

**THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND MANAGEMENT:
A CASE STUDY OF MUGUMOINI LOCATION IN LANGATA
CONSTITUENCY.**

By

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Reg. K50/77103/2009

**A Research project submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the
award of Master of Arts degree in Mass Communication studies at the School of
Journalism, University of Nairobi.**

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Declarations

Candidate's Declaration

✓ This research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.


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Supervisor's Declaration

This project has been submitted for review with my approval as university supervisor.

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to my son and daughter for the evidence of those who must continuously strive to build a just world; to my wife and parents and all those who know that knowledge makes a better world.

Acknowledgement

This work would not have been wholly completed save for the support of Mr. Charles Karanu who assisted me in the area of data collection. Mr. Stephen Muhu, retired assistant commissioner of police, Mr. Seraphino Njagi, UN consultant, Hon. R. Muriungi, and Mr. David Matende who gave their time and analysis into the field of their operations as related to this project.

Abstract

The study aimed at establishing the role of the mass media in conflict resolution and management among residents of Mugomo Ini location in Langata constituency following the 2007/2008 post-election violence. Further it was necessary to investigate the root causes of conflict in the location as a basis for establishing the media foundation to resolve conflict. Most conflicts in the location were found to be economic-driven and needed to be resolved through a system that enabled the residents to create their own wealth. The research established that the media had a significant role to play in conflict resolution and management in Mugomo Ini location as the residents relied on it for information and interpretation of events in important periods.

The project examined whether the causes of conflict covered by the mass media were as perceived by the residents besides establishing the media most accessed by the residents and found that although the media significantly improved in coverage of events as residents perceived them during the referendum period there was significant perception that the media was dedicating more of its time on political events at the expense of the people's needs. The accessibility of media for routine news was different from the desired accessibility during crisis

A total of 296 articles were examined to determine the influence or role of the media in conflict resolution and management including editorials, front page news, advertisements and letters to the editor. A survey of 47 respondents was carried out, an interview four purposively selected practitioners in the fields of economics, security, politics and media was also conducted besides an examination of a purposive sample of three musicals from the Luo, Kikuyu and Kisii communities in relation to 2007 post-election violence were examined. Previous researches

carried out have been concentrated on the relatively impoverished and one of the world's most known slums, Kibera (Hagen, 2011) and often focusing on short-term investments in peace and ignoring media influence in mixed class environments, adjacent areas to the presumed epicenters of violence. The study found out that mixed environments provided a more balanced opportunity for conflict resolution than environment predominated by one group which feels aggrieved elsewhere. The project found out that election violence only can be avoided if measures were taken that addressed economic inequalities, corruption and governance.

The project established that there existed significant perception that politicians deliberately exploited economic inequalities for power attainment. The study found out that intervention by media to verify facts for the audience was critical in conflict resolution. This was especially crucial recognizing that the media served as a critical channel of communication with heavy implications on the opportunities it had to mediate in long term conflict resolution and management. This remained fundamental during the country's transitional period of Kenyan democracy such the referendum when requisite instrument for change were/are being put in place.

The study applied case study methodology that made use of purposive sampling, purposive semi-structured interviews of practitioners, content analysis of the most widely circulating Sunday Nation Newspaper, and a portion of musicals as emerged during the period in relation to the post-election violence and survey of a purposively selected sample of forty-seven respondents.

Abbreviations and acronyms

- ODM.....Orange Democratic Movement
- ODM-Kenya.....Orange Democratic Movement-Kenya
- ICC.....International Criminal Court
- UN..... United Nations
- EU BOM.....European Union Observation Mission.
- KBC.....Kenya Broadcasting Corporation
- FM.....Frequency Modulation
- ACCRD.....African Centre for the Constructive Resolution
Of Disputes
- SMs..... Short Message Texting
- EVER.....Elections, Violence, Education and Resolution.
- IFES.....International Foundation for Electoral Systems.
- UNDP.....United Nations Development Programme.

Definition of Terms

Modus operandi is generally used to refer to a distinct pattern or manner of working that comes to be associated with a particular person or entity (Encyclopedia Britannica online). In the context of this study it is used to refer to the particular pattern or operation that came to be associated with the police as a matter of old habits, traits or procedures of manhandling civilians in the context of politics instead of keeping legitimate law and order.

Transition refers to a shift in two distinct periods namely, non-crisis transition and crisis or post-conflict associated with peace-building and reconstruction. It is a period of multidimensional economic, political and/or societal change arising from a transfer of power or a period of conflict and is often a mix of political and economic factors (UNDP, 2007). In the context of this study it would refer to the shift from the period of the old imperialistic constitutional order to a new constitutional order in which the agenda is reform which according to UN (2006) is a core task in countries in transition from authoritarianism or conflict to democracy and peace.

Mass media refers to the use of communication channels for dissemination of public information. These channels involve but not limited to print media such as books, newspapers magazines and electronic recordings such as radio, movies, TV, and internet. In the context of this study news reporting will include commentary opinion, analysis, music as used by musicians to pass conflict related messages as well as advertisement of news value not intended for luring customers to purchase a product for purposes of making a profit. The key ingredients in assessing a competent media would include accuracy, impartiality and public interest by adhering set of code of conduct. Sunday Nation would refer to the newspaper published by the Nation Media Group only on Sundays.

Causes of conflict: these would refer to horizontal inequalities that go beyond cultural dimensions, which, by definition, are inequalities among groups with shared identities by religion or racial affiliations or other salient ways that bind the groups of people together, to include economic and political inequalities.

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CHAPTER ONE

General Introduction to Study

1.0 Introduction

The project studied the relationship between the role of the media and conflict resolution and management. The study investigated the role the media played in conflict resolution and management in a post-election violence context among a population of different ethnic, and socio-economic backgrounds.

The Study examined whether the media, according to the local residents, highlighted the main causes of the conflict and thus facilitated their mediation and resolution or that instead the media continued to concentrate on peripheral issues and thus failed to contribute to the nation's transitional democracy as part of conflict resolution and management. The visible parts of the conflict resolution and management are the enhanced democracy through the general election and the promulgation of the new constitution as an instrument of change of which the latter was the main object of examination because of its currency.

1.2 Context of the Study

Mugumoini location in which the study took place is situated in Langata constituency and accommodates part of the population directly affected by the post-election violence of 2007. Mugumoini means a place of a fig tree according to the Kikuyu language. In 1992 the then vice president now incumbent president Kibaki infamously likened agitating for multiparty and defeating KANU like cutting a giant fig (mugumo) tree with a razor blade (Wikipedia, 2011). Part of the area lies along the Kenya-Uganda Railway which was uprooted following the

disputed presidential election results and thus affected international trade with neighbouring countries of the great lakes region especially Uganda, Rwanda and Southern Sudan. Additional international attention was inevitable because, at stake was the country's role as the major regional hub for diplomatic activities in a region of turmoil, transport communications, and besides relief operations and development. In the aftermath other diplomatic offshoots such as the controversy between Uganda and Kenya over Migingo Island cropped up immediately after the post-election violence.

The study site is part of the constituency from which the presidential candidate, Raila Odinga, contested. The location's viability for research arose from its cosmopolitan nature, housing the very poor who are distributed in the location in informal settlements commonly referred to as "vijiji" (villages or shanties) within the formal settlements (estates), and a substantial portion of the location's population presumed to live in Kibera because of its proximity to the largest informal settlement. That is, not only is this population within the main Langata constituency but that the population is also the source of cheap unskilled labour to the rest of the estates. The Kibera population operates from both sides of the divide (the formal and informal), but most controversial is the question as to whether Kibera itself real belongs to Langata constituency or it is basically an area of political battle line between politicians of different ethnic groups (Kibera determines the electoral outcome in the constituency (ECK,1997)); some of the features including dispossessing landlords of their houses and was prominent in notorious Kibera areas with unsuccessful attacks directed at surrounding formal settlements. There were both relative peace and tension in Mugumoini location during the period in a sense that while fire raged in one portion that was seemingly the epicenter, the rest seemed to hang on tenterhooks. Features of horizontal inequality would seem obvious as the residents of shanties are surrounded by

relatively wealthy residents and therefore formed part of the inquiry as possible cause of conflict.

As indicated, the population in the location ranges from extreme poverty exacerbated in the neighbouring Kibera slums to middle class residential areas in Otiende, Southlands and others. The location also houses a substantial number of working class people especially government. It has a military barrack nearby, a Kenya Wildlife Service sanctuary, a police station, prisons , a mission hospital and both Christian , Muslim adherents and the landmark cultural centre of Bomas (Langata Constituency Strategic Plan, 2011) which has been shepherding constitutional reforms.

The location is one of contrasts that easily display some of the main features of the nation such as tourism, varied ethnicity and economic disparities. Most importantly prominent politicians who were involved in the 2007 elections are housed here and especially nearby Karen where the vice-president, Hon. Kalonzo Musyoka (ODM-Kenya and hails from Eastern province, least affected by violence), the Rt. Honorable Raila Odinga, the Prime Minister (ODM and hails from Nyanza where violence was heavy), and even William Ruto (ODM and hails from Rift Valley where violence was heaviest and he is now a Raila nemesis and is a suspect of crime against humanity at the International Criminal Court) reside.

This kind of arrangement was interesting noting that the two were previously in the same political camp in the campaign for 2007 election and in opposite sides of the adoption and promulgation campaigns for the new constitution,, a document that not only guaranteed the federal opportunities campaigned for by both of them in 2007, but also as an important document for the transition into democracy, as a tool for peaceful co-existence, and, unlike the previous

one, trims the executive powers of the presidency. The key issue here was that while the politicians seemed to reside together and frequently change sides, the voters who lived alongside them either took a different cue or seemingly had reasons beyond politics as to why they turned violent on one another.

1.3 Background

This part of the study focused on three main areas that included: election violence, mediation and the role of the media.

1.3.1 Election Violence

The 2007 post-election violence put Kenya's history among the nations whose image are seriously dented by election violence to the extent that analysts and researchers show her as hanging on the brink of a collapsed state. The violence that rocked the country was more than protest against rigged election results. Barkan (2008) argues that the historical origins of violence that engulfed Kenya since the discredited election of December 27th run deep, and would have taken more than a recount of the vote and /or the formation of national unity government to resolve the crisis.

The violence erupted in many parts of the country as soon as the presidential results were announced leading to a loss of 1,100 people's lives, 3,500 injured by the middle of February 2008 and more than 600,000 forcibly displaced (ICC, 2011).

Harneit-Sievers and Peters (2008, p138) observe that the violence took different shapes in different political arenas and different parts of the country, developing its own dynamics. Three major areas of election-related violence, cited by them, were distinguishable: political and social

protest accompanied by violent attacks, clamped down upon heavily by the government's security forces; a campaign of ethnic cleansing in Rift Valley, resulting in numerous killings and mass displacement; finally, the emergence of a more generalized form of ethnic warfare, characterized by existing militias and revenge attacks.

According to these researchers, the first form of violence took place in places like Kisumu where the paramilitary, General Service Unit, had been posted and in Nairobi slums where the youth fought the security agencies in front of cameras of international media; thus virtually ending the space for peaceful civic protests between the violence of the marginalized youth and that of the state.

The second form which took place in Rift Valley, they argue, was based on long-standing grievances about land, and thus had nothing to do with the rigged elections. And thirdly, as the country got polarized along ethno-political lines violence escalated beyond electoral issues with ethnic gangs in Nairobi slums fighting each other cleansing neighborhoods by means of threat or assassination. Thousands of people lost their homes in the process, while others took over the abandoned space (Harneit-Sievers / Peters, 2008, Lafargue et al, 2008).

Muhula (2009) has argued in his essay *Horizontal Inequalities and Ethno-Regional Politics in Kenya* that post-election violence has been couched in instrumental ethnic chauvinism and not ideological terms. He expounds that horizontal inequalities remain the single most important determinant of political contests in Kenya fuelling sometimes violent contests in elections with actions of the governing elite elevating ethnic differences to conflict inducing status. As a result citizens do not expect fair treatment if their own is not in power. Consequently, efforts to

alleviate poverty are undermined creating wastage of public expenditure and has resulted in cross regional, gender, and generational variations in well-being

Wanjiru (2009, p.6) has argued that long standing causes of conflict were also to blame on politicians noting that the breed of politicians that have been experienced in the country since it gained independence from the British colonialists in 1963, have blundered its resources – material and human – to the brink of war.

Moreover, according to Earle (2011), the situation was worsened by a non-reformist constitution that was in place. The constitution and its practice was a result of the use of rule of law, whose principles and rationale was grafted from the British society, and whose aspirations were those of imperialist interests.

1.3.2 Mediation

No one had foreseen Kenya slipping into the abyss. According to Barkan (2008) the election was arguably ‘freest and fairest’ since independence through all the stages except the last. He contends that in contrast to prior elections, the presidential candidates and those seeking legislative offices were unhindered during the course of their campaigns with counting at nearly all polling stations viewed by domestic and international observers being slow but transparent.

It is an election in which Kenya lost the opportunity to make a statement of her consolidation of her democracy and provide the opportunity for change in critical socio- economic areas involving education, food, security, end corruption and provide shelter as candidates had promised. There was anticipation for a new constitution and guarantee of basic rights for all through various reforms in the campaign manifestos of the candidates (Wanjiru, 2009).

Eventually, negotiations teams had to be selected to pull Kenya out of the brink of disaster involving international players. As the post-election violence intensified, the civil society, the churches, the organizations that fought for democratization throughout the 1990s, and the press, and even Kenya's singers and music entertainers stepped forward to plead for negotiations to occur (Rambaud, 2008).

At the beginning of the month of February, the opposition and the government began negotiations under the leadership of former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan. The parties agreed to work together to end the violence and improve humanitarian conditions. According to a report prepared for the Members and Committee of Congress of The United States of America by Ted Dagne (2008), a specialist in African Affairs, Congressional Research Services, the mediation process proved harder with the government side than the opposition. Annan, however, succeeded to broker peace which was signed by the two principals on 28th February with a power-sharing deal and more critical, the creation of various commissions and the agenda for reform under the National Accord.

1.3.3 Role of the media

State media coverage of the elections was reportedly one-sided, with president's party, the party of National Unity, (PNU), getting significantly more attention than the opposition (Ted, 2008). According to the EU Electoral Observation Mission (EU BOM) (2008) preliminary report, the government controlled Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) radio coverage gave the PNU 76 per cent share of coverage, compared to the opposition.

The outbreaks of election violence in Kenya have been disturbingly frequent since the inception of multiparty. The apparent return of calm after elections has not meant the cessation of hostility

or end of conflict. Lagging unresolved tension has only required the electoral trigger factors to reignite the conflict. Conflict resolution scholars (Laplante & Phénice, 2010) attribute such situations partly to the media's failure to adequately mediate conflicting views especially with regard to causes and consequences. It is argued that as primary source of information in a democracy, news outlets – newspapers, radios and television and to some extent the emerging social media- which reach huge audiences on a daily basis before, during and after conflict affect society's impression of what news should receive attention and the perception of the information (Laplante, 2010). These sources of information, for instance, shaped public opinion before, during and after the post-election violence in Kenya. Given the number of studies undertaken with regard to the media's role in the escalation of conflict, study need to be done on relationship between the effect of media in conflict management and resolution after the post-election violence to fill the knowledge gap on how and what could have happened in bringing violence under control.

As in Rwanda where media gained some notoriety for helping in the commission of political violence (Batic & Schirch, 2007) the Kenyan situation tended to display a similar facet as indicated of Kass FM (Rambaud, 2008) from which the International Criminal Court has made allegations of incitement against one of the journalists in Rift Valley where violence was worst (Horowitz, 2008).

The critical role of the media in conflict situations can also be traced to the Balkan wars (Batic, 2008) in which the Serbian State-controlled media promoted a campaign against Kosovar Albanians; the Sri Lankan situation where the media's influential capability in public opinion is divided along linguistic lines (Laplante, 2010). The Majority Sinhalese, and minority Tamil took side in which Tamil written media concentrated on the effects of war on the population and

sometimes supported the rebels, the Sinhalese and English working language media supported the military (Laplante, 2010).

From the foregoing, there is indication that the media has a great deal of impact in either escalating or abating conflict as it carries out its role by influencing opposing sediments (Media's role of educating , informing and entertaining- how is it handled in conflict situations?). These important roles of education, information and entertainment should also be reflected in process of collecting information as to the cause of conflict and how it was eventually relayed to the consumers.

Media houses have channels of communication with the ability to facilitate debate on issues of conflict in opposing camps and the power to mediate. Institutions that can immediately use or fail to use these channels include the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission formed under the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Act ,2008 to investigate ,among other functions, gross human rights violations and violations of international human rights law and determining those responsible of the violations and abuses for prosecution and determining ways and means of redress for victims; the National Integration and Cohesion formed in 2008 to ensure violence does not recur by coming up with standards and ethics to guide national behavior; the Commission for the Implementation of Constitution formed in 2010 to guide the implementation of the new constitution, the National Land Commission to be established under article 67 of the new constitution and the police reform programmes among the many that are dealing with national healing as part of conflict resolution and management hinged on the new constitution and thus effective national transition (Horowitz, 2008).

1.4 Statement of the problem

The study investigated the relationship or lack of it between role of the media and conflict resolution and management. Plenty of research has been carried out on effects of the media on conflict since 1930s which gave rise to the all powerful effects theory of media also known as transmission model of Shannon Weaver of hypodermic syringe although it was not based on scientific research but on empirical (McQuail,1979) observation.

The relationship between the role of the media and conflict resolution and management is relatively a young research field (Mial et al, 2003) especially with regard to a post-election conflict situation. This study intended to fill the gap of knowledge occasioned by the concentration of studies in relative poor environment thus focusing on short-term investments in peace and ignoring media effects in mixed class environments, adjacent areas to the presumed epicenters of violence besides addressing the root causes of the problem as exploited by the protagonists (Muhula, 2008). The study shifted its attention to Mugumo Ini location focusing on probable peace initiatives addressing root causes of the conflict as supported or not supported by the media in which the new constitution was a critical focal point.

The study focused on the fact that information from the media is very critical during conflict periods and the media either consciously or sub-consciously set the agenda to influence what people thought about. The fact that the media can serve as an important channel of communication, means that it had the opportunity to mediate in long term conflict resolution and management especially during the transitional period of the Kenyan democracy by focusing on the nation's root causes of the conflict for debate and negotiation (Bratic & Schirch, 2006; Ostby, 2004).

1.5 Aim of the Study

The aim of the study was to establish the role of the media in conflict resolution and management among residents of Mugumoini location in Lang'ata constituency.

1.5.1 Research Objectives

The study:

- explored the connection between the conflict resolution and management and role of the media on Mugumoini residents.
- examined the root causes of the conflict to determine the media's capacity to facilitate debate and guide reform toward conflict transformation, prevention and thus management.
- investigated whether the causes of conflict as covered by the media are as perceived by the residents.
- sought to establish the nature of the media most accessed by the residents as part of the inquiry.

1.5.2 Research questions

This project sought to address the following research questions:

- Was the media paying sufficient attention to the (horizontal) root causes of the post-election violence?
- Was it sufficiently equipped with the political dynamics of the general area and location?

- Was the media facilitating debate on the necessary reforms that contribute to conflict resolution and management?
- Which media was most accessed by residents than can facilitate conflict resolution and management?

1.5.3 Hypotheses

The study proceeded on the following hypotheses, that:

The local media understood little on the root causes of post-election violence in Mugumoini location in Langata constituency and thus had no influence on conflict resolution and management.

The media had little knowledge on the political dynamics of the general area and thus little influence on conflict resolution.

The media dwelt on peripheral issues and thus failed to facilitate debate necessary for reforms and thus conflict resolution and management.

The residents of Mugumoini do not necessarily rely on mainstream media for conflict resolution and management.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The thesis set to find out the relationship between the role of the media and conflict resolution and management among the residents of Mugumoini location in Langata constituency.

Implication of the study was to assess the extent to which the media played a role or influenced in facilitating conflict resolution and management for the residents of Mugumoini location and

therefore Kenyans. The study will determine the media's missed opportunities and the likely establishment of conflict resolution institutions.

During the 2007 fourth multiparty general election the Kenyan media played a very central role (Rambaud, 2008). The media at the time dedicated most of its time and space on politics while most issues received peripheral attention as tension was building in its wake. Rambaud (2008) further observes that it was one the most competitive elections where politicians campaigned unhindered and the media had an expanded opportunity to exercise their freedom of the press and expression. This was an important facet that needed a closer look because of how the whole election set up turned out to haunt Kenyans.

The study was significant owing to the fact the 2007 post-election violence was unique in its magnitude and repercussions and therefore the study focused on the media's contribution and how effectively it facilitated peaceful debate and consolidation of democracy. An insight into how the media operated or did not at that opportune moment contributes to the knowledge on how such situations could be handled.

Most of Kenya's economic mainstays ranging from agriculture, tourism to trade were in shambles while peace was the most precious bonus for those affected during brief and yet devastating period as a result of revived ethnic tensions (Lafargue & Katumanga, 2008) as over 1,100 Kenyans lost their lives and over 600,000 displaced without wherewithal, shelter or food. The media's contribution to chaos generated a lot of concern in some areas.

Kenya's level of implementation of new constitution and putting in place of new institutions required some level of preparedness and the media has a unique opportunity to contribute to the

new set up as opposed to the traditional role of merely relaying information that would still stir negative ethno-politics (Mutere, 2006).

On this basis, the study was important by noting that although 2007-08 post-election violence had a lot of negative repercussions especially in terms of loss of lives, displacement and other damages, the country had the opportunity to build a much stronger foundation to rise from the ashes and the role of the press in this new direction needed to be filled knowledge-wise for enhanced social change. The population's impatience at what seems like undervaluing of their democratic freedom seemed to reflect the turmoil that had taken place in North Africa and Middle East where citizens demanded more freedom and good governance after long years under dictatorships. Shah (2011) attributed the North African and Middle East turmoil to a combination of the global financial crisis, rising costs of living, high unemployment especially of the educated youth, frustration from decades of living under authoritarian and corrupt regimes. These factors were taken into account during the study.

The study sought to find out whether that continued coverage of peripheral issues fail to facilitate in mediating pertinent issues of horizontal inequity and others factors and thus the media failed to unmask latent economic-driven causes of conflict which have tended to serve as triggers every election year. The project examined whether the actual causes of conflict went beyond ethnicity and that class did not serve as a sufficient cause of conflict and thus the media ought to have availed itself the opportunity to mediate and manage conflict seeing that in the poor neighbourhoods where the violence was heaviest class may only have been used as a trigger to vent off frustration.

Mugumoini location presented a unique and complex environment where both latent, as attested to by the wide socio-economic differences and the grouping of ethnic groups into clusters where they live close to one another for security, and explosive violence existed side by side only demonstrated during election periods. It also houses criminal gangs that wait for opportunities to loot (Lafargue, 2008). The location, on the outside, presents a serene post-election environment to an observer of conflict resolution and management where, while traversing through extreme poverty to the very wealthiest, it seems so natural and peaceful. This beguiling environment can only be obvious when one takes into account the fact that erstwhile political enemies now reside within Langata's posh Karen Estate despite their political dissent.

1.7 Scope of the study

The study covered content analysis of three months of the Sunday Nation as the most widely circulated weekend Newspaper in which most issues of the week were discussed and analyzed: one and half months for the period before the passage of the draft constitution and one and half months after. (Although these were the analysis periods, the research took note of the following segments: the period before the start of the official campaign (15th June to 12th July); the official campaign period (13th July to 3rd August); and, the period immediately before and after promulgation of the new constitution (4th August to 26th August (with promulgation on 27th) on to September 15th).The main reason was that the period segments marked the main transitional initiatives that directly related to the post-election violence and relevant to conflict resolution and management and findings from the media could apply to similar cases nationally.

Additionally, the research involved four practitioners purposively selected from within the location and interviewed on selected areas related to the study to offer details on media

influence/role on conflict in post-election healing process within the period. Selected musicals from musicians provided an insight into the types of messages passed to affected communities with regard to conflict. The music was selected from musicians belonging to the communities most affected by the post-election violence and thus extracted the critical messages related to the post-election violence as regards to conflict resolution or causes of conflict and passed directly to the audience. In this research music was treated as a medium. This was backed up by a purposive survey conducted by a self-administered questionnaire on forty-seven respondents on the main horizontal inequality issues affecting the residents.

1.7.1 Limitations and Delimitations

The most strenuous limitation was the limited time within which to carry out the research. This in turn limited the amount information analyzed within the period. This was overcome by working extra hours.

Being a conflict and security related study some respondents could not be forthright with information, however deliberate targeting of respondents with reliable information was undertaken especially from senior retirees with no additional baggage such as sanctions against expressing certain views.

1.8 Theoretical framework

The media has been closely linked with conflict since the 2nd World War when it was negatively used by Hitler in propaganda to unite the Germans behind the Nazi party (Laswell, 1955). The Payne Fund studies of 1930s which focused on the effect of movies on children and the fast rising and popularization of the radio and television contributed to the perception of strong media

effects (DeFleur & Lowery, 1995). However later studies by Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet, 1944/1968, 'The People's Choice' showed that majority of the people were disinterested in propaganda and thus Bullet Theory was not effective and that interpersonal relays were more influential than media. Despite that the media has also been a major contributor to many post-war conflicts in Eastern Europe, the Balkans and Africa (Price and Thompson, 2002). It is in this respect that the media's influence will be assessed in relation to the Kenyan case. Vladimir Bratic (2006) explains that theories on media effects help in understanding how best audience learn from the media, explain a variety of conditions under which media are more or less effective and how the impact may be different during armed conflict.

The study used the human needs theory in conflict resolution in combination with the gate keeping function, and agenda setting theory.

The human needs theoretical assumption revolves around the fact that most human conflicts have their root cause in the failure to meet the basic human needs and thus in resolving conflict those needs have to be satisfied including the attendant fears (Mills, 2003).

The theory recognizes that there are negotiable and nonnegotiable human needs which cannot be bargained, traded off or even suppressed (Mills, 2003). As will be seen in the Kenyan situation, this model applied as it took into account the interest-based or consensus-based form of negotiation which sees conflict as a win-win situation more certainly applicable to the multiethnic society which might have informed the negotiators after the post-election violence rather than the zero-sum power construct in which, as in the Kenya's imperial presidency, the winner takes it all (Kniss, 2010:9). The theory's application to the study laid the very foundation required in dealing with historical discontentment as its approach is multifaceted, problem-

solving and thus favours the analysis of the sources of conflict. Burton (1986) in his advocacy of the prevention approach used the long-term approach to conflict resolution. By prevention he meant:

...the means of deducing from an adequate explanation of the

Phenomenon of conflict, including its human dimensions, not

merely the conditions that create an environment of conflict, and the structural changes required to remove it, but more importantly, promotion of conditions that create cooperative relationships.

The scholars Paul Sites and John Burton (1986) have identified the following needs to back up the generic theory:

- safety/security;
- belongingness/love;
- self-esteem;
- personal fulfillment;
- identity;
- cultural security;
- freedom;
- distributive justice; and,

- participation in civil society.

Against this background the media's gatekeeper's function is important in understanding which issues find their way to the public platform. Editors and media determine what enters the gate of media as a primary function as both private profit and public interest compete equally for the available space (Cooper and Nothstine, 1996). Crouse has further argued that the gatekeeping – the process through which certain information passes through a series of checkpoints before being accepted as news material- filters out many unique stories noting that the economic imperative to remain competitive along with public service has encouraged many in the trade to engage in what he terms as pack journalism, covering what others have. This boils down to identifying who (the initiators of messages of peace or otherwise) conveys what message to whom (affected community, audience), through what channels of communication (media) and with what effect (the resolve for peace).

On the other hand the media's agenda setting theory was jointly applied with the human needs theory to demonstrate that the media had the ability to address the needs of the Kenyan people and unravel the root cause of conflict to help not only in setting the relevant agenda for conflict resolution but also provide the basis to facilitate negotiation, mediation and give appropriate prominence to the people's needs (agenda). As Rambaud (2008) found out that the media in Kenya, as gatekeepers of information, published various surveys which substantially determined what the public embraced. Thus the relevance of this theory for this study as it shows that the media played an important role in selecting and using materials for news using its gate-keeping capabilities.

According to the theorists McCombs and Shaw (1972) the agenda setting function causes the correlation between media and public ordering of priorities, but the correlation does not prove causation. Agenda setting theory more focuses on political campaigns, a situation associated closely with the Kenyan post-election violence as illustrated from Charlotte studies (DeFleur and Lowery, 1995: 270). However Joseph Klapper (1960) has contended that media communication is not a necessary or sufficient cause for behavioral change but can contribute to behavioural change and reinforce existing behavior. Klapper thus seems to support Berelson's (1971) assertion that:

Some kinds of communication on some kinds of issues, brought to the attention of some kinds of people under some kinds of conditions, have some kinds of effect.

According to McCombs and Shaw, the media may not tell people what to think but they do certainly tell people what to think about in such a way that it is considered that the presence or absence of the press influences how the public's agenda is set and the value placed on an issue.

Cooper and Nothstine (1996) have argued that whether media coverage depicts a problem accurately or not it provokes attention and that, therefore agenda function of the media is critical to the relationship of media to other institutions in the larger social system.

In a complementary theory to agenda setting Ball-Rokeach and DeFleur (1976) have argued that audiences depend on media for information to meet their needs and reach goals and that media and social institutions interact with audiences to produce needs, motive and interests in a person. Thus audiences depend on media for education, monitoring of government, social cohesion,

social stability and reliance on media increases with conflict or social instability. This theory's interrelationship with agenda setting effectively underlies its invaluable relevance in this study.

McCombs explains the audience in a conflict situation is generally afraid, uncertain and need information for surveillance especially on security, threats and supplies (Bratic, 2006) in which the media plays a central role. As the need for orientation increases so the greater the power of the media to influence, implying that in times of conflict, the multiplicity of uncertainties in the environment increases the need for information (as was the case in the ability even for rumours to cause havoc in Kenya during the crisis) and thus making the audience vulnerable to media influence (Bratic, 2006). According to Bratic (2008), peace-oriented media in conflict environment has been identified with the following positive applications:

- A recent history or presence of armed conflict/ violence in the region – to distinguish between media in conflict areas and media projects working toward the democratization of states in transition;
- In the post-war period where the new media has been in the last 20 years is technologically equipped to respond immediately to conflict as opposed to the normal media whose equipment is prohibitively expensive; and
- Involvement of a third party to distinguish peace-oriented media from sophisticated propaganda.

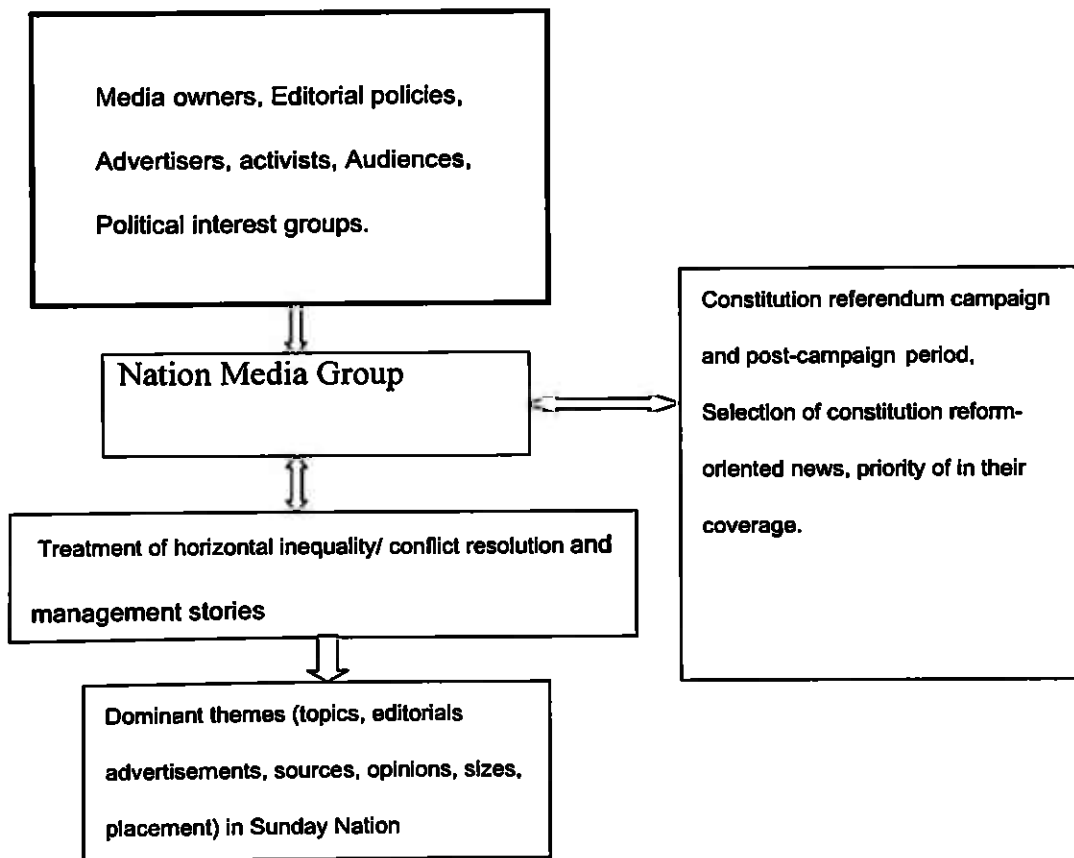
The media in Kenya largely influenced what the public thought about before the campaigns through publication of opinion poll surveys and during the polling period in their announcement

of results even before they were confirmed increasing uncertainty and heightening media influence (Rambaud, 2008).

1.9 Conceptual Framework

Media operations in Kenya have been for a long time shaped by the government which dominated the electronic media and the private sector which controlled the print media (Mbeke, 2010). In the advent of multiparty when democracy began taking shape in Kenya and the airwaves began a gradual liberalization process especially from 2003 onwards a few media houses dominated the industry with several politically-oriented fm stations cropping up. This period was also marked by globalization with information technology beginning to play an important role in dissemination of information. With a high competition and the need to stay afloat many media houses fought for every opportunity to impress but more often with media houses employing semi-skilled professionals who investigated little and exhibited more pro-profit and other biased tendencies than public good. Mbeke (2010) has explained that the media thrived from 2003 largely from advertising on radio, TV, newspapers when sponsors spent Sh6.6 billion during the period, 2004 Sh8.4 billion, growing to Sh17.4 billion in 2007 (Daily Nation, Wednesday March 19, 2008).

Conceptual framework



With pressure from various interest groups and faced with the current transitional issues in the form of a referendum the Nation Media Group has to select the type of news and treatment it offers in order to result into products for conflict resolution and management.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

Literature review is understood as an account of what has been published on a topic by accredited scholars and researchers (Kombo & Tromp, 2006). It encompasses a critical scrutiny of the existing works that is important to the project the researcher will be carrying out. This is the literature the researcher consults in order to understand and investigate a research problem [Kombo and Tromp 2010:62]. In this study the literature review will cover four main components: media, election violence, conflict resolution and management,

2.1 Media

It is pointed out by researchers (Miall, Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, 2003/1999) that the most intoxicating periods for mass media after the 1st and 2nd World Wars was the 1990s soon after the breakup of the Soviet Union. Thus the harsh ethnic conflicts of the 1990s which disturbed the glow of a post-cold war peace were seen by observers to have a new and dangerous tendency: the increased use of the media – and especially the electronic media – to encourage and sustain genocidal tendencies (Bratic, 2006). Crudity and skill combined to produce propaganda extraordinary in terms of the nature and endurance of resulting conflict, and the brutality of elements of force. But this broadcasting-based genesis also had a significant impact on the texture and challenges of post-conflict environment,” (Price, 2000: 1).

As Gilboa (2010) has pointed out media may convey useful information to citizens who could be motivated to act against their own interest and the interest of their community. This is especially

the case when such information becomes dysfunctional. A report on a financial distress, he says, for instance, of a bank while positive by warning account holders of a threat to their investment could be dysfunctional when it triggers all customers to liquidate their assets and thus drive a bank to bankruptcy. Such reactions could easily obtain in conflict situations. Benard Roshco in *Newsmaking* (1975, pp.113) has remarked that most of the snap judgements that result in publication or rejection of specific news stories are based upon the social frame of reference derived from the social structure within which the press operates.

Lisa Laplante(2010) quotes Benjamin Page (1986), that the crucial role of the media in mediation of difficult conflicts arises because in modern societies public deliberations are largely mediated, with professional communicators through mass media of communications. And thus suggests that journalists are responsible for not only reporting information, but also processing it, as opposed to leaving it in crude form- they do not necessarily have free reign to say or report anything they choose. Benjamin Page (1996) has argued that the media's need to interpret the facts and events must not be underestimated because it is essential for democracy as it ensures that the public's policy preferences are informed, enlightened, and authentic as a basis for democratic decisions.

According to Absalom Mutere (2006, p3) the media has been acting as a catalyst in many intra- and interstate conflicts that have afflicted Africa. In a three-day workshop under the aegis of African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD), a program was designed that trained journalists from Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia and Sudan in coverage of conflict transformation issues. The project also developed a regional training manual designed to socialize journalists and media practitioners in principles of conflict resolution journalism. Mutere contends that the pre-testing results revealed that journalists on their own could not attain

the ideals for a regional media conflict transformation strategy. What are needed are networks of information resources working in a structured manner with media outlets, the gatekeepers and agenda setters, and training institutions.

The network should ensure gate keepers facilitate an agenda-setting action to socialize the region politically in a way that effectively resolves or transforms conflicts. The ultimate goal was of the project was to create a team of journalists who could address issues in a manner that pre-empted conflicts in Africa while promoting peace through the media.

He noted that, after the workshop, where the key issues were: -conflicts and corruption as they were seen and covered, the development of analytical frameworks for understanding and addressing conflict issues, ethical considerations that apply when covering conflict in print and broadcast media, that the elements working against the initiatives included difficult political environments prevailing within the region, working conditions in many media establishments and lack of access to information.

However, during the workshop it emerged that Kenya due to change of regime and political realities almost so suddenly that it opens space for professionalism suggested that when such freedom comes, the biggest problems would be those of ethics and professionalism. It was suggested that freedom without responsibility now constitutes the biggest threat to journalism in Kenya. This apparently was the reason the Media Council of Kenya (MCK) was set up to develop code of ethics and professional conduct, receive complaints from the public regarding coverage, and complement training institutions in development of competent and ethically grounded journalists. This study has attempted to establish whether the local press tended to

ignore its calling in favour of commercial interests or those interests favoured by the media owners.

In evaluating causes of election-related violence the UNDP has given media analytical indicators in this regard as including:

- Bias of and accessibility of state media;
- absence of broadcast legislation;
- unregulated proliferation of personality-driven and candidate-sponsored radio and TV stations that generate hate speech and incitement to violence; and
- lack of code of conduct allowing for undisciplined conflict-generating programmes and talk shows.

However, in the aforesaid workshop participants noted that reports about conflict in Africa must educate without making the situation worse and that if information from a conflict situation is blurted out to the public without appropriate review of the situation, the welfare of society is made hostage to the media irresponsibility and thus sharing the earlier view of Page (1996) on the need to process information. This is backed by the fact that hardly did the Kenyan journalists report events in an object detached manner during the disputed election period, 2007, and that in a social crisis reports change the social scene and thus create attitude material to the event.

Consequently, it is pointed out that media plays a critical role in setting the tone for the election process and should be used as constructive force working toward a peaceful elections process.

An inflammatory or uninformed media can be a spark to conflict and several steps can be taken to ensure media acts responsibly:

- train media on electoral procedure and regulations so that journalists can report on elections accurately ;
- codes of conduct for journalists for responsible media action;
- media monitoring to ensure appropriate measures of media accountability are in place(Sharma and Rakesh, 2006).

However the Kenyan main media houses, hit by the gravity of post-election violence made frantic effort to promote responsible reporting (Rambaud, 2008).

The media had given politics enormous attention during the electioneering period. Media is said to have taken advantage the elections to advance real media freedom they enjoyed during five years of the Kibaki presidency which was characterized by democratic space as demand for coverage of the activities of the three main contenders soared.

In a survey Rambaud (2008) found out that during this period there was emergence of private radio and television, increased freedom of the press, economic boom that enhanced press activities including liberalization of the airwaves and reduced monopoly of the state broadcaster. More information was readily available to the rural and urban folks in languages of their choice from vernacular, English and Kiswahili which added a new dimension to the 2007 general elections.

But of fundamental importance is that during this period the media integrated into politics where electoral campaigns largely dominated the media and the internet, while journalists contested the polls, there was largely election-oriented media content and political debate took centre stage in

the press and electronic media provided excellent coverage. This implies a possible loss of neutrality by the media as well as ceased being proactive.

2.2 Election Violence

Sharma and Rakesh (2010) explain that elections are intensely competitive events where partisan political groups contest to determine access to power, resources, and future direction of a political entity. Donald Horowitz (2001) has argued that elections do not 'cause' violence but rather that the root cause lies in deep-rooted economic, social or political issues in dispute and allocation of power among various social forces the electoral process affects. He has observed that destructive electoral violence is not accidental or spontaneous; it is purposeful or instrumental and thus organized and mobilized as it requires leadership, organization and resources.

The International Foundation of Election Systems' (IFES) Electoral Violence Education and Resolution (EVER) programme defines election violence as 'any harm or threat to any person or property involved in the election process, or to the election process itself, during the election period'. This includes non-physical harm aspects such as, intimidation and verbal threats and covers tampering with voter registration, violence against person and destruction of campaign posters. Under the guidelines of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 2009) Election violence is described as a sub-type of political violence in which actors employ coercion in an instrumental manner to advance their interest or achieve specific political ends.

UNDP has cited five analytical indicators of causes of election-related violence. These include:

- a pervasive culture of ethnic rivalries;
- personality-driven political parties;

- corruption and fragile judicial system;
- perception of unresolved historical injustices; and
- international dynamics

Fischer (2002) sees an electoral process as an alternative to violence because of being a means of achieving governance and as such when conflict or violence occurs it is the breakdown of an electoral process. According to UNDP guidelines *Election and conflict prevention* the electoral process offers a means to channel social conflict into respectful and constructive debate and common rules. It can contribute to peace or on the contrary become a catalyst of conflict. As a constructive agent for conflict prevention it generates legitimacy for leadership when credible; reflects the will of the people; allows people to choose representatives and thus determine their nature similarities or difference, either geographical, religious or otherwise; helps set the agenda by determining issues of priority; and provides opportunity for the people to learn and speak with an equal voice during the polling day.

Sharma and Rakesh (2010) have argued that the election period can generate heated rhetoric and mobilize party supporters with an intensity that can lead to violence during election process.

Election violence in this case is used by perpetrators to influence the electoral process. They note that election violence is common with evolving democracies. Using the UNDP published guide on *Elections and Conflict Prevention* (2009) they identify four types of countries fitting in these categories of democracies:

- Countries in transition moving from authoritarian or single party-rule to multi-party politics;
- Consolidating democracies which have a history with democracy but which are still susceptible to shocks that test the resiliency of the political system;

- Post-war societies in which elections are seen as one of the first steps establishing a peace but in which significant fractures in society still remain;
- Situations in which referendums are required to ratify peace agreements or to establish sovereign status of a political entity.

Election violence can have a serious impact on the consolidation of democracy and on the stability of political institutions as illustrated by Kenya besides other emerging democracies (UNDP, 2009). Sharma and Rakesh (2010) identify several factors as serving as causes for election violence. These include:

- Actors competing in an election contest take positions that accentuate differences between opposing parties and their supporters.
- Political party usage of highly-charged messaging to denigrate those opposed to their position.
- Differences accentuated along ethnic lines/status, regional, racial and other social economic differences.
- Lack of robust electoral management bodies that elicit confidence among the citizenry in transitional democracies.
- Access to state resources where winners benefit immensely or lack of accountable governance and financial oversight.
- Lack of socialization in competitive politics. Both political parties and ordinary citizens in transitional democracies have little experience with the conduct of competitive elections, and the acceptance of defeat as a vital condition of this

process. Peaceful transfer of power from governing party to an opposition party through competitive politics is a critical factor for the consolidation of democracy.

- Underdeveloped rule of law mechanism where legal/ judicial institutions are not trusted to resolve disputes, lack capacity to penalize illegalities, and political actors do not have negative sanctions to guide behavior.

Fischer (2002) has isolated five intervals at which conflict and violence can occur:

- Identity conflict which takes place during the registration process.
- Campaign conflict in which there is disruption of the opponents' campaigns.
- Balloting conflict which occurs on voting day.
- Results conflict involving disputes over results.
- Representation conflict in which elections are organized as 'Zero sum' events with 'losers' left out of governance.

Ashish Chaturvedi (2005) has argued that the higher the number of undecided voters, the less likely the use of violence as a tool. Where political parties are divided along ethnic, regional, etc lines the likelihood of violence goes up because there are fewer undecided voters and violence normally perpetrated by weaker parties to overcome advantage welded by the incumbency (Collier & Vicente , 2007).

UNDP (2009) has advised that the root causes of election violence are non-electoral and should be taken into account and how they impact violence during elections and thus a mainstream approach that includes both conflict resolution and security concerns should be adopted. In its guidelines the UNDP has cited Kenya's case as having the root-causes of post-election violence

fuelled by deep-rooted and long held ethnic divisions, socio-economic disparities, poverty and endemic corruption.

Another researcher, Michele Osborn (2008), has pointed out that Kenya's post-election crisis was fuelled partly by seemingly innocuous but insidious power of rumours.

Rumour fostering suspicions and mistrust were widely disseminated, and in the aftermath of the contested poll, rumour frequently gave credence to claims advanced by specific political agenda. Use of mobile phone short text messages (sms) in circulation of rumours gave them instantaneous spread contributing to anxiety, sometimes leading to panic, and, on occasion, motivating people to action. This is an indication of how information technology complemented the mainstream media in information dissemination.

Anderson (2002) has outlined in *The Royal African Society Journal* in the article "The "New Vigilantes of Nairobi" exploit Urban insecurity for materialistic gain" that

...heightening urban violence is seen to be criminal and political in character, and it is argued that it is likely that vigilante groups will again be used as political instruments in the electoral struggle for the city(p.1).

In the same breath, the police were similarly applied, developed by the previous regimes for survival the police force was used in this regard acquiring, in the process, an oppressive *modus operandi* that has characterized its operations to this day (Gimode, 2002).

The oppressive states are sponsoring violent "irregulars" to carry out repressive activities- what can be called privatized state violence. The external donor pressure had interactive and mediating effect on domestic politics in African states in early 1990s. By itself pressure did not lead to

democratization or privatized state violence. Instead, when political conditionalities converged and interacted with domestic political threats [e.g. massive opposition protests and rebel insurgencies], it caused some governments, particularly those that had previously politicized ethnicity and mobilized groups along ethnic lines, to privatize coercive strategies. Incumbents being rational actors whose sole goal is to stay in power, their preferences and behavior are shaped and constrained by international and domestic structures. Analysis of incumbents' policies in Kenya, Rwanda, and Malawi shows that democratization and external pressure altered state coercive strategies, leading the incumbents intentionally to compromise their monopoly to violence as a means of neutralizing the opposition threat (Roessler, 2005). The study will attempt to show that the use of the police force were as unprepared for democratic change as they could be in defending such change. This unpreparedness can be traced to the history of the force that the press may not have unearthed to assist the reforms foreshadowed and besides, the media may have been more pre-occupied its own expanded space of freedom of expression.

It is also argued that the violence mated out in the general area could be traced to the contestants for the presidency. In Kibera Smeldt (2009) found out that while the area's 'big man' Raila Odinga, at times, appeared to have strong hold over his constituents at the grassroots, the patrimonialism and big man politics could not provide a full explanation of the post-election violence. Instead local socio-economic factors played a key role and lent the conflict its own dynamics.

2.3 Conflict management

The 1970s is the decade that conflict management came to the forefront as a major interest of both practicing managers and academic researchers.

Gilboa (2009) has described conflict management as the limiting and halting of violence to relatively tolerable levels. He sees this phase as applying to conflict escalation phase and ends in formal or informal ceasefire or armistice.

However some scholars argue that organizations require functional conflict if they are to survive; there will be situations in which conflict levels are too low; and as a result, we should not ignore the other side of the conflict management coin- conflict stimulation! But could the Kenyan situation having often been so dangerously stimulated during election periods?

2.4 Conflict Resolution

Conflict resolution is defined as an indigenous capacity of a society to manage conflict without violence as a means to achieve human security (Howard, 2003). Conflict resolution, as a defined specialist, is said to have come of age and with it have emerged fundamental new changes (Miall et al, 2003/1999). Having been started in 1950s and 1960s, at the height of the cold war, it gathered momentum when the development of nuclear weapons and the conflict between the superpowers seemed to threaten human survival.

According to Louis Kriesberg (2004) conflict resolution is oriented towards conducting conflicts constructively where violence is minimized and antagonism between adversaries if minimized, outcomes are mutually acceptable to opponents, and settlements are enduring. This process involves long-term and short-term tactics and actions by adversaries and mediators.

Johan Galtung (1990) drew a distinction between negative and positive peace and classified conflict resolution as negative peace implying absence of violence as opposed to reconciliation which he classifies as positive peace in which new relations are developed and thus stable peace where the possibility of conflict is minimal. In conflict resolution leaders try to negotiate an agreement to end violence without which violence may resume or a stalemate is created. Both negotiation and mediation are used. Force may also be used, as in conflict management to impose a solution, or to affect negotiation (Gilboa, 2009).

The development of conflict resolution as an area of study started with different groups undertaking to study international crisis, internal wars, social conflicts and approaches ranging from negotiations to mediation to experimental games. Miall et al,(2003) has noted that by 1980s, conflict resolution ideas were increasingly making a difference in real conflict situations such as South Africa's apartheid situation, the middle East peace process which gained from problem-solving workshops, North Ireland where community relations initiatives reaching across community divides and became the responsibility of local government.

In war-torn regions of Africa, South East Asia development workers and humanitarian agencies saw the need to take into account conflict and conflict resolution as an integral part of their activities.

It is important to note that by the closing of 1980s as the cold war came to end the climate of conflict resolution was changing from one dominated by the international conflicts and international systems to internal conflicts, ethnic conflicts, struggles over secession and power struggles within countries. In Africa the new wars saw the recruitment of mercenaries, and

underpaid militias who terrorized civilians with machetes and guns in a manner reminiscent of ancient times.

Hugh Mial et al (2003) have argued that societies are faced with stresses from population growth, structural changes in the world economy, migration into cities, environmental degradation and rapid social change and thus societies with institutions, rules or norms for managing conflict and well-established traditions of governance are better able to accommodate peacefully to change while those with weaker governance, fragile social bonds and little consensus on values or traditions buckle. The remedy with this lies with the strengthening of conflict resolution within society and political institutions, especially preventatively, as a vital part of the response to warlordism and ethno-nationalism. They recognize conflict resolution as an integral part of work towards development, social justice, and social transformation to tackle problems symbolized by child soldiers, militias and mercenaries. Broadly, conflict resolution is seen to include mediation between parties, efforts to address the wider context in which international actors, domestic constituencies and intra-party relationships sustain violent conflict.

Scholars such as Kriesberg (1996) see conflict as intrinsic and integral part of social change, an expression of heterogeneity of interests, values and beliefs that arise as new formations generated by social change come up against inherited constraints. On the other hand, Kriesberg (2004) has differentiated between constructive and destructive conflict. He has observed that conflict arises when two or more persons or groups manifest the belief that they have incompatible objectives. He has argued that constructive conflict is waged using persuasion or promise of benefits and characterized by problem-solving while destructive conflict is imposed unilaterally, with little regard to the interests and needs of the party imposed upon.

Miall et al(2003/1999) observe that the manner of dealing with conflict is a matter of habit and choice adding that it is possible to change from the habitual to intelligent choice .

In Kenya the root causes of post-election violence were found to be linked to broader socio-political situation. The violence was fuelled by deep-rooted and long held ethnic divisions, socio-economic disparities, poverty and endemic corruption (UNDP,2009). As Annan observed in 1997:

Simple inequalities do not cause conflict. What is highly explosive is horizontal inequality: when power resources are unequally distributed between groups that are unequally differentiated in other ways- for instance by race, religion and language. So called 'ethnic' conflict occur between groups which are distinct in one or more of these ways when one feels is being discriminated against; or another enjoys privileges which it fears to lose.

In order to try and resolve the Kenya post-election violence grievances the two rival political parties to the National Accord re-affirmed in a statement (23 May,2008) to address long-term issues around the constitution, institutional, and legal reforms; land reform; poverty and regional imbalance; unemployment, particularly among the youth; consolidation of national cohesion and unity; and transparency, accountability and impunity. This study will attempt to establish whether the media perceived this linkage in its coverage of the referendum 2010.

Chapter 3

Research Design and Methodology

3.0 Introduction

In order to fully understand the influence of the media in a complex community such the one residing in Mugumoini location it was necessary to use a design that holistically brought out complex issues that are perhaps not easily manifest using other methods when the issues are unknown.

3.1 Research Design

The study used case study design which employed a number of the methodologies given below. A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within real life situation, when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not readily evident, and in which multiple sources of evidence are used (Yin 1984). The method is useful the study because of the complexity of the subject matter, the study site and its nature.

3.2 Methodology

The study was undertaken using qualitative method, which describes attributes or properties that an object possesses. These properties are categorized into classes that might be assigned numerical values but of no significance to data value themselves but merely represent attributes of the object concerned (Economic Commission for Europe of United Nations (UNECE, 2000). Aspects of quantitative method, which is data expressing quantity, amount or range (UNECE, 2000), was used especially as arose from the samples that suggested a shift in social values between groups of people in the case study involving primary content analysis, survey, and

semi-structured interviews of practitioners which consisted of both open and closed-ended questions.

Content analysis, defined as a research technique for objective, systematic and quantitative description of manifest content of communication according to Benard Berelson (1971/1952) was applied. It is a research tool focused on the actual content and internal features of media and has two general categories of analysis: conceptual and relational.

The choice of this method was for purposes of detecting the existence of themes or issues related to horizontal inequalities; to identify the media focus or trend from the time of post-election violence to referendum and promulgation of the new constitution (as an instrument of reform and democratic transition) and behavioral responses of the residents of Mugumoini location.

The primary purpose of content analysis was to seek evidence that will back the result from the field interviews on the perception of the residents as to the root causes of conflict each election period. This allowed for both qualitative and quantitative techniques. The advantage of the interviews were that whereas an outsider might consider a particular factor as a cause of conflict some causes might not lead to explosive conflict in an election period among resident of a particular site.

3.3 Location of the Study

The site of the study was Mugumoini location within the larger Langata constituency which was affected by the post-election in close proximity to Kibera slums. Langata constituency itself lies to south west of the city centre and has a housing development formally referred to as estates while the informal ones are commonly known as villages (vijiji) or shanties. Mugomoini

location which is the biggest in the constituency lies to the immediate tip of the south west of the city centre between Nairobi West to the south east and Kibera to the northwest. Its boundary begins at the Nyayo National Stadium where normally the tallying of constituency votes takes place.

The location has unique features including housing most sites of interest such as the Uhuru (freedom) gardens, the Bomas of Kenya tourist village which also hosted a number of fora on the new constitution; the Carnivore restaurant; the largest private airport in Kenya, Wilson Airport; and has the entrance to the Nairobi National Park.

The location's occupies an area of 126.4 square kilometres with a total population of 47, 037 and a population density of 372 persons per square kilometre according the 2009 population and housing census. It has an average rainfall ranging from 700 to 1,100mm which is the general average and Langata's sub-tropical climate. It is chilly in the months of June-July when temperature drop to 10 degrees Celsius, sunniest and warmest in December to March with temperatures of 24 degrees Celsius. With its two rainy seasons having minimal distinction. They are classified as wet and dry seasons as Nairobi is situated near the equator.

Further some of the internally displaced persons were housed at Jamuhuri Showground within the fringes of the location.

3.4 Target population

The population is complex, multiethnic, multiracial and multi-religious in composition. It includes most of the major tribes in the country, but with majority being Luos, Kikuyu, Luyha, Kisii and Kamba. There are traces of Caucasian and Africans from other nations. This

multiplicity is sometimes reflected in the interaction among residents. It has a female population of 24,715 against a male population of 22,322 out which the number of voters are 13, 426 which is 11 percent of the constituency vote but when combined with Karen /Langata as previously before the recent split the total percentage rises to 22% (Electoral Commission of Kenya, 2007).

It is important to note that most of the residents are in-migrants from rural areas either employed or seeking employment. The study especially focused on residents who live in the informal settlements and those around the most hit by the post-election violence who exhibit the most extreme elements of horizontal inequalities; also targeted were the youth who were said have mostly participated in the flare-ups. The location has an abundance of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled manpower. Most of the casual labourers serving the estates in the location come from the informal settlements. A large number of the residents living in the estates are professionals and investors from other countries and senior politicians. This level of interaction among the residents was an important characteristic for the study. However the high level of exposure at one level and institutions of security makes an important feature for the location in terms of how issues of conflict were handled. At the same time there was a portion of the population under the government's decantation programme for slum upgrading intended to address some of the perceived inequalities who provided some insight into their opinion of such undertakings taking into account the feature at which landlords were evicted from their residences.

3.5 Sample Selection

The selection of the sample was non-probabilistic and targeted a sample of forty-seven residents within the estates and the informal settlements. Deliberate effort was made to reach respondents at the epicenter of election violence 2007/2008 near Kibera. This was because they were most

familiar with issues related to the causes of conflict. The study also enlisted specific interviews with resident practitioners familiar with economic issues with UN background, a media activities, security and politics to extract vital analytic information at their disposal about the area. The 47 respondents helped in gauging their perception of the causes of conflict and the perception on the various reform initiatives undertaken around the new constitution with regard to addressing the anomalies and their perception about the role of the media and their media preferences. This helped to shade light on attitudinal differences among social classes.

Content analysis covered the Sunday Nation for three months: one and half months before the constitutional referendum (campaign period) and one and half after the promulgation. The Sunday Nation was chosen for its wide circulation; Sunday is a day dedicated by the Media Group to analyzing events of the previous week, including comments and opinions from stakeholders. The period before the referendum provided the picture on the expectation of the leaders, stakeholders, the press (through editorial) and the people of Kenya on the constitutional reforms; and, subsequently assessed whether the agenda was changed or retained after passage and promulgation. Content analysis was seen as versatile, inexpensive and unobtrusive and did not necessarily need the involvement of an assistant.

Content analysis of music focused on those songs sung immediately after post-election violence by those communities presumed to have been most affected or were at the centre of the violence. The communities included the Kikuyu, Luo, Kisii, Kalenjin and Kamba. The songs selected were those directly sang about the crisis. Being close to the people's hearts the musicians were passing very intimate conflict themes that affected their people and sometimes the means to resolve them. A composition from each community was chosen according to how readily available it was. Where the song had been translated into Kiswahili or English the latter versions were

preferred due to their presumed wider reach. Music content analysis though inexpensive, with its entertaining qualities and social setting giving it a timeless focus on relevant issues affecting society, though intimate metaphors used to convey key messages required competent translators. The analysis was carried out to determine the presence of conflict issues and the closeness to results from the survey.

3.6 Research Instruments

A self-administered questionnaire was used for the purposively selected respondents to gauge their perception on the likely root causes of the conflict, the role of the media, issues affecting the residents intimately and accessibility to the media.

The questionnaire for content analysis addressed whether the issues highlighted reflected the residents' perception addressed causes of conflict as intended to be resolved through the passage or implementation of the new constitution. The study measured the number of times an issue affecting horizontal inequalities and thus conflict appeared in the front page, editorial, opinion pages and reference to key periods such as 2007 as well as direct reference to the role of the media as seen through the period.

3.7 Pre-testing of instruments

The pre-testing of the questionnaire was done on five respondents including three selected to administer the questionnaire and relevant corrections were made as to clarity and objective to improve reliability. In content analysis two independent decoders were used to improve reliability as well as in the translation of musicals.

3.8 Data Collection Techniques

Data collection involved seeking permission for the study, identifying participants, initiating correspondence and assuring respondents of confidentiality along ethical lines before conducting the interviews and administering the questionnaire to the respondents. The research assistant who was to distribute the questionnaire for self-administration was briefed on project expectations. For content analysis it involve collection of relevant newspapers (documents), music records, development of a data storage system for data bearing in mind that data was multiple and there was need to maintain a chain of evidence for checking reliability and collaboration.

3.9 Data analysis

This involved qualitative analysis in which displays of frequency of issues or events for analysis through tabulation in the attached appendices, ordering of information to established a pattern such as involved social classes, a time-series where the period before the referendum and the period after showed the shifts in agenda and offered an explanation as the success of democratic stability or fluidity. The manual coding operations in the appendix was used to establish units of analysis. The quantitative analyses involving the survey were reduced to percentages in determining various perceptions and leanings of the study population.

The complementary nature of the methods used helped in ensuring the reliability of the results from the data analysis and therefore the final results.

CHAPTER FOUR

Findings and discussion

4.0 Introduction

The research findings from various methods are discussed together in order to draw some parallel or differences. This was meant to facilitate on the bearing of the conclusion that was eventually drawn.

4.1 Findings and discussion

During the survey a large majority who answered the questionnaire was between the ages of 28-36 (43%) and 18-27(32%) and at the same time a total of 66% said they were either self-employed or unemployed. Only 26 % indicated they were formally employed. Related to this a massive 66 % cited a combination of poverty, tribalism , poor governance, corruption, discrimination and unemployment as causes of conflict with 15% further singling out tribalism as a major contributor to conflict. However, it is 47% respondents who regarded violence as inevitable if the above conditions continued to exist. This was against 23% who said violence would cease if those conditions were removed. At the same time high rate of 85% respondents said that conflict or violence will cease if the new constitution was properly implemented.

On the other hand, the economic practitioner cited casual employment as trigger for violence, lack of relating economic growth to elimination of marginalization, meeting basic needs, such for identity in an urban setting and crime serving as response to inequality. On the political front, the political analyst identified political violence as an excuse for revenge over land, withholding

of development to use the people as voting machines, poverty, ethnic divisions, corruption and encouragement of informal settlements.

The singers saw poor and greedy leadership, lack of democracy, corruption, discrimination and ethnic hatred as causes of conflict.

Proceeding to content analysis of the Sunday Nation it showed that during the period between June 15th and July 15th issues of economic welfare, employment, and governance received front page coverage once each while security related issues appeared twice. While elimination of corruption was highlighted once in other pages of the news articles, once in a feature advertisement and twice in opinions supportive of passing the Draft constitution as way to tame corruption and one in a feature advertisement constituting 4% of coverage during the four Sundays. This was out of 78 articles examined during the period. Economic welfare had 9% of the coverage, 4% for employment creation, governance, access to resources and elimination of negative ethnicity. This therefore answers the question that the media paid sufficient attention to the horizontal inequalities as root causes of post-election violence during the period prior to the official referendum campaign however it is during the official campaign period that articles related the issues to 2007 post-election violence and therefore directly to conflict.

During the period (16th July to 15th August) issues of economic welfare received 10% mentions with once in front page, employment 2%, Corruption 7%, elimination of negative ethnicity 6%, governance 9% and access to resources 5%. This was out of 121 articles examined for the period and which was the most extensive in period in coverage and thus any issue discussed more than once had more than average coverage. Bearing in mind the limitedness of space it was impressive coverage with noteworthy advertisement features contributing significantly. These Sundays prior to the referendum, which was scheduled for 4th August, had the highest number of

advertisements in support of the Draft constitution from the civil society and other stakeholders indicating that other than the media pressure from these groups was also driving the agenda..

On the question of media accessibility the research examined the responses from the questionnaire on various aspects and ratings. 51 percent of the respondents said they used television for political news as opposed to 28% for radio and 17 % who used newspapers and a lowly 2% used mobile phones. This corresponds to the response from the security analyst who said that mass media was still a strong political tool during the period while the mobile phone remained largely a domestic garget. 66% of the respondents indicated that they used television for post-election violence news in 2007 as opposed to 32% who used radio, 2% newspapers as well as mobile phone and yet in terms of overall accessibility for news the vernacular radio was rated first by 36% of the respondents followed by 34% who rated television as first and English/Kiswahili radio at 15%.

Table 4.1 Rating of media accessibility by the respondents. Seven media categories were rated.

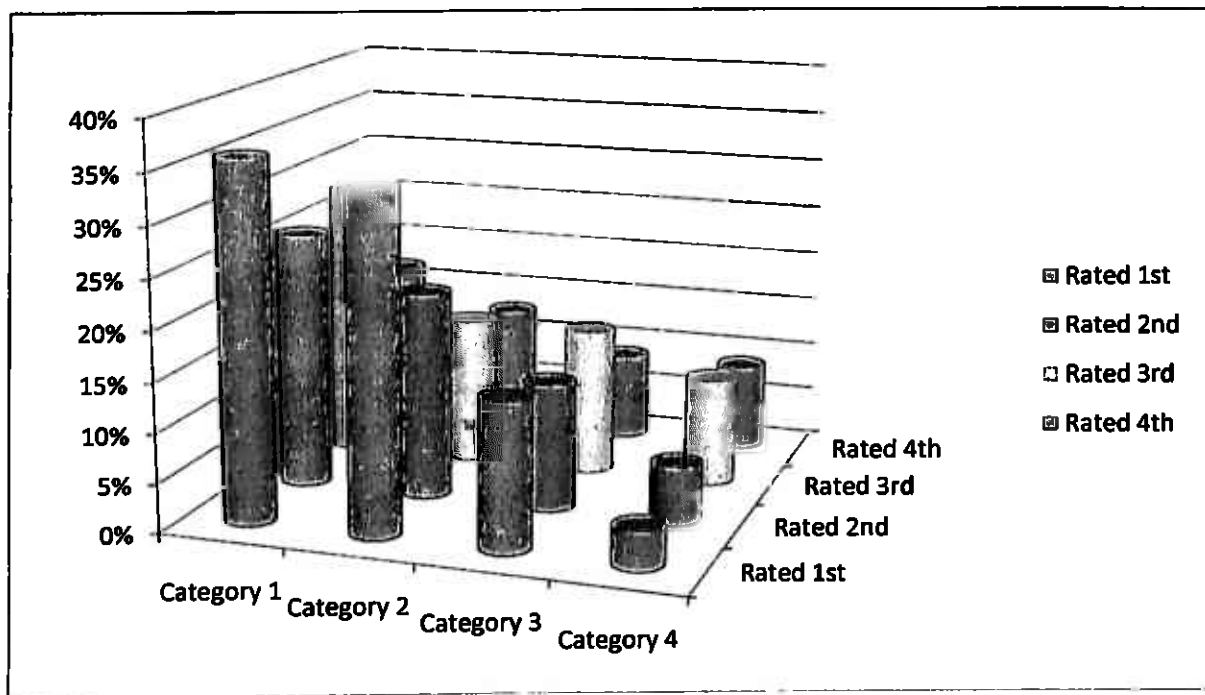
Medium	1 st rating	%	2 nd	%	3 rd	%	4 th	%	5 th	%	6 th	%	7 th	%
V. Radio	17	36%	3	6%	2	4%	2	4%	0	0%	1	2%	1	2%
C. Radio	2	4%	0	0	5	11%	1	2%	3	6%	1	2%	1	2%
K/E Radio	7	15%	10	21	7	15%	2	4%	1	2%	0	0	1	2%
INTERNET	1	2%	2	4	5	11%	6	13%	5	11%	0	0	0	0
Mobile P.	1	2%	3	6	5	11%	8	17%	6	13%	1	2%	1	2%
TV	16	34%	12	26	7	15%	4	9%	1	2%	3	6%	1	2%
Newspaper	2	4%	6	13	13	28%	4	9%	3	6%	2	4%	1	2%
None														

The table indicates that the highest percentage of respondents rated access to vernacular radio stations first at 36% followed by television and English/Kiswahili radio stations in that order.

Those who rated television as second in accessibility were 26% followed by English/Kiswahili radio stations at 21% with vernacular dropping drastically to 6%. Newspaper took the highest rating as a third option followed by television and English/Kiswahili radio stations both at 15%

The bar chart below provides the visual illustration on the ratings of the media upto the fourth level in terms of priority by the respondents.

Figure 4.1 media rating upto 4th in level of accessibility by the respondents.



The diagram represents audience response on media needs according to accessibility. Note that each category a different media is rated first or second in descending order as given in figure 4.1 above.

Meanwhile 26% rated television as second media of choice; 21% English/Kiswahili; 13% Newspapers as second medium of choice. Those who regarded Newspapers as third medium of choice were 28%; TV 15%; English/Kiswahili radio 15% followed by Mobile phone, community

radio and internet all at 11%. As a fourth medium of choice the mobile phone has 17% respondents compared with 13% internet; and TV and newspapers at 9% each. This the point at which the media seem to level out.

A certain notable trend is that those who regarded vernacular radio as the first line medium do not consider it highly in later ratings. This seemed to underscore the fact that it was the only medium of choice at that level. Another important observation is that Newspapers remain the third medium of choice among the residents while the mobile scores highly as the fourth medium of choice. It is therefore safe to argue that the choice of media for use among the residents was dependent upon the issue at stake while ownership was dictated by other factors.

The results from the survey on the role of musicians in identification of causes of conflict and therefore as peace makers indicated that 30 % agreed, 17% strongly agreed while 19% strongly disagreed and a further 17 slightly agreed. While 19 % might appear lower than those who agree with the positive role, the strong emotions and condemnation or the lack of contributions from other communities to the subject might have contributed to such a rating as the difference between those who strongly disagreed and disagreed at 9% given the percentage of the latter at 10%

On the area's political dynamics, the politician from results from practitioners' interviews, indicated that politics was not played on a level playground; that positive changes achieved in 2002 were not sustained and that the relationship of voters and politicians in the area was mostly geographic and with the microclimate between the two groups largely distinct. Besides, those in the informal settlements have been made to believe in hero worship of the politicians to the extent of ignoring their welfare. The economist said that in essence the politics of Kibera was

ruled by one group which outweighed the others while the Mugumoini location the make-up was cosmopolitan with no particular group being dominant. This element is captured in the media in reforms in the area of negative ethnicity at 8% of the coverage.

Mungai in his song asserts that the political leadership is normally irresponsive and assumes the voters know nothing of what was going on while the other two see lack of transparency in political competition. However, in the survey 53% respondents said the media was not helping communities to live together harmoniously while 38% percent said the media was helping. Closely related to this, 57% of the respondents strongly contend that the media should interpret news rather than just relaying what politicians say. This agrees with the media practitioner's views that the media bias was inherent in the media ownership structure preventing professional independence in recruitment and practice where DJs were recruited to boost commercial interest as well as support politicians affiliated to particular media houses. The politician however contended that the biases were fairly reduced during the referendum period because media like all Kenyans had learned the hard way. This was backed by articles on the role the media which emphasized neutrality but with continuous vigilance in driving the reform agenda. Four articles were written on this, two of which were editorial opinions by staff members.

From content analysis 24 articles have discussed the need to pass the draft constitution to effect political reforms which was 8% of 296 articles. 27 of the articles also discuss reforms in governance and 19 discuss democratic reforms. That is 9% and 6% respectively. These included 17 articles in opinion pages for governance and 9 for democracy. This reflected the editorial position that change was necessary for the country and thus applied to Mugumoini. However, there were 20 articles discussing other political issues not relevant to reforms while during the referendum campaigns and after there were 13 articles discussing 2012 elections and thus

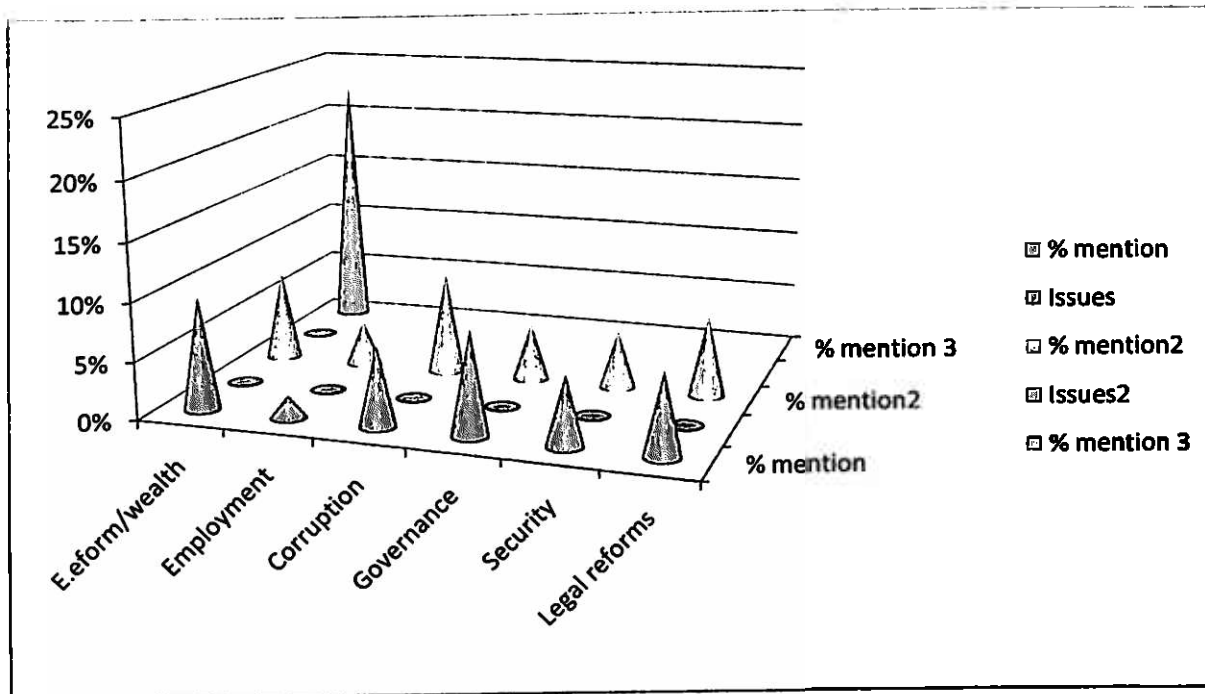
veering off the genuine reforms agenda. Articles on 2012 appeared twice in the headlines in the period toward promulgation reflecting the political undercurrents driving the campaigns.

Table 4.2 represents issues as discussed in the Sunday Nation during the period beginning 15th June to September 15th, 2010.

Issues 1	% mention	Issues 2	% mention2	Issues 3	% mention 3
E. reform/wealth	10%	Ethnicity	8%	Others	23%
Employment	2%	Access to resources	4%		
Corruption	7%	P. reform/democracy	9%		
Governance	9%	Peace	5%		
Security	6%	In relation 2012	5%		
Legal reforms	7%	Relation to 2007	7%		

The figure below gives the graphic representation of the issues.

Figure 4.2 a graphic representation of table 4.2



Facilitation of debate on reforms that contributed to conflict resolution and management was measured using perceptions from the survey in direct relationship with the draft constitution as an instrument for conflict resolution. From the survey 66% of the respondents acknowledged that the media was helping in the understanding of the draft constitution while another 57% indicated that the media should interpret news rather than relaying it as it was. This was in line with the media role of educating and informing the audience. From content analysis it was noted that 80% of the reform articles were opinions, commentaries and advertisements which allowed for debate among clients as well as experts helping clarify issues. In some of the articles the media attempted to help the public isolate fact from the politicians' fiction or myth. This was done for International Criminal Court obligations and land reforms. 12 letters to the editor on reforms also allowed for necessary debate on the underlying causes of conflict.

CHAPTER 5

Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

5.0 Introduction

The research summary, conclusion and recommendations are drawn from the various findings undertaken by the study. They reflect the overall picture of the research project.

5.1 Summary

As demonstrated from the results of the four methods employed in this project there is indication that the media has sufficient knowledge of the root causes of post-election violence and can contribute to conflict resolution and management both as purveyors of and interpreters of information.

The results also demonstrate that the media understood the political dynamics in the nation and according to the practitioners chose to ignore such information as a result of prior biases and as demonstrated from the content analysis the media is sufficiently equipped to deal with such biases by professionally being analytical as in the referendum and advocating a sense of sobriety.

As in the third hypothesis, the results from the survey, interviews from practitioners and content analysis, the media tends to veer off the main issues into commercial and political agenda and as found out from the music content analysis, get into the presumption that '*the masses know nothing of what is going on*'.

On media accessibility results indicate that no single medium can claim a monopoly in influencing or playing a greater or lesser role especially in times of crisis. However, the

complementary aspect implied from the results shows that there is preference for the visual media during crisis and print media is perhaps used to confirm the facts.

5.2 Conclusion

The foundation of this study was to investigate the role or influence of the media in conflict resolution and management. The findings indicate that although media cannot solely claim the influence on how events played out, it was demonstrated from the results that it was heavily relied upon and unlike 2007 political campaigns (Rambaud,2008) when the media was accused of bias and failure to educate the masses, the media had significantly matured to put issues in context and helped the electorate make informed decisions.

The results from the sample of Sunday Nation indicated that constant questioning of the wrong fashion of issues being relayed by politicians or otherwise via the media can put a stop to a tendency to incite the public to violence as was seen in the negative reference to 2007 as a precursor for conflict if the draft constitution was passed.

Thirdly, despite the country's promulgation of the new constitution persistent horizontal inequalities among various groups, venomous corruption and negative ethnicity continue to affect peace, stability and cause violence. The media in the country should neither downplay their role nor underrate the effect of their messages in their contribution to conflict resolution, taking note of the fact that there is no individual medium that has a total hold of any segment of the Kenyan audience. Lack of interpretation and contextualization of messages as part of media education, can contribute to destabilization of the country and thus media need not peddle

rumours or misinformation merely in the name of information dissemination. From the findings, although horizontal inequalities are not a sufficient reason to spark widespread violence, they serve as the infectious festering wound upon which the vengeful worms of violence feast and over time require just such a trigger to mobilize into the body politic. The role of the media is to delve and expose such inequalities as a proactive measure.

5.3 Recommendations

The massive coverage provided by the media for the referendum and promulgation campaigns in relation to reforms and therefore conflict resolution and management could not be exhausted in analysis in one single study. Detailed studies could be conducted on:

- the proactive role of the media in conflict management during the period before the formal campaign for the Draft constitution was to start on July 13th, 2010 by widening the period to when the document was adopted by Parliament.
- The post-election violence music metaphors and images as contributed to the understanding of socio-political dynamics of the Kenyan society emerging from crisis.
- The role of the media in implementation of the reform agenda issues taken individually for purposes of conflict prevention and resolution. This will underline the media watchdog role during the country's complete transition to the new law.
- The media, the International Criminal Court and conflict resolution in Kenya.

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A political leadership perspective.

Research results appendices

Survey results

2. Males – 74%

Female -26%

3. Percentage by age groups of respondents:

(a) 28 to 36 – 43%

(b) 18 to 27- 32%

(c) 37 to 45 - 25%

4. Occupation of respondents: Self-employed 47%; Employed 32%; Unemployed 11%

6. Channel for political news: Television 51%; Radio 28%; Newspapers 17%; Mobile 2%

7. Type of media accessed by rating: Media classified as:

a) Vernacular radio 36%; Television 34%; Radio English/Kiswahili 15%;

b) Television 26%; K/E radio 21%; Newspapers 13%;

c) Newspapers 28%; Television 15%; K/E radio 15%; Mobile phone, Com. radio and Internet 11%;

d) Mobile phone 17%; internet 13%; TV, Newspaper 9%.

9. Media most used during post-election violence: Television 66%; Radio 32%; Newspapers

2% Telephone (mobile) 2%

10. Musicians role (as peacemakers): Agree 30%; strongly agree 17%; strongly disagree 19%; slightly agree 17%.
11. Causes of conflict: Poverty, tribalism, poor governance, corruption, discrimination and unemployment combined 66%; tribalism 15%; poverty 9%; poor governance 4%
12. Press more inclined towards politicians and their news: Strongly agree 43%; agree 21%; disagree 15%; slightly agree 11%
13. Media should interpret news: Strongly agree 57%; Agree 23%; Disagree 13% slightly agree 4%
14. Media doing enough to inform on serious issues: Yes 66%; No 34%
15. Peace initiatives: Income generating activities 57%; community radio 17 %; Community get together 9%.
16. Provision of shelter: No, Need for a chance to create wealth 64%; Yes, social responsibility for the poor; No, solution temporary 4%; none 6%.
17. Inevitability of election violence: Yes, because of poverty, unemployment, corruption and poor governance 47%; violence is not inevitable if we remove existing inequalities and implement the new constitution 23%; all of the above 11%.
18. Cessation of violence after proper implementation of new constitution: Yes- 85%; No-15%
19. Explanation (perception of constitution): constitution a legal framework 47 %; A piece of paper 9%; None of the above 32%.

20. Media helping in understanding of new constitution: Yes- 66%; No- 28%.

21. Media helping communities live in harmony: Yes 38%; No, 53%.

Guide to coding

Issues as related to 2007- Means horizontal inequality issues or factors identified as falling within the listed category were identified as having been the cause of violence/ conflict in 2007.

Suggested resolution- means the implied mechanism of reform to resolve or improve a particular factor as raised in the song.

Associated conflict images - refer to the visual images accompanying the songs to help in deciphering otherwise hidden meanings.

Table 4.3 Representation of issues as sung by three musicians during the period after post-election violence.

Name of Composer	Title of composition	Issues as related to 2007	Associated conflict images	Suggested resolution if any
Onyi Papa Jey	Mapatano (Agreement, truce)	Lack of transparency; rampant corruption; competitive politics; unaccountable leadership.	Swearing in leaders at night; Obama describing Kenya as facing a crisis as a result of corruption; a soccer metaphor;	Call to drop the weapons (machetes, spears and arrows) by combatants 'we are one people'.
Njoroge Mungai	Kiro Kiambaa (A cry in Kiambaa)	Destruction of life and property; early voting as exercising democracy; foolish leadership; land; basic needs such as food; greedy and irresponsible leadership.	Raging inferno; dirty rivers (sewerage); hungry children; cooking maize meal; displaced and fleeing people; burned up monkey; parliamentarians.	Search for a people's leader, resist being used by politicians; understanding how other communities leave.

Man Pepe Sagero	Omogusii omokimbisi (the Kisii refugee)	Tribalism; indiscriminate violence; stolen election; competitive elections; crime against the innocent; economic destruction and land investment	Injured people; wedding clothe stolen (election); burned property; Kibaki/Raila; IDP camps	It was not defeat it was fear of shading innocent blood leading to a traditional curse.
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Table 4.2 findings from musicals

It is significant to note there were no compositions available from the other communities affected during the period or they were not in circulation during the period of this research.

Interviews with practitioners

Coding guidelines

Practitioner- refers to the interviewee of the field of his engagement under investigation.

Causes of conflict/ inequalities- means issues identified as falling under the listed category were associated with causes of conflict.

Suggested resolutions- implies the suggested method or mechanism of reform to address or improve the issue refer to.

Political dynamics- in this interview refers to political changes, styles associated with the identified head of state or leader of Kenya or area referred to.

Media role positive- refers to positive contributions of the media during the period.

Media role negative- means the media's conduct of coverage was perceived as not balanced, impartial or professional.

Four practitioners were identified in the following fields: Economics, security, media and politics.

Table 4.4 responses from field practitioners

Interviewee	Causes of conflict/ inequalities	Suggested resolutions	Political dynamics	Media role positive	Media role negative
E. Njagi/Economist-UN consultant	Casual employment as trigger for disobedience; insecurity; economic growth vis-à-vis marginalization; Meeting basic needs; poverty eradication; youth against the old; men against women; crimes as a response to inequality; question of identity; lack of business opportunities causing youth to rise against	-Create institutions to bring the young and old together Reconciliation -Peace Governance -Politics and skewed resource distribution -Education, livelihood and security -Selfish Mps (with basic needs met no one cares for Mps); -Kibera	-Kenyatta rewarded his people ; -Moi rewarded his; -Kibaki allowed for a political platform; -Elders fighting for survival while the youth want the cake- and want it now; -Misuse of youth by elders to stay in power; -Main threat get our man in power.	-Communication for development; -Combat conflict by airing issues outside official lines; -Link between development and communication;	Lack of interpretation (airing only scary stories; Political interests override knowledge of peace.

	<p>the dictatorship of elders; corruption; poor remuneration (police)</p>	<p>politics- Raila (one group outweighs the other; -Mugumo Ini cosmopolita n- no group outweighs the other; Security just an impression with little in proactive engagemen t; - Private security firms man the estate and police left to control traffic; -New constitution (Vision 2030); -Houses belong to one</p>			
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		<p>community;</p> <p>-Creating shanties a distribution of poverty;</p> <p>-UN funds address governance as cause for inequality.</p>		
<p>S. Muhu/ security (Deputy commissioner NSIS(retired)</p>	<p>-Political agitation;</p> <p>-Greed;</p> <p>-No proper training for police;</p> <p>-Governance;</p> <p>-Psyched electorate or stolen votes;</p> <p>-Strong political statements;</p> <p>-Crime for perpetuation of corruption (bribery);</p> <p>-Tribalism;</p>	<p>-Community policing;</p> <p>-Catching people doing right</p> <p>-Reform at recruitment;</p> <p>-Reform of the penal code.</p> <p>Recruitment is the basis of corruption and reform should be interlinked or done simultaneously (change from the top to</p>	<p>-Democracy;</p> <p>-Political violence an excuse;</p> <p>-Our man syndrome killing politics and police.</p>	<p>-Biased in 2007;</p> <p>-Deliberately distorted fact;</p> <p>-Manipulated;</p> <p>-Media still stronger than mobile;</p> <p>-Media more political while mobile is more domestic.</p>

		<p>recruitment)</p> <p>.Reform at the judiciary should not leave the corrupt policeman in place.</p>		
<p>Raphael Muriungi/ former Mp- campaigned in 2007</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Politics not on a level playing field; -Change of 2002 not sustained; -MOU not fulfilled; -Political violence an excuse for land revenge; -Political opportunism; -Poverty and ethnic division; -No political discipline; -Development withheld to use people as voting machines -Political hypocrisy; - Abject poverty; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> .New constitution; .Political party discipline; -Political parties to be issue-based; -Briefcase parties to cease because of high threshold; - Use of manifestoes -New law includes bill of rights; - Affirmative 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> .Langata houses VP the Prime Minister and many others who rule different roosts; -Relationship between residents and their leaders is only geographic; -Microclimate between the politicians and voters is very distinct. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Biased in 2007; -Positively changed during referendum; -Media helps shape opinion, attitudes thro' constructive criticism; -Local press has resilience and acceptability.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Encouragement of informal settlements; -Hero worship; -And, corruption 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> action; Democracy; Judicial/legal reforms; - Integrity and rule of law; - ICC- justice for victims; -Those not6 in ICC should be arraigned locally 		
David Matende/journalist/ unionist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Media owned by business people and politicians; -Biggest private media owned by outsider at 41% (NMG); -Media was biased in 2007 depending on which side of the political divide you were; -Media supportive of PNU belonged to business men from central while Rift 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Media owners association came together and sent out peace messages to the audience ; -Improve working conditions to stem corruption and influence 		

	<p>Valley received more coverage from Standard group because it was then ODM and media owners hail from Rift Valley;</p> <p>-Professional journalists were prepared for coverage of 2007 environment;</p> <p>-FM stations engaged DJs as commentators who violated professional ethics at will;</p> <p>-Nobody anticipated the crisis in 2007;</p> <p>-Journalists not familiar with code of ethics</p> <p>-Media Institutes using outdated curriculum;</p> <p>-Coverage applies same principles such as impartiality.</p>	<p>from clients;</p> <p>-Stem biased recruitment currently based on ethnicity (dictated by media ownership- Senior managers Standard Newspaper , for example, are from one ethnic group as well as K24 and Citizen)</p>		
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Guideline coding Content analysis

Front page news positive- Means the article supports the passage of the Draft constitution to help address the issue it is marked against.

Editorial supportive- means the issue is discussed in the light of supporting the passage of the Draft.

News supportive other pages- means the inequality news items in the articles are supporting the passage of draft for reform.

News anti-reform -means the news article advocates against the passage of the draft as a means to address the issue it is marked against.

Editorial explaining- means the actual meaning as occurs in the draft has been explained by the media editor.

Opinion supportive- the issues in the article are discussed in the light of supporting the passage of the draft for the envisioned reform.

Opinion critical/negative- Issues in the article are discussed in the light of discouraging voters from supporting the passage of the draft.

Letters to the editor- means that a reader has taken note of the issues the letter is marked against and thus signifies the issue's importance.

Reference to 2007 positive- means the issue referred to supporting the draft constitution will help reform the issue and change for the better so as to prevent violence from recurring.

Reference 2007 negative- means the passage of the draft will make the issues that caused violence to worsen or recur in the country.

Note:

After the 4th August

The code .changes the phrasings

'Passage of' to- 'promulgation of'

'The draft constitution' to – 'the new constitution'

After the 27th August

'Promulgation of' changes to 'implementation of'.

Table 4.6 Content analysis July 16th-August 15th

Issue	Front page News	Other pages Supportive	Editorial supportive	Ed. Anti- reform	Ed. Explaining	Advert supportive	Advert Neg.	Op.S	OP .N.	Letters to Ed.	Ref. 2007 P.	Ref. 2007 N.
Ec. Opp. Wealth	1					6		3			1	
Poverty Elim.												
Employment	1							1				
Corruption						5		3	1			
Ethnicity							1	3	2			
Land				1				4				
Social reforms												
Legal	1					5		2	2			
Access to resources						3		1	1			
Political reforms/democracy	2		2			1		3	1	1		
Peace	1	1				1		4			2	
Governance			1	1		2		6	1			
Participation in Gov't dev.			1			3		3				
Security reforms	2	1						1			2	3
Role of media								1				

Table 4.7 Content analysis August 16th to September 16th

Issue	Front page News	Other pages Supportive	Editorial supportive	Ed. Anti-reform	Ed. Explaining	Advert supportive	Advert Neg.	Op.S.	OP. N.	Letters to Ed.	Ref. 2007 P.	Ref. 2007 N.
Ec. Opp. Wealth		1						10				
Poverty Elim.								1		1		
Employment		1										
Corruption	1	2						5				
Religion												
Land												
Social reforms/Ethnicity	1	1						10		3		
Legal								6				
Access to resources								4				
Political reforms/democracy	1	1						15	1	1	1	
Peace		2						3		1		
Governance		1						10	1			
Participation in Gov't/dev.												
Security reforms		1						1				

Role of media		1					2			1
Reforms Gen.	1						11			1
Cartoon				1						
International Obligations	2			1			4	2		2