: A Comparative Study on Media Priming and Local Opinion Leaders on Sabaot land Conflict in Mt. Elgon Kenya

as part of the requirements for the award of a Master of Arts Degree in Communication Studies at the School of Journalism, University of Nairobi.

All responses will be kept confidential. This means that your interview responses will only be shared in school for the sole purpose of academic study and I will ensure that any information included in my report does not identify you as the respondent. Remember, you don’t have to talk about anything you don’t want to and you may end the interview at any time.

Please sign below in acceptance of my request and to authorize me to use part of this interview for my school work. Are you willing to participate in this interview?

__________________  __________________  _________
Interviewee         Sign                    Date

__________________  __________________  ________________
Interviewer         Sign                    Date
Appendix ii: Interview Guide

Questions for policy makers (Politicians, Public Officers, Religious leaders, and Clan leaders)

1. Where were you during the conflict period in Mt. Elgon that started in 2006?
2. Describe the signs or warnings that existed before the conflict begun.
3. What are some of the causes of this conflict in Mt. Elgon?
4. The grouping of the militia, Sabaot Land Defense Force (SLDF), was motivated by some reasons. Briefly state one or two reasons that in your view led to the emergence and grouping of SLDF.
5. During this conflict period, how did the authorities and government of the day respond?
6. In your opinion, what was the outcome of the government’s response?
7. Did the government’s reaction or action around the conflict period lead to an end of the conflict?
8. Do you think the government and authorities addressed the main cause that was the reason for grouping of the militia?
9. If the government/authorities did not address the issues, how did the residents of Mt. Elgon react?
10. At the time when the conflict intensified, who was the militia’s target and what do you think was the reason they targeted such people?
11. What were some of the headlines and stories in newspapers that run during this period that you can recall?
12. How did the media reporting of this conflict influence government / authority’s reaction or actions around the conflict?
13. In these newspapers, what do you recall the media reported as some of the causes of the land conflict in Mount Elgon?

14. What effect or impact did the media have on the conflict? (Do you think the media played a role in escalating or de-escalating the conflict?)

15. As reported by the media, can you recall some of the common words used in reporting the land conflict in the media?

16. Do you think the media reports of this conflict conflicted what was happening on the ground?

17. Since the conflict was not resolved, what would you recommend as the solution for Mt. Elgon Conflict and what role can the media play in this end?

18. Any further comments?
Questions for media experts and political analysts

1. What do you recall about Mt. Elgon conflict that erupted between 2006-2008?

2. In your opinion, what do you think were the causes of land conflict in Mt. Elgon?

3. The media was largely blamed for “poor reporting” of the 2007 Post Election violence and that they might have fueled the violence. How do you think the media reported Mt. Elgon conflict?

4. As reported by the media, can you recall some of the common words used in reporting the land conflict in Mt. Elgon?

5. What role do you think the media plays in conflicts?

6. Media action/reaction can lead to escalation or ending of a conflict. Do you think media reporting of Mt. Elgon conflict led to escalation or de-escalation of conflict?

7. Are there ways through which you think the media could have helped in resolving the conflict?

8. In your opinion, what role did politics play around the conflict?

9. What are some of the strategies that media would employ to address issues of land conflict?
Appendix iii: Field Work Certificate

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES
SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM & MASS COMMUNICATION

REF: CERTIFICATE OF FIELD WORK

This is to certify that all corrections proposed at the Board of Examiners’ meeting held on 28/06/2016 have been effected to my/our satisfaction and the student can be allowed to proceed for field work.

Reg. No: KSO606261 2013
Name: EMACULATE KEBIN KIBI
Title: MEDIA FRAMING IN CONFLICT: A CASE STUDY OF SARAKI COMMUNITY

Dr. Mokua
SUPERVISOR

Dr. Sam Sirigia
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

Dr. Nkiki Nkhata
DIRECTOR

P.O. Box 30197-00100
Nairobi, GPO
Kenya

Signature: ____________________________
Date: 17/8/2016

Signature: ____________________________
Date: 17/8/2016

Signature: ____________________________
Date: 17/8/2016

Signature: ____________________________
Date: 17/8/2016
Appendix iv: A Certificate Of Correction

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES
SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM & MASS COMMUNICATION

CERTIFICATE OF CORRECTIONS

This is to certify that all corrections proposed at the Board of Examiners meeting held on 24/09/2016 in respect of M.A./Ph.D. Project/Thesis Proposal, defence have been effected to my/satisfaction and the project can now be prepared for binding.

Reg. No: 25/571948251 2013

Name: [Handwritten name]

Title: A comparison... against environmental factors.

[Signature and dates]

Dr. [Supervisor]

[Signature and dates]

[Assistant Director]

[Signature and dates]

[Director]

[Signature and dates]
Appendix V: A Declaration Of Originality Form

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

Declaration of Originality Form

This form must be completed and signed for all works submitted to the University for examination.

Name of Student: Kevin Immaculate Kirungi
Registration Number: KSO/69628/2012
College: Humanities and Social Sciences
Faculty/School/Institute: SOE/MC
Department: SOE/MC
Course Name: Master of Arts in Communications Studies

Title of the work: A Comparative Study on Media Primary and Local Opinion Leaders on Garissa Land Conflict in Mileleng

DECLARATION

1. I understand what Plagiarism is and I am aware of the University’s policy in this regard.

2. I declare that this [PROJECT (Thesis, project, essay, assignment, paper, report, etc)] is my original work and has not been submitted elsewhere for examination, award of a degree or publication. Where other people’s work, or my own work has been used, this has properly been acknowledged and referenced in accordance with the University of Nairobi’s requirements.

3. I have not sought or used the services of any professional agencies to produce this work.

4. I have not allowed, and shall not allow anyone to copy my work with the intention of passing it off as his/her own work.

5. I understand that any false claim in respect of this work shall result in disciplinary action, in accordance with University Plagiarism Policy.

Signature: [Signature]
Date: 11/11/2016
Appendix Vi: Plagiarism Results

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From Mass Media and Technology (MA Communication Theory)

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