

**THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN COUNTERING POLITICAL AND  
TRIBAL CONFLICT IN KENYA**

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**DECLARATION**

I, declare that this project is my original work and has not been submitted for the award of a degree in any other university.

.....

Signature

**MAXINE KAYUYU MWENDIA**

**REG NO: R50/64552/2010**

.....

Date

**This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the appointed university supervisor**

.....

Signature

**MR. PATRICK MALUKI**

.....

Date

## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to my family members, friends and work mates. Were it not for their continued support, understanding and constant encouragement, this study would not have been successful.

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

It has been an exciting and instructive study period in the University of Nairobi and I feel privileged to have had the opportunity to carry out this study as a demonstration of knowledge gained during the study period. With these acknowledgments, it would be impossible not to remember those who in one way or another, directly or indirectly, have played a role in the realization of this research project. I would like to thank them all equally.

First, I am indebted to the all-powerful God for all the blessings throughout the study. I am deeply obliged to the supervisor for his exemplary guidance and support without whose help this project would not have been a success. Finally, yet importantly, I take this opportunity to express deep gratitude to my loving family and friends who are a constant source of motivation and for their never-ending support and encouragement during this project.

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## **ABSTRACT**

Recently, the media has been a passive bystander as the country grappled with violent clashes of both political and tribal magnitude. This has been, perhaps, because the fourth estate has consistently failed to realize the power of persuasion it possesses in regard to shaping public opinion. The study thus sought to establish the role of the media in raising awareness in and countering propagation of political and tribal conflict in Kenya. Specifically, the study investigated the extent to which the media has succeeded in creating awareness about and conflict prevention; identified and describe the methods employed by the media in creating awareness about conflict and analyzed the effectiveness of the methods and avenues employed by the media in creating conflict awareness and propagating cessation of conflict. The study took a content analysis design. The content of newspaper reports on raising awareness on political and tribal issues and related issues identified by the media were thus analyzed thematically. The study found that the media plays a critical role in sensitizing the citizenry on peace especially at the height of general elections. The study recommends that a broadcaster should be seen as an agent of social change and should discuss the social mobilization which may be able to bring about. The study further suggest that if we can look at radio as a development agent, can we then take this a step further and ask, or try to find, a methodology that looks at the broadcaster as peacemaking agent, or to assist in the maintenance of peace in a post-conflict thereby tapping into radio's full potential. The study further recommends that when peace agreements are reached, efforts to sustain peace-building and enhance reconciliation and reconstruction are crucial.

## **ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>CHADEMA</b>	Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo
<b>CNN</b>	Cable News Network
<b>EFA</b>	Education For All
<b>FAO</b>	Food and Agriculture Organization
<b>FATA</b>	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
<b>IPPG</b>	Inter-Parties Parliamentary Group
<b>KEG</b>	Kenya Editors Guild
<b>MCK</b>	Media Council of Kenya
<b>MDG</b>	Millennium Development Goals
<b>MFAF</b>	Media Focus on Africa Foundation
<b>NGO</b>	Non-governmental organizations
<b>NWFP</b>	North West Frontier Province
<b>SMS</b>	Short Message Service
<b>UNESCO</b>	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
<b>UNICEF</b>	United Nations Children's Fund

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 Background to the Study**

Since the clamor for and advent of multi-party democracy, Kenya has experienced conflict episodes of both political and tribal dimensions. While this has been sporadic in the last fifteen years, it rose to disturbing levels after the disputed 2007 general elections when almost all of the major tribes turned on one another at alleged instigation and support of political heavyweights, (Berger, 2002).

Until that time, the media had never taken initiative to play a part in educating the masses regarding conflict prevention and peaceful, non-violent resolution. From 2009 onwards, the media has taken an active role in designing, airing and sponsoring campaigns aimed at creating conflict awareness, the core objective being to teach the Kenyan public the importance of a maintaining a peaceful state, as well as highlighting the role of the individual in identifying and reporting conflict situations and resisting calls for violent clashes, (Bennett & Entman, 2001).

##### **1.1.1 The emergence of social media in public affairs**

The rise of digital technologies that make social media possible has revolutionized the way civil society and institutions communicate opinions and disseminate information. Social media have allowed for a faster and less costly way of transmitting information among individuals, communities and organizations in a globalized era. The new global public sphere, as argued by Cohen and Weimann (2000), is built around the media communications system and Internet networks: web-based technologies such as blogs, social networks (Facebook or Twitter) or social spaces filled with user-generated content (YouTube) are representations of the new technologic

means by which civil society can exist independently from political institutions and from mass media.

Social media have become platforms from where ordinary people are able to influence public affairs (Alger, 1998). New information and communication technologies have allowed citizens to take part in any of the stages of the communication process: they can create the content of a news item, they can disseminate it, and they can consume from a broad range of sources. Moreover, they have speeded up the course of communication. One of the main elements that need to be addressed when analyzing the impact of social media on social movements is their role in the agenda setting, a power historically in hands of the traditional media.

Agenda-setting theory explains how audiences can perceive a given news item depending on the significance that media give to the news story in terms of the coverage and position (McCombs and Reynolds, 2002). With the ascendance of digital media, audiences are open to consume news from wide variety of sources, which allows for a higher degree of freedom in the selection of news, thus avoiding the traditional one-way imposture of what media believes needs to be set on the public agenda. In this way, the agenda-setting function may have been altered, either by diminishing the ability of mainstream media to set the political agenda or by reversing the flow of information (Sawers, 1996).

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Recently, the media has been a passive bystander as the country grappled with violent clashes of both political and tribal magnitude. This has been, perhaps, because the fourth estate has consistently failed to realize the power of persuasion it possesses in regard to shaping public

opinion. This has often been made easier because of existing antagonism between the government and the media, which endears it to the masses. When violence erupted in Kenya in 2008, some critics were quick to blame media reporting as a fan of the nature of violence that rocked the nation. In response, media owners came together and agreed to, individually and collectively, engage in spirited campaigns to help identify, prevent and, where possible, arbitrate in instances of conflict growing. Some ways through which this industry has done this is through sponsoring peace campaigns, designing peace-oriented adverts, appealing for peace through and during bulletins, holding live debates between perceived antagonists and challenging them to call for peace, as well as reporting conflict news with the objective of challenging the government to ensure calm is upheld and facilitating peaceful conflict resolution.

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

The general objective of this study is to establish the role of the media in raising awareness in and countering propagation of political and tribal conflict in Kenya.

The specific objectives will be to:

- a. Investigate the extent to which the media has succeeded in creating awareness about and conflict prevention.
- b. Identify and describe the methods employed by the media in creating awareness about conflict.
- c. Analyze the effectiveness of the methods and avenues employed by the media in creating conflict awareness and propagating cessation of conflict.

## **1.4 Research Questions**

The following will be the key research questions:

- i. How has the media fraternity committed itself to propagating peace in Kenya?
- ii. What effects have the various avenues employed by the media in creating conflict awareness had in facilitating peace?
- iii. What shortcomings, if any, have been identified in regard to the media's effort in promoting peace and peaceful conflict resolution?

## **1.5 Justification of the study**

The justification for carrying out the study is based on the apparent gap in the literature on education in the role of the media in raising awareness in and countering propagation of political and tribal conflict in Kenya. Theoretically, the link between the role of the media in raising awareness in and countering propagation of political and tribal conflict in Kenya . The critical need to focus on in the role of the media in raising awareness in and countering propagation of political and tribal conflict in Kenya as a key component of effective intervention is based on the need to restore stability, promote welfare and growth, and to meet the MDGs and EFA goals. However, if the role of the media in raising awareness and countering propagation of political and tribal conflict in Kenya are to be critically understood, it should be part of the responses to scholarly reference realities right from the start. Understanding the framework involved for the role of the media in raising awareness in and countering propagation of political and tribal conflict in Kenya are intended to provide clear relief efforts that ultimately contribute towards achieving stability and media peace process reconstruction.

However, despite a number of studies that have been done on this study, there still remains a big gap to be filled in the Kenyan context. It is anticipated that the findings in this study will be important towards highlighting applicable standards in education that guide the decisions in role of the media in raising awareness in and countering propagation of political. Above all, the findings of this study may lay the groundwork for further investigation and debate on the problem. Lastly, the results of this research will be beneficial to a number of stakeholders and decision makers alike. These include conflict managers and peace practitioners who compose the main actors that provide humanitarian intervention activities and can thus provide best practices in terms of activities provided. Similarly, the findings will be beneficial to educators, politicians and administrators by providing lessons from which they can learn and shape national policies.

## **1.6 Literature Review**

Relevant literature that informs this research substantiates the importance for the need to exercise viable humanitarian intervention framework. This literature shall be divided into three sub-themes namely-literature on current media efforts in countering political and tribal conflicts, literature on controversy in the field principles and the core mandate of the media and literature on Normative understanding in political and tribal conflict advocacy.

### **1.6.1 Current Media in Political and Tribal Conflicts**

The reality that will never change is the sense that media is a means of communication that plays an important role for information and community development. Today, all over the world, media is a connecting tool in the country or between countries. However, media is ‘accused’ of being a source of conflict by the ways of propaganda and bias as a result, media can cause problems because the society relies on it for news and information, Bagdikian (2005) affirms that the

contemporary society is filled with images from television and from what they hear from the radio. Today with communication technology, media networks have brought changes in communication and the mode of production. The changes move from industrialism to informationalism. The information revolution is reshaping the contents of society. Furthermore, with communication expansion the society's culture is changing because of interactions and integrations (Castells, 1996).

Media roles have been observed in several ways, in different context. For the peace and conflict, media as an institution and as individual practitioners have been condemned to play negative role for conflict escalation and hence fail to consider about peace initiatives. Media works have been correlated to the issues that result to violent behaviors such as the correlation between massive exposure to the media and the increase of violent behaviors among media audiences (Felson, 1996).

Also some conflict events around the world have been 'mediatized' by journalists paying more attention on certain issues than others (Cottle, 2006). The massive coverage can be accidental or planned as there are players who shape role of the media. Those players include the ruling class (which includes media owners), advertisers and politicians who have more influence in media than media have in them. Examples of some mediatized conflicts include war against terrorism that was initiated by the US after September 11, 2001 scene of terrorist attack. Other conflicts include struggles of the marginalized people in the society, environmental issues, trade and multinational cooperation, diseases and other disasters.

Another issue is how media chooses the topic or news of the day. Journalists choose what to cover and what not to cover. Also media audiences are regarded as passive consumers who swallow what has already been prepared for them by the media institutions (Seib, 2004). Despite making decision on what to cover and what not to, journalists doing media productions such as news, rely on the ongoing events so as to increase market opportunities for their industries. Media industry is like any other business industry which aims to collect, produce and sell for profit. Therefore, media depend on conflict situations to increase their circulation. One element of news is conflict (Carruthers, 2000). For this reason, media have a tendency of watching over the potentials of war and act as a channel between fighters themselves, and the others. While doing so, media spread news on who is defeated and who gained victory. A point of discussion is on how far and what ways media can shape the society by the way media report conflict events.

Also, among the most influential news in the media is about politics. In journalistic life, reporters must have a story to tell because their business is to gather and disseminate news in daily basis. But with political influence, some politicians have created a bond with some media organization or journalists. As a result, this bond tends to affect media decision of what to report and what not to report (Patterson, 2008). For example, during election time, the media role of information become very important for informing the public and the politicians about each sides; such as what the politicians promise the public and what the public expect from the politicians (Reuters Foundation, n.d).

While the debate is on whether media is the source of conflict or not; another perspective of the media is on when media is becoming a tool for peace building and conflict transformation. Bratic

(2006) suggested the potentials of mass media in peace building. During violent or non violent conflict situations, the relationship between media and audience grow as Kuusik (2010, n.p.) adds that, “lack of information can, at any stage of a conflict, make people desperate, restless and easy to manipulate. The ability to make informed decisions strengthens societies and fosters economic growth, democratic structures and the positive outlook on the future”. The need for information increases as the audiences would depend on the media to have information on the running conflict. It is obvious that audiences would need information on possible threats and how they can overcome. From this perspective media can support peace initiatives because media has the power to influence beliefs, opinions and attitudes of people. Van Dijk (1992) suggested that media is powerful to persuade and control minds of readers or viewers.

Media can only act as a catalyst for peace building by performing different roles such “as information provider, watchdog, mobilizer and promoter...” (Himelfar & Chabalowski , 2008). All these can be attained through generating programs or writing newspaper articles on peace building activities that may open up space for dialogue. Media can opt to transmit popular music, soap operas and call-in shows, in the television or radio shows and allow people to discuss together (Wolfsfeld, 2004). On the continuation, Howard (2002) argued to the media workers to produce more positive outcome programs on building peace by reducing conflict-type programs. Yet there is a challenge on how to bring constructive change in a conflict area because such changes must start from people’s behavior, attitudes and beliefs. Obviously, it is very challenging to deal with behavior of people.

### **1.6.2 Normative understanding in political and tribal conflict advocacy.**

The use of social media tools as a means to raise awareness and mobilize the masses against the status quo of a given country or regime is certainly not new. Social and political activism has had very significant episodes throughout the twentieth century, from non-violent civil disobedience in India to civil right movements in the US among many others, yet social media have given social movements useful tools to coordinate and to undertake collective action. Clay Shirky's analysis on the power of social media in enhancing democracies is probably one of the best attempts at glorifying social media movements (Shirky 2011). Shirky believes that social media have a key role in echoing public opinion. To him, access to conversation is far more important than access to information. In the long run, he argues, social media may help increase freedoms as the printing press, postal service or the telegraph did before. Internet has benefited grassroots movements by providing new possibilities for citizens to organize even under authoritarian regimes.

As Yochai Benkler (2006) argues, with the inclusion of Internet in the framework of social mobilization, there has been a qualitative change represented in the experience of being a potential speaker, as opposed to simply a listener (Benkler 2006). According to him, Internet has not only reduced the cost of producing and publishing media content but it has also decentralized media production, making it much harder for authoritarian regimes to control and censor media outlets. Nevertheless, there are many detractors of this uncontested role of social media. Malcom Gladwell (2010) whose criticism of online activism became clear in his article *Why the revolution will not be twitted*, disregards of the role of social networking in effecting social and political change. Social networks, he claims, have encouraged an easy activism whereby action

has a lower impact. His critics are crystal clear: “Facebook activism succeeds not by motivating people to make a real sacrifice but by motivating them to do the things that people do when they are not motivated enough to make a real sacrifice”. Gladwell’s argument is also supported by Paul Mason (2012), who agrees with the fact that networks allow people to assemble and protest against a target, but he believes that the commitment levels are much limited. Social media have played a big role overcoming official censorship and propaganda, he says, but the revolutions in the Arab world have been social, political and real not virtual.

In any case, recent history gives us a few examples of how social networks operated in order to benefit activists seeking to expand their efforts, communicate their ideas or make information available in places where traditional communication tools were limited or not even allowed. In authoritarian regimes, different forms of social media can provide alternative sources of news and information (Etling et al. 2010). Facebook and Twitter are today among the most commonly known due to the recent events in the Arab world, but cell-phones, text-messaging, video-recording or blogging have been very active in the past decade. New technology tools have strengthened the power of citizens who, often more quickly than professional journalists themselves, can report news as they happen. Some argue that citizen journalism can be extremely useful in contexts of oppression or state control over mainstream media.

According to Khamis, Gold and Vaughn (2012), citizen journalists can function as a proxy free press, a medium that can uncover and challenge falsehoods and misinformation. In 2001, cell phones were central in organizing a massive protest against the government’s corruption in the Philippines. Texting messages reading “Go 2 EDSA” was an effective strategy to rapidly convey

thousands of angry citizens in one of the major crossroads in Manila, who wanted to raise their voice against an impeachment trial that would have otherwise left President Joseph Estrada free from responsibility. The protests, commonly known as People Power II, allowed information on the President's corruption to be shared widely. The results came immediately: Estrada resigned only three days after the protests. As Filipino TV journalist David Celdran writes, SMS had become one of the most popular forms of communication in the Philippines, making them a potential tool for mediating political information.

### **1.6.3 The role of social media as an instrument for political struggle**

The use of social media tools as a means to raise awareness and mobilize the masses against the status quo of a given country or regime is certainly not new. Social and political activism has had very significant episodes throughout the twentieth century, from non-violent civil disobedience in India to civil right movements in the US among many others, yet social media have given social movements useful tools to coordinate and to undertake collective action. Sabato analysis on the power of social media in enhancing democracies is probably one of the best attempts at glorifying social media movements (Sabato, 1991).

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#### **1.6.4 The ambivalence of social media: dangers and opportunities**

The use of social media and its effect has many interpretations and it all depends on the context where it is being applied. The potential impact and limitations of social media on political change make new digital applications a powerful tool to those who consciously decide to make use of them. It has vastly been argued that new media tools help social movements in organizing and disseminating information, as seen above. However, much has also been argued about the perverse effects of the social media. Evgeny Morozov may well be one of the leading pioneers of this wave of thought, clearly arguing that technological advance does not translate into democratic transformation. His skepticism is well depicted in his masterpiece “The Net Delusion”, in which he holds the argument that social media Internet, in general can be as effective in helping political activists achieve their demands as powerful in backing up authoritarian regimes (McChesney, 1999).

This critique of social media is based on the hypothesis that authoritarian regimes can be as quick as activists in using new media tools for their own interest, as a means of monitoring and controlling societies with increasingly improved mechanisms. Recent studies and extensive evidence also indicate that Internet control mechanisms have improved and that more governments use more sophisticated methods to filter and monitor web-based contents, like targeting local languages and websites of opposition movements (Einstein, 2004).

As it happens with mainstream media, social media can be a double-edged sword; their use by political activists or by state actors can lead to totally opposite outcomes. It is what Kleinnijenhuis and Rietberg (1995) calls the “dyadic nature of social media”: on the one hand,

they can be a tool for opening up to democracy and challenge authoritarian states. They can become a source of useful information, raising awareness that enable the emergence of social capital. On the other hand, social media can support authoritarian states in their efforts of disseminating propaganda.

Some authors have pointed out a major weakness of social media: when used by leaderless movements, they may experience frustration when the time comes for negotiating, as these movements do not have the usual array of party elites. When the time arrives for dealing with the terms of democratic transition, online activists cannot defend their demands, as they do not have a visible leader to participate in the negotiations (Napoli, 2001). On the other hand, social media pose another danger yet to be thoughtfully analyzed. New information and communication technologies are basically designed to be open and unlimited in that the length, amount or even the accuracy of what is being transmitted through social media can sometimes lead to misinformation. In this regard, social media's strengths can also create problems, as discussed in Herman and Chomsky (1988) analysis on social media. According to Herman and Chomsky, the challenge then is sorting critical information from junk on social networks until they gain reputation.

Social media though can also bring opportunities beyond their role in accelerating social movements by providing upgraded forms of communication. Authoritarian regimes can indeed learn fast and adapt to new tools and strategies. They can even shut down the internet as it happened in Burma and Iran but, in doing so, they may have to face economic and political consequences and, what is more, opposition movements may grow more legitimated for their cause. As Entman puts it, "Internet may be the only avenue left for citizens in authoritarian regimes to influence government, fight corruption or defend their rights" (Entman, 1993).

## **1.7 Theoretical Framework: Liberal Critical Theory**

Given the dilemma inferred in the literature review in linking theory with practice of media knowledge and peace intervention, there emerges the need to advance the potential added value of education to fill the gap in this study. For this reason, this study will be conducted following a liberal critical theory as advanced by Harbemas and later developed by Hegel and Marx.

Liberals argue that the universal condition of world politics is globalization. States are, and always have been, embedded in a domestic and transnational society, which creates incentives for economic, social and cultural interaction across borders. State policy may facilitate or block such interactions. Some domestic groups may benefit from or be harmed by such policies, and they pressure government accordingly for policies that facilitate realization of their goals. These social pressures, transmitted through domestic political institutions, define "state preferences", that is, the set of substantive social purposes that motivate foreign policy.

State preferences give governments an underlying stake in the international issues they face. Since the domestic and transnational social context in which states are embedded varies greatly across space and time, so do state preferences. Without such social concerns that transcend state borders, states would have no rational incentive to engage in world politics at all, but would simply devote their resources to an autarkic and isolated existence. To motivate conflict, cooperation, or any other costly foreign policy action, states must possess sufficiently intense state preferences. The resulting globalization-induced variation in social demands, and thus state preferences, is a fundamental cause of state behavior in world politics. This is the central insight of liberal international relations theory. It can be expressed colloquially in various ways: "What matters most is what states want, not how they get it" or "Ends are more important than means."

The media is linked to critical liberals as they got to beyond limits to cover a story on political

and tribal conflicts in Kenya. But they have rules that govern their conduct and face repercussions if the laws and regulations are not followed.

## **1.8 Methodology of the research**

The proposed research took a content analysis design. Content analysis is the systematic categorization of the symbolic meaning of messages in order to make inferences about phenomena of interest that are not directly observed Shamir and Schindler (2000). In particular, the goal of this method in this study was to identify the role of media in countering political and tribal conflict in Kenya in thematic categories as reflected in a particular discourse. Consequently, one of the defining characteristics of content analysis in this research was thematic or coding categories to be considered were operationalized prior to the actual evaluation using the accepted standards of objectivity associated with scientific inquiry.

### **1.8.1 Sampling procedure for content Analysis**

Random selection, which is a precise scientific procedure with nothing haphazard about it, was key to the sampling process. Given the scientific goal of generalization, and the inherent variability of units of analysis, it is unavoidable in this research to use this sampling theory which is a foundation of everyday practices. This Random selection process eliminates the bias in selecting cases in a study research and permits the application of mathematical probability for estimating sample accuracy, thus providing a basis for a representative sample (Brander, 2002).

A sample of size “n” from an infinite population is random. It consists of independent random variables having the same distribution. In random selection, each element has an equal chance of

selection independent of any other event in the selection process. Probability sampling enhances the likelihood of accomplishing this selection process and also provides methods for estimating degree of probable success. Ultimately, the purpose of sampling was to select a set of elements from a population in such a way that the description of those elements (statistics) accurately portray the parameters of the total population from which the elements will be selected. Prior to sampling one must select the limits of analysis (Nachmias and Nachmias, 1994).

Sampling then begins with the description of the target population and the collection of units about which one wishes to generalize. This ensures a complete and correct sampling frame. Regardless of the direction it takes, the statement of a problem boils down to deciding what relationships exists among what variables. For sampling to be feasible, the target population will be defined by objective criteria that clearly indicated its limits of inclusion (Singleton and Bruce, 1999).

Population in this case refers to the total number of *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspaper issues for years 2006 and 2013. The sample size is the 100 issues that will actually be studied and whose characteristics will be generalized to the entire population. The sample is that newspaper that will actually be selected for study, in this case 100 issues of the two newspapers.

Interval or systematic sampling will be used to select articles for analysis. Articles will be selected from newspaper issues at a fixed interval. The length of interval will be determined thus:

$$\text{Length of interval (K)} = N/n$$

Where: N = population size

n = sample size

### **1.8.2 Data collection**

Singleton, Straits and Straits (1993) compared coding categories to the closed-ended questions in survey research. Instead of giving the questions to respondents who provide answers, they elucidate, the content analyst applies them to a document and codes the appropriate category (p. 382).

In this research, a coding sheet was used as a tool to collect data. Coding in this manner accommodated the assignment of mutually exclusive categories that, in turn, allowed for quantification and statistical analysis. Assuming that appropriate sampling procedures had been followed, statistical analysis contributed to generalizability.

The researcher collected both qualitative and quantitative data using a coding sheet that depicted the thematic subjects which formed the main research variables. The qualitative data was collected from secondary data sources, including news reports, particularly from the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard*. The print media was selected for content analysis because of their high level geographical coverage, audience and distribution.

Other source of secondary data included journals, publications of meeting/conference proceedings as well as reports from institutions involved in raising awareness on political and tribal issues. The research also looked at reviews of other people's research in this area.

### **1.8.3 Potential threats to validity**

The content analysis, as a study design, controlled the effects of the most common threats to the internal validity to which experimental studies are often susceptible. To determine the viability

of this method for determining raising awareness on political and tribal issues related articles were collected and analyzed in three phases.

In the first phase of analysis, the full-length articles were read and "coded" according to thematic area. Because reading a large volume of full-length articles is time-consuming, it was hypothesized that analysis of the newspaper title, rather than the entire article, would be a more efficient method of newspaper analysis. Therefore, in the second phase of analysis, a subset of article titles was read and coded.

For the third phase of analysis, the accuracy of the title as a coding device was examined to determine whether the article title actually reflected the content of the article's text. Coding based on a reading of a newspaper title was first compared to coding based on reading of the title plus the first paragraph of the article and then compared to coding based on a reading of the title plus the full length of the article text.

#### **1.8.4 Data analysis**

Given the nature of the method, content analyses tend to be more descriptive, summarizing apparent facts, rather than explanatory (attempting to clarify a given interpretation). Moreover, content analysts tend to look at the manifest or surface content of texts (Grasberg *et al.*, 1998) because these elements are less subject to interpretive variation that might undermine reliability and generalizability. Thus, this research method is appropriate for assessing the information value of mass-mediated raising awareness on political and tribal issues. The content of newspaper reports on raising awareness on political and tribal issues and related issues identified by the media were analyzed thematically.

## **1.9 Chapter Outline**

Chapter I – This chapter details the background content to the topic of research, problem statement, objectives of the study, study justification the Literature Review, theoretical orientation, study methodology employed and finally the chapter outline

Chapter II – Media and Political Conflicts: Global, regional and the Kenya perspectives

.Chapter III – Assessment of media methods for creating awareness on conflicts

Chapter IV – Critical Analysis of media success in conflicts prevention in Kenya

Chapter V – Summary of findings, conclusion and recommendations

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **MEDIA AND POLITICAL CONFLICTS: GLOBAL, REGIONAL AND THE KENYAN PERSPECTIVES**

#### **2.0: Introduction**

The previous chapter dealt with the background of the study including reasons for conducting the study and objectives that the research seeks to meet. Moreover, it contains problem statement, objectives of the study, study justification the Literature Review, theoretical orientation, study methodology employed. This chapter covers Media and political conflicts in global, regional and local perspectives. Furthermore the chapter has covered the diversity and quality theory and social cognitive theory and how their relevance and application to the role of media in countering political and tribal conflict in Kenya.

#### **2.1. The emergence of social media in public affairs**

While no medium of mass communication can create the conditions and variables that compound into revolution, social media has served as the catalyst which has helped mobilize disenfranchised populations to express their frustrations about the economic and political status quo and ultimately lead to populist dissent (Nardi et al, 2011).

Social media has been particularly valuable in countries where state control of the media is inflexible and unwilling to cater to dissenting voices. It is here that social media provides a much needed platform for expression. In Egypt, the government capitalized on the emergency laws in effect after President Anwar Sadat's assassination in 1981 to thwart political opponents, stifle the media, and derail efforts for electoral pluralism. These laws provided the security apparatus with

sweeping powers to detain and interrogate dissidents, and intimidate journalists, without judicial oversight. It was in such repressive environments that social media provided many Egyptians and Tunisians with the only unrestricted outlet to them (Robertson, 2010).

Social media networks such as Facebook, Twitter and the various blogging facilities have since 2004 slowly been lifting the veil on societies once accustomed to conservatism and silence. It was through the disseminative power previously concealed issues started to inform societies of the malaise they were suffering. By 2007, blogging had effectively broken socio-political barriers and was beginning to irritate authorities from Morocco to Bahrain (Stahl, 2006).

Authorities in the Middle East and North Africa were taken by surprise by blogger-activists and were unprepared how to deal with them. Critical of their governments and continuing to highlight state corruption, mismanagement and vote-rigging, these bloggers who were often accused of “harming the public interest”, were blacklisted, intimidated, detained, tortured, and in some countries, killed. Nevertheless, the popularity of social media increased exponentially (Vatrapu, 2006).

The common yet indigenous, denominators, political and economic disenfranchisement and disdain at rampant corruption, between countries of the region were conveyed through social media networks, helping to create a momentum that seized popular anger and provided it with a dynamic that produced mass mobilisation on the streets of such cities as Tunis and Cairo early this year (Viegas, 2004).

## **2.2 Role of media in countering political and tribal conflicts in global perspective**

A number of case studies from around the globe can be used to illustrate the role media plays in countering political and tribal conflicts. Pakistan has a vibrant media landscape, which in spite of political pressure and direct bans that they are sometimes subject to from the state, the media enjoys independence to a large extent. After having been liberalised in 2002, the television sector experienced a media boom. In the fierce competitive environment that followed commercial interests became paramount and quality journalism gave way to sensationalism. Although the radio sector has not seen similar growth, independent radio channels are numerous and considered very important sources of information especially in the rural areas (Muhammad, 2008)

Pakistan ranks as the most deadly country in the world for journalists. The security and safety situation in the conflict-affected areas, the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and North West Frontier Province (NWFP), are the most grievous. Here journalists face propaganda, threats, coercion, and targeted killings. Some areas are effectively no-go areas for journalists; and the journalists working in the conflicts epicentres have adapted to self censorship in order not to antagonise the conflicting parties (Husain, 2005). The media coverage of the regional conflicts within Pakistan and how these relate to the conflict in Afghanistan is either very rudimentary or stereotypical, and does not contribute to a greater understanding of the interwoven challenges from extremism that the two neighbours face. In a sense, Pakistani print media came into existence with a mission to promulgate the idea of Pakistan, which was seen as the best national option for the Muslim minority in British India and as a form of self-defence against suppression from the Hindu majority (Stephen, 2004).

The Pacific Region has experienced growing instability and political unrest over the past 20 years. Some of the worst conflicts in the region occurred in Fiji, Solomon Islands and Bougainville in Papua New Guinea between 1987 and 2000. Although the media has largely portrayed these conflicts as inter-ethnic and pro-indigenous in nature, there are other causes which have found expression in political and armed rebellion. Sensitive questions of land rights, unequal distribution of political power and economic resources, and endemic corruption are at the core of the conflicts. The ensuing breakdown in law and order has had a sustained negative impact on the operation of local media and media practitioners (Riccardo, 2004).

In Fiji the media came under intense pressure during the coups of 1987 and 2000. In 1987, following the military coup d'etat led by Lieutenant-Colonel Sitiveni Rabuka, armed troops and police occupied the offices of the two daily newspapers, The Fiji Times and the Fiji Sun and ordered them to cease publishing indefinitely. Then owners of the Fiji Sun decided to close down their operation rather than publish in an environment of self-censorship. In the civilian coup d'etat of May 2000, the television studios of Fiji TV One were attacked and destroyed after the station aired a scathing analysis of the coup. Many senior journalists left Fiji following the coups in 1987 and again in 2000. The journalists who are currently employed are relatively young compared to their counterparts in Australia and New Zealand (David, 2004).

Reporters and photographers went through a big change in the Vietnam war and changed the style of reporting the war for future journalists. They went from reporting directly off of press releases and forming happy, enthusiastic stories to investigative reporting and writing cold, hard truthful stories. The stories that came from Vietnam and the photos coming from the front line did more than sway public opinion, they helped end the war. The Vietnam War was fought between 1957 and 1975 on the ground in South Vietnam and bordering areas of Cambodia and

Laos and in bombing runs over North Vietnam. The Vietnam War is often called the most unpopular American war of the twentieth century. It resulted in nearly 60,000 American deaths and an estimated 2 to 4 million Vietnamese deaths. Estimating the number killed in the conflict is extremely difficult, the true death count will probably never be known (James, 2004).

The media began to report the true awfulness of war and the politics behind it, to the American public. Because of the effort to reveal the truth from correspondents, many Americans began to doubt the government and the war. The media and the American people alike began losing hope in the government and war. The credibility of the American government suffered their biggest loss when the Pentagon Papers information was leaked to the public. The Pentagon Papers were published in the New York Times, and later the Washington post and as well as other newspapers. The Pentagon Papers, revealed by journalists, contained numbers from the war that included far higher rates of American casualties and far less successful battles than the officially released government statistics had indicated. These documents were top-secret historical studies, contracted by the Pentagon, about the war, that showed how the government was misleading the US public, in all stages of the war (Gentzkow, 2004).

### **2.3 Regional perspective of Media on Political and Tribal conflicts**

According to Omdado (2011), periodic journals have come up with articles and publications in regards to the war-torn Somalia conflict stating that the civil war have caused regional instability and acts as a major hindrance for development within the East African region. From insecurity within the Indian Ocean waters by Somali pirates to the safe haven for Al-Qaeda militants within the region. However, not any have argued outside the “black box” and try to figure out whether stability within the region may not be a merit for political, economic and social-cultural

development in Kenya.

The Somali Civil War is an ongoing civil war taking place in Somalia. The conflict, which began in 1991, has caused destabilization throughout the country and instability within the East Africa region, with the current phase of the conflict seeing the Somalia government losing substantial control of the state to rebel forces. The unrest initially consisted of a series of clashes between various tribalism factions, but with time it took a militant Islamist tone. Somalia's government declared state of emergency in June 2009, requesting immediate international support, and the military intervention of neighboring East African states. However, since the political instability within the region have been an impediment to regional security and stability more so to front line states like Kenya, Ethiopia and both South and Northern Sudan (Omdado, 2011).

The geographical factor that Kenya enjoys includes the fact that Kenya and Somalia are marked as littoral zone or states. These states enjoy the benefit of being within the regional waters and have a bargaining power toward the regional waters. Since most East African states are landlocked countries they depend on the Indian Ocean as the only regional water in terms of shipping products. Somalia is at civil-war, Kenya becomes the last option from the region because of the regional geographical territory which is also considered a good area for the establishment of most United Nation regional headquarters for easy distribution of aid relief and is located at the center of the flying zone within the region for easy access by international airlines. This has influenced most international communities to consider Kenya as a soft spot for setting up their regional offices.

These benefits are enormous to the point that when Kenya experienced political instability (2007-2008) most of the international bodies came in to be able to establish political stability in Kenya leading to a coalition government. This may not be the case when there was a stable political system within the region more so in Somalia. If this were not the case we may be ignored like any other regional governments to establish an internal solution which may not be a lasting solution to Kenya government without the international support. From the regional perspective, media role in peace and conflict can be analyzed from different cases that had happened since the 20th century to present. It is argued that Africa has experienced more of this internal conflict probably more than any other continent in recent history (Rioba, 2008). According to his thesis, Rioba pinpoints the key sources to African conflicts which include feelings of being excluded, issues on identity, and the frustration of basic needs under conditions of under-development and the crumbling hold and legitimacy of a poor state.

Stremlau and Price (2009) recognize the influence of new media technologies in inciting conflict. Therefore, they suggested that in the process of regulating or controlling media on post violence era of certain countries, new media must be considered (Stremlau & Price, 2009). While governments control the media for a political reason, with the era that new media grow each day and people different tools that can support connectivity; governments and any media regulatory bodies should also think on how to manage new media regulation.

In quoting Onadipe and Lord (1997), Rioba elaborates other perspective of sources of conflict in Africa as being caused by political, economic, historical, social, cultural, psychological reasons.

It is argued that media reporting in conflict can end up making the situation more negative. To some extent, media interest is on conflict than peace, as Wolfsfeld (2004, p.30) argues that with a

peace process, the more likely the news media are to play a negative role in the process. In other words, when things are bad, the news media often make them worse. Here it means that, the media can act as a catalyst for instigating more conflict. Despite the situation that media are more likely to escalate a conflict than to pacify it (Wolfsfeld, 2004, p.19), media have been utilized to promote peace environment and building communities that have undergone violent conflict. Adam & Holguin (2008) ascertain that media can play a good role in peace building in places that are surrounded by structural conflict. Identity conflicts can coincide with limits on political participation and uneven distribution of scarce resources, as can be observed in many conflicts in Africa (Rioba, 2008, p.65).

Rioba (2008) goes on to explain that another factor that is considered as the source of conflict is the effect of colonialism that was inherited by indigenous Africans. The colonial divisions over the African culture and identity, plus the geographical locations has brought about tensions on ethnicity and issues on resource availability and sharing among people within the country and outside the respective country. Yet leadership system, poverty and illiteracy level have been associated with the emergence of prolonged conflicts in Africa (Rioba, 2008). Because of the above dynamics, conflict in Africa has become an endless history for decades. As a result, Africa's success stories have generated little media interest (Stock, 2004, p.35).

## **2.4 Kenyan perspective of the media on political and tribal conflicts**

The Kenyan media includes more than 90 FM stations, more than 15 TV stations, and an unconfirmed number of print newspapers and magazines. Publications mainly use English as their primary language of communication, with some media houses employing Swahili vernacular or community-based languages are commonly used in broadcast media; mostly radio (LoC, 2013).

The media in Kenya is regulated by a statutory body called the Media Council of Kenya. The Media council of Kenya is an independent national institution established by the Media Act, 2007 as the leading institution in the regulation of media and in the conduct and discipline of journalists. It is mandated amongst other to register and accredit journalists, register media establishments, handle complaints from the public and create and publish yearly media audit on the Media Freedom in Kenya. During accreditation the journalists agree to adhere to the Code of Conduct and Practice of journalism in Kenya, which was created by media practitioners and stakeholders with the view of making journalism in Kenya a more professional and respectable field (MCK, 2013).

The questions of how culture and identity shape peoples view in regards to conflict are very similar questions in the Kenyan context, and have their roots in their tribal identity.

Political parties in Kenya typically fall under tribal lines, valuing ethnicity above political ideology and policy. This is due to the perception that the party offers the best hope for one within the tribe to assume power and then share state resources with tribal members (Mutua, 2008). The result of this view has historically been tribalism or prejudice across tribes, and favouritism within the tribe. Kenyan culture is deeply tribal. The average person identifies with

the tribe and values the tribe. In addition to this, Kenyans are an inherently agrarian society (Cussac 2008). This means that land is very important. Indeed, the topic of land has been an acute issue in the majority of conflicts since Kenyan independence. Conflict in Kenya is informed by a history where the original communities to these lands were forcefully removed to give way to large scale farming for white farmers. After independence, restitution was never pursued; hence communities continue to clamour for ancestral land as part of their identity and political rights.

One of the key drivers of conflict in Kenya is the dimension of community identities which is closely related to the issue of land, borders and associated historical grievances plus a challenging regional environment and political transition. With diverse language and cultural groups and a dispersed geography, the region's media have struggled to develop effective communication channels to serve the region.

According to the Kenyan Daily Post, March 2013 relayed the foreign reporters came to Kenya to cover the General elections and they were expecting violence like 2007/2008 but Kenyans maintained peace throughout the electioneering period. CNN had sent numerous reporters who posted a story about Kenyans preparing for violence somewhere in Rift Valley then posted a video clip with three characters armed with crude weapons rolling on the ground. The Kenyan government ordered CNN to give evidence of violence leading to the clip taken out from its website and even issued an official apology to Kenyans. Kenyans condemned the CNN video that said Kenyans were heavily armed ahead of the 4th March general elections. The report, by CNN's international correspondent Nema Elbagir said Kenyans were arming themselves for their own protection in case post-elections violence like that witnessed after the 2007 general elections

erupted after March 4th. Many Kenyans took to social media to condemn the "Armed as Kenyan vote nears" video, dismissing it as a negative and incorrect portrayal of the reality in Kenya. Most Kenyans condemned the video were convinced there will not be a repeat of the chaos experienced in 2007 regardless of who emerges winner of the presidential election.

According to reports by CNN concerning the 2007/2008 post-election violence showed horrific scenes which were seen by a large number of Kenyans and triggered widespread clashes around the country. As a result, the media's reporting of a conflict became central to the unfolding of the conflict itself. While technology has reduced the tyranny of distance, the commercial realities of news gathering have also affected the reporting of conflicts. The higher cost of news gathering in remote regions, coupled with the geopolitical and economic priorities of the West, mean that conflicts occurring at close proximity to the metropolitan centres receive coverage at the expense of those occurring further away in less developed regions of the world.

In Kenya after the 2007 general election, media was also engaged in the form of political propaganda based on ethnicity. In the report of the workshop based on a comparative framework of election experiences of Ethiopia, Uganda, Kenya, Somaliland, Tanzania and Sudan; Stremlau and Price (2009) discussed the situation in East Africa on the competitive nature of elections in the region. The discussion is on the engagement of both mainstream media and some new media such as mobile phone in spreading of hate messages against a certain ethnic tribe in Kenya. In short, politicians and some citizens of Kenya utilized media for political violence mobilization.

In addition, the mushrooming of local language media in Kenya was another addition source of problem. The vernacular media's programs targeted the ethno-political communities; meaning

that the media practitioners in such media were favoring the ethnic tribes that they (journalists and broadcasters) belonged to. Local language media was a tool used by politicians for ethnic mobilization and political control in a certain area. Also most of the journalists who were working in local language media were not professionally trained (Ogola, 2011):

## **2.5. The role of social media as an instrument for political struggle**

The use of social media tools as a means to raise awareness and mobilize the masses against the status quo of a given country or regime is certainly not new. Social and political activism has had very significant episodes throughout the twentieth century, from non-violent civil disobedience in India to civil right movements in the US among many others, yet social media have given social movements useful tools to coordinate and to undertake collective action. Clay Shirky's analysis on the power of social media in enhancing democracies is probably one of the best attempts at glorifying social media movements (Shirky 2011).

Shirky believes that social media have a key role in echoing public opinion. To him, access to conversation is far more important than access to information. In the long run, he argues, social media may help increase freedoms as the printing press, postal service or the telegraph did before. Internet has benefited grassroots movements by providing new possibilities for citizens to organize even under authoritarian regimes.

As Yochai Benkler argues, with the inclusion of Internet in the framework of social mobilization, there has been a qualitative change represented in the experience of being a potential speaker, as opposed to simply a listener (Benkler 2006). According to him, Internet has not only reduced the

cost of producing and publishing media content but it has also decentralized media production, making it much harder for authoritarian regimes to control and censor media outlets. Nevertheless, there are many detractors of this uncontested role of social media. Malcom Gladwell (2010), whose criticism of online activism became clear in his article ‘Why the revolution will not be twitted’, disregards of the role of social networking in effecting social and political change (Shirky 2011).

## **2.6 Global perspective of Media on Political conflicts**

New communications technologies such as mobile/video phones and laptop computers are allowing journalists to gather and disseminate information with ease from many parts of the world. The digitization of the news industry, which has led to a compression of time and space, means we see news images of demonstrations, riots or coups within minutes of these occurring in the streets. These images not only inform global audiences, but may instigate further campaigns of violence at their home countries (Chin, 2000).

A study of conflict reporting in the world's major news outlets in 2000 shows that the Israel Palestine conflict was by far the most covered - five times greater than the next most covered conflict. Virgil Hawkins, the researcher who conducted the study, notes: ‘By contrast, conflict in Africa, which has been, in the post-Cold-War world, responsible for up to 90 percent of the world's total war dead, suffered an almost complete media blackout. Coverage of the massive war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), which caused in excess of one million deaths in the year 2000, was almost insignificant (Virgil, 2002).

With the international news agenda controlled by the world's major media giants, it has become crucial to develop and strengthen media at the local level to maintain diversity of opinion. As media in many developing nations, such as Indonesia, move away from state control towards private enterprise, it is essential for local media to find their own voice and professional codes. A well-developed media system with professionally trained journalists usually benefits both global and local audiences and provides a vital link to the outside world during conflict situations. For example, the civilian coup d'état that occurred in Fiji on 19 May 2000 brought world-wide attention to a small web publisher, Fijilive.com, which provided the only communication link out of Suva during the critical first 48 hours of this crisis. The Fijilive publisher, Yashwant Gaunder, a journalist by profession instantly recognized the power of the Internet in maintaining the global communication flow. In an amazing example of reverse news flow, the world's news media took direct feeds from Fijilive.com to inform international audiences about the events unraveling in Fiji's Parliamentary compounds. Gaunder himself was surprised by the interest his website generated worldwide (Yashwant, 2003).

Conflict in the Pacific is but an example of political instability that occurred for over 20 years. Some of the worst conflicts in the region occurred in Fiji, Solomon Islands and Bougainville in Papua New Guinea between 1987 and 2000. Although the media has largely portrayed these conflicts as inter-ethnic and pro-indigenous in nature, there are other causes which have found expression in political and armed rebellion. Sensitive questions of land rights, unequal distribution of political power and economic resources, and endemic corruption are at the core of the conflicts. The ensuing breakdown in law and order has had a sustained negative impact on the operation of local media and media practitioners (Robert, 2004).

## 2.7 Media economics

Most newspapers, radio and TV stations get most or all of their income from advertisements and sponsoring. The media will therefore seek to optimally satisfy the interests of their advertisers, which are not necessarily coincident with the interests of the readers, listeners and viewers (Ben, 1990). The predominant view among economists is that free competition generally benefits society because it provides the most differentiated supply of commodities to the optimal price.

This line of reasoning dominates European as well as American media policy (Anderson, 2002). It is well known, however, that free competition does not always consider all interests. The term market failure describes the situation where the free market forces do not automatically lead to maximal welfare (often defined as the sum of benefits to all parties). Market failure may occur, for example, when consumers are unable to evaluate the quality of a commodity, when third party interests are affected (externalities), or when production has large fixed costs (Cricher, 2003).

In the case of media financed by advertisements exclusively, the interests served are those of the advertisers. The interests of the media consumers are satisfied only insofar as these are coincident with the interests of the advertisers (Domke *et al.*, 1998). There is no guarantee that public interests are served well. This is the reason why many countries have public radio- and TV stations with public service obligations. Liberalizing the media market and relying on the free market forces are policies that are often used for the express purpose of making sure that all interests are served. Many theorists ignore, however, that the media not only satisfy consumer preferences, but also form them (Gerbner *et al.*, 2002).

Many economists assume that competition increases diversity. Numerous policy discussions have recommended increased competition as the best way to assure diversity which, it is assumed, will make sure that all interests are served well. However, this strategy has failed time and again because the underlying assumptions are wrong. It has been known for many years that there is a strong tendency towards beteful duplication of the most popular program forms under free competition (Habermas, 1996). There is considerable uncertainty over whether competition increases or decreases the diversity and quality of media products (McChesney, 1999).

While moderate competition may increase diversity, it has been found theoretically as well as empirically that excessive competition may lead to decreased diversity (Rogers, 2002). Assume, for example, that a country has two competing commercial TV stations with each one channel. In this case they will most likely both try to maximize their market share by sending the same kind of programs that appeal to the broadest possible audience. But if, on the other hand, both channels are owned by the same TV station, then the owner will seek to minimize competition between the two channels by sending different types of programs on the two channels. The conclusion is that reduced competition may lead to increased diversity.

Most studies of the effect of market structure on the quality of mass media products use diversity as the only measure of satisfaction of consumer needs (Zaller, 1999). Diversity is the most objective criterion and the one that is most easily measured. Some authors explicitly state their unwillingness to use more subjective quality measures (Wurff and Cuilenburg, 2001), but a few scientists have demonstrated that it can be done. Zillmann (2002) provides a detailed discussion of quality criteria, Wright (1994) finds that market incentives are not sufficient for promoting

public affairs programming, and Wright concludes, "for every set of cases in which I am able to make plausible comparisons, higher levels of market competition are associated with lower levels of news quality".

Diversity may indeed be a poor measure of quality. If we assume that there is a positive relationship between production costs and the quality of a media product, and if we further assume that the total revenue from a particular niche of the media market is limited, then we can conclude that the more competitors there are to share the niche, the less income will each competitor have to spend on improving quality.

## **2.8 Diversity and quality theory**

This theory suggests that there may in fact be a negative relationship between diversity and quality (Owen *et al.*, 1992). A more detailed theoretical analysis confirms that competition may indeed lead to decreased program quality (Nixon and Jones, 1999). It has been criticized that the diversity that is measured is a diversity of form, not of contents, and even less does it represent a diversity of opinions or ideologies, nor a satisfaction of consumer interests (Nixon and Jones, 1999). A diversity of program formats is hardly related to fairness, relevance, thorough investigation, or other requirements that we expect a democratic press to meet. The available studies of diversity therefore fail to capture the central problems related to the democratic role of the media. It is necessary that media economists introduce other quality measures in studies of the relationship between market structure and the quality of mass media products (Roskos *et al.*, 2002).

Lacking better criteria, we may use production costs as a reasonable measure of quality (Renn *et al.*, 1992). Many mathematical models are based on the assumption that a TV program or other media product satisfying a specific demand is produced at fixed costs. The product is either produced or not produced, depending on whether it is profitable (e.g. Nilssen and Sørgaard 2000). This simplification fails to cover the easily observable fact that a media product satisfying a specific demand may be produced in varying degrees of quality at varying costs. If many competitors share the same product niche then each competitor will have less income to cover production costs and will therefore be forced to make a product of lower quality.

For example, if many competitors share the market for political news, then each competitor will have few resources for investigative journalism and will only be able to uncritically relay the messages from politicians and news agencies. Several studies have found a negative correlation between competition and news quality (Zaller 1992). You may expect that at least free competition leads at to an optimal satisfaction of the interests of the advertisers, but this is not the case according to a study of the American radio broadcasting market (Kitzinger and Reilly 1999).

Theoretical calculations show that free competition may favor products with high variable costs rather than products with high fixed costs; because as the number of suppliers gets higher, each supplier has less income for covering the fixed costs (Harris, 1981). When applied to mass media, this theory means that more competition may lead to lower quality if we assume that there is a positive correspondence between production costs and quality (Harris, 1981).

Several observations confirm this (Hjarvard, 1999). If we assume that media products of higher quality can attract a larger audience, then we must conclude that excessive competition benefits neither consumers nor advertisers. Denmark is regarded as a good test case because it had a state monopoly TV station until 1988 when one, and later more, commercial TV stations were introduced. The introduction of competing TV stations was motivated by the desire to improve the quality and diversity of the program supply and to make sure that minority interests were satisfied. A government commission recommended competition as the means to obtain these goals, in spite of the fact that they were aware of experiences from England and Sweden showing that competition might reduce program quality (Hawkins and Pingree 1990).

The commission will be not aware of any theory that could explain the latter effect (Klier, 1990). A recent investigation has shown that the competition has not improved the quality of news production (Hjarvard 1999), confirming the prediction by Hogg and Abrams (1988). In Sweden, where the market situation is similar, it has been observed that TV news have become more dramatic, sensationalist, and less informative, as the competition has increased (Hellman, 2001). In Finland, an increase in the number of TV channels has not led to increased diversity of the available programs (Hellman 2001).

## **2.9 Scope and Limitation of the Field of Study**

The study will be carried out in various media houses. For print media, the Standard newspaper will be chosen, electronic media via radio the KASS FM will be chosen and visual media NTV will be chosen with particular reference to conflict in various parts of Kenya from the years 2007-2013.

The research anticipates a number of limitations, such as the incapacity to exhaustively consider every single instance of strategy employed by every media house, the possibility of respondents not having prior knowledge about media campaigns or peace and inherent weaknesses in the design of the research.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **ASSESSMENT OF METHODS USED BY MEDIA IN CONFLICT AWARENESS**

#### **CREATION**

##### **3.0: Introduction**

This chapter has presented, analyzed and interpreted the data that the researcher got from the respondents as well as from the secondary sources. The chapter also has detailed covered an assessment of methods used by media in conflict awareness creation.

##### **3.1 The effectiveness of media and conflict priming**

The media can, and often contributes to the escalation of tensions and conflicts; this does not mean that they cannot play a positive role as well. The topic 'conflict and the media' may relate to both the national and international media. However, since it is the national media of the conflict-affected country and region that have the greatest potential in effecting cooperation and even conflict resolution (Durham and Kellner, 2001). There is a distinction between news journalism and other forms of media. While the former is important for the communication environment of a country, it only represents one component of all of what is referred to as 'the media'. The latter term refers not only to journalism itself, but may also comprise a whole host of communication types, varying both in content and in format, and ranging from drama and documentary to discussions, using a host of technologies, such as radio, television and print media.

Efforts to realize the potentials of the media must be part of a concerted action by different actors to shift the political culture in which the media operate, away from mutual ethnic stereotyping,

marginalization and power-grabbing on ethnic bases towards a culture of open dialogue, mutual respect for different life-styles, and controlled power-sharing (Romer et al, 2003). Approaches limited only to the media often fail to address the ‘structural’ factors that gave rise to the conflict in the first place (Baldauf, 2008). Thus efforts to transform individual and societal mentalities should be extended to include governmental and non-governmental organizations, businesses (including media owners), public opinion leaders, academics and marginalized sections of the society. It is only through such a multilevel/holistic approach that the media’s potential to contribute in transforming a conflict can eventually be realized since these actors constitute the umbrella under which media can formulate the specific content of their programmes and activities (Terzis & Ozgunes 2000).

The media provide people with important information about their environment (e.g. political, cultural, social issues) and respond to more imminent problems (weather, traffic, natural catastrophes). At least in part, people make decisions about whether to dress for warm or cold, choose political leaders to vote for in elections, and judge other groups in society based on the media (Gilboa, 2002). The media interpret events beyond our physical realm and help us make sense of them. With the improvement of technologies and the advancement of new media such as the internet, media plays an increasingly more prominent role in our daily communication and entertainment.

Many conflicts arise from what parties think may happen, from their anxiety, prejudice, fear, and uncertainties, rather than from any phenomenon that is actually threatening (Baumann, 2002). On the surface, many conflicts do seem to revolve around ethnic, cultural, or linguistic divisions.

However, the origin of such conflicts can be found in the structural arrangements of roles, which often entail expectations of prestige, livelihoods and survival. Such conflicts may reflect latent or manifest interest orientations. The position of prestige and means of survival can be related to both legal and traditional authority, but in the context of social and ethnic type, traditional authority is the more prevailing one. Ben-Yehuda (2005) further contends that conflicts that center on issues of justice tend to be intractable in part because reaching an agreement about what qualifies as injustice is often exceedingly difficult. Those who benefit from injustice often perpetuate it, often without being fully aware that they are contributing to injustice. Not surprisingly, victims are typically more sensitive to injustice than victimizers (Ben-Yehuda, 2005). What seems fair to one person may not seem fair to another, and these perceptions are often affected by self-interest. However, parties often speak of justice in absolute terms, as some independent and objective standard of fairness that can be used to determine who is right.

Ways of managing organizational conflict are as varied as its causes, origins and contexts. According to Botes (1996) the purpose of conflict management, whether undertaken by the parties in conflict or whether involving the intervention of an outside party, is to affect the entire structure of a conflict situation so as to contain the destructive components in the conflict process (e.g. hostility, use of violence) and help the parties possessing incompatible goals to find some solution to their conflict (Hieber, 2001). Effective conflict management succeeds in minimizing disruption stemming from the existence of a conflict, and providing a solution that is satisfactory and acceptable.

The media plays a wide range of roles in peoples' lives. Some of these roles are constructive and some are destructive (Howard, 2002). Recognizing the diversity within media professionals is a first step in critically analyzing how best to use the media to support conflict management. Media events can be used at the beginning of negotiations to build confidence, facilitate negotiations or break diplomatic deadlocks to create a climate conducive to negotiation. As Paluck (2007) puts it, media events such as press releases, rock concerts, or radio programs can celebrate peace agreements and negotiations. The media events may help to promote and mobilize public support for agreements. It is important to remain optimistic about using media in conflict prevention and conflict management while at the same time remaining grounded in the theoretical evidence from the literature about realistic media abilities (Ball-Rokeach and DeFleur, 2000). New studies began to outline the initial arguments about media's ability to assist the goals of conflict management.

Sometimes the media is used to cover diplomatic initiatives and send messages back and forth between sides of a conflict (Durham and Kellner, 2001). While policymakers usually prefer secret negotiations, sometimes there are no direct channels of communication. If one side wants to test reactions to a negotiation proposal, they may send signals and messages to other groups through the media. The media can help achieve goals in conflict prevention and conflict management when paired with approaches or strategies. The media is not appropriate for all conflict management efforts however.

Highly sensitive negotiations, for example, are often best kept quiet without the pressure brought by media seeking to highlight areas of conflict, which helps them sell their media products, rather

than serve to foster a focus on common ground, a problem-solving orientation, and hopefulness required for diplomacy (Howard et al, 2003). In a perfect world, the media's role of reporting the truth and its job of serving the public good would not conflict. In the real world, however, these two roles can clash and one of the areas in which this clash occurs is the media's reporting on suicide. The suicide of an "ordinary" person can become news in his or her own community, and the suicide of a prominent person or celebrity can become national, and even international, news. For better or worse, violent deaths are always news and the drama of death by a person's own hand adds to the public interest in such incidents.

Today, with the dramatic development of technological advances, immediate images from conflict, and to a lesser extent post conflict zones, are beamed directly into peoples' living rooms as indicated by Romer et al (2003). While media can contribute toward the formation of attitudes, opinions and increased knowledge and awareness by supplying information, the limiting factor is the uncertainty that this positive impact will transfer to behavior or result in action. For this to happen, a number of other variables need to be aligned with the media effort (Schmidtke and Schaller, 2000) because action or behavior is dependent on many outside variables and because these variables contribute to the end result as much as any form of communication initiative, only the true integration of all media genres into a greater conflict management strategy can insure a significant move toward a peaceful society. In today's media environment it is not enough to employ just a few uncoordinated messages.

### **3.2 Media-oriented peace building interventions are cost-effective, compared to the cost of conflict**

Current technology can put an entire digital broadcasting studio in a suitcase. One laser-guided bomb can cost equal the amount of an entire year of sophisticated programming to encourage conflict resolution in a war-torn society. However, media interventions require intensive advance research, sensitization to local conditions and partners, and patience, which entails time and expense. And experience has shown that media projects must strive for longevity leading to sustainability to have lasting effect. Among the channels of communication, radio has the widest reach (UN peace building report on Sudan, 2010).

Television can be expensive but has a powerful effect upon those who can receive it. The cost of other channels, such as newspapers or street theatre or posters, varies widely. Their impact may be a reflection of their innovative nature rather than their cost. The absence of a struggling media in a country does not always mean there is an immediate opportunity for a media-related initiative. Great caution and realism must be applied to fully determine the controlling authorities' tolerance for an intervention dedicated to non-violent conflict resolution.

Any state that suppresses a free media puts its commitment to justice, human rights and the rule of law very much in doubt. Prolonged diplomacy, confidence building and tradeoffs may be necessary to gain and maintain approval for any media-related peace building initiative in such an environment.

#### **3.2.1 Radio**

Radio is defined in Dictionary.com, as a wireless telegraphy or telephony: speeches broadcast by

radio. It also defined it as a device for receiving or transmitting radio broadcasts.

(Dictionary.com) Radio stations can be divided roughly into four categories: state-controlled public radio; privately owned commercial radio; community-controlled radio and international radio. However, Myers argued that there is much overlap. Private commercial stations have bigger audiences than government radio in many countries, and, although dependable statistics for Africa as a whole are difficult to come by, it is clear that state radio is coming under increasing pressure from regional and local commercial radio throughout the continent, especially in urban (Myers, 2008). But Myers argument fall short in identifying the strength and the popularity of the community or international radios when it comes to the role of radio in promoting peace. Fraser and Estrada, 2001 has grouped local independent radio into different categories. Broadly, defined these stations as follows: (UNESCO, 2001)

**Commercial radio:** This is a stations set up by an individual or group of investors who want to make a profit from broadcasting.

**Religious radio:** This is a stations set up by religious institutions to serve particular religious denominations, sects or interests.

**NGO radio:** This is a radio station that are projects of nongovernmental organizations and Whose primary aim is to extend the work of the host NGO and to serve the NGO's clients.

**Community radio:** This radio station is owned and controlled by communities, serving community interests. There are usually two kinds of community stations: geographic stations, which serve a quite small geographic area and community of interest stations, which serve a particular cultural, e.g. music, ethnic, institutional e.g. campus or religious interest. Community of interest stations differ from religious and NGO stations in that they are owned by members of the community of interest rather than by an NGO or other institution like a church.( intern news

report 2012)

Broadcasting can be divided into three general categories:

**3.2.2 Public-service broadcasting:** This is generally conducted by a statutory entity, which is usually, though not necessarily, a state-supported or a state-owned corporation. Its broadcasting policies and programming are often controlled by a public body, such as a legally constituted authority. This body ensures that broadcasting operates to provide information, education and entertainment to the citizens and society in general, and independently of government, party politics or other interests. Much of the funding for the operation comes from license fees that the listeners/viewers pay for the receivers they have in their homes.

**3.2.3 Commercial or private broadcasting:** This type of broadcast provides programs designed primarily for profit from advertising revenue and is owned and controlled by private individuals, or by commercial enterprises.

**3.2.4 Community broadcasting:** This is a non-profit service that is owned and managed by a particular community, usually through a trust, foundation, or association. Its aim is to serve and benefit that community. It is, in effect, a form of public-service broadcasting, but it serves a community rather than the whole nation, as is the usual form of public broadcasting described above. Moreover, it relies and must rely mainly on the resources of the community.

### **3.3 Political issues in media**

One cannot understand the news media without understanding the nature of the state, the system and political parties, the pattern of relations between economic and political interests, and the development of civil society, among other elements of social structure” (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p.8). The above statement signifies the importance of understanding different components that shape the news media in a certain place. The merged media and politics is the result of different influence from the media organization, the journalist and the audience, who can end up shaping the media content. Hallin & Mancini (2004, p.28) went further explaining that the Political parallelism has a number of different components, and there are a number of indicators that can be used to assess how strongly it is present in a media system. Perhaps most basically it refers to media content-the extent to which the different media reflect distinct political orientations in their news and current affairs reporting, and sometimes also their entertainment content.

Also Patterson (2008) have ascertained that some media houses have a tendency of operating in a partisanship because of the influence of the policy of a certain political party that the media owners or workers have decided to follow; whereby at the end, the political party influence is shaping the media content decision. In the media systems, politics have become one of the main issues that media portray every day. News about campaign, election, and results of election, political rivals because of election, and many more political issues are among media interests. Almost daily, we watch, read or listen to the media about politics such as Obama’s new health policy, Dominique Strauss Khan’s scandal, Egyptian revolution, fall and death of Muamar Gaddafi of Libya, Tunisian’s Mohamed Bouziz self assassination because of political issues in Tunisia; and many more news stories broadcasted or written in different media every day.

Through satellite and data network system of broadcasting, the flow of news across international boundaries is immeasurable (Neuman, 2008).

According to the study conducted in America in 2006 on the The political Impact of Media Bias, Vigna & Kaplan's (2007) concluded that media biasness in politics affect voters decisions on the Republican or Democrats in America. In Tanzania for example, some political parties own media houses such as radio and newspaper. "Whatever is broadcasted in such media must have a direct link to the respective political party" (see Rioba, 2008, p.67-68). Further, Hallin & Mancini (2004, p.28) continue explaining how the political parallelism works: Historically, another of the most important components of political parallelism is organizational connections between media and political parties or other kinds of organizations, including trade unions, cooperatives, churches and the like, which are often linked to political parties. Through much of the twentieth century many media organizations were connected to such institutions, which funded and helped to distribute them and whose goals the media served in a variety of ways. These kinds of organizational connections have mostly died out, though we will argue that influence can still be in the media institution of countries where they were once strong. Another, closely related component of political parallelism is the tendency for media personnel to be active in political life, often serving in party or public offices. This is also much less common today. Somewhat more common is a tendency in some systems for the carrier path of journalists and other media personnel to be shaped by their political affiliations, in the sense that they work for media organizations whose politics coincide with their own, or get their jobs in part because their media organizations want to balance the representation of different political tendencies, or get the assignments they do because their political affiliations open certain political doors for them.

Political parallelism is also often manifested in the partisanship of media audiences, with supporters of different parties or tendencies buying different news papers or watching different TV channel.

Although Hallin & Mancini are arguing on the non existence of the organizational connections in media and political party, or the the activeness of the media personnel in political party, the situation is different in Africa, particularly, Tanzania. Journalist as an individual can be a member of a certain political party, not hiding but openly; two powerful political parties CCM and CHADEMA are owning media houses such as Uhuru Newspaper, Radio Uhuru FM for the CCM; and Tanzania Daima newspaper for CHADEMA. Also there is another newspaper industry called Habari Media Group is owned by the active CCM politician who also was a member of parliament (Jones & Mhando, 2005; Rioba, 2008; European Union Election Observation Mission to Tanzania, 2010).

The partisanship of the media is sometimes influenced by the fact that journalist must have story to tell because journalistic business is about gathering and disseminating information in a daily basis (Patterson, 2008). Therefore politics is as another business of news. It is argued that because of partisanship, journalist may end up being bias in reporting. Yet it is difficult to determine whether negative coverage of media against certain people is a result of partisan biases or there are other factors prevail (Patterson, 2008). However, Patterson & Donsbach (1996, p.456) went further explaining that “journalists are partisans actors as well as news professionals.

Journalist's partisanship affects their news decisions, even when they operate within organizations committed to the principles of partisan neutrality.

Still political and commercial pressures are mentioned to be the forces towards journalists' decision, to root for one outcome over another, to seek out some sources and never even speak to others (Zachary, 2006, n.p.).

Unfortunately, there is a part of humanity that we tend to forget when it comes to discussion about journalist performances. The truth remains that "Journalists are human beings first, not special creatures that are above the normal loyalties of life. Journalists should be subject to all the normal constraints of ordinary citizens. They should benefit from all the normal freedoms of ordinary citizens (Zachary, 2006, n.p.). Nevertheless, journalistic guidelines such as truth, balance, accuracy of information are important things for any journalist to observe (Patterson, 2008). It seems that there is a rival between journalism professional carrier and humanity practices.

During working environment, journalist can have working relations with politicians as sources of news. At the same time politicians depend on media so as to spread political information and propaganda to the public. Apart from all such relationship, yet there is existence of conflict between politicians and journalist because of different interest the two parties hold. While journalists fear that politicians may try to manipulate them, politicians fear that journalists may distort their messages or turn against politicians by making them invisible in the public sphere (Patterson, 2008).

Still politicians are dependent on the news media. This is because people mainly base their voting decisions on the presentation of politicians in the media. The media appeal of a politician may be more important than his/her skills, and consequently we are seeing more and more media people and actors going into politics...The need for personalization has often caused the private lives of politicians to figure more prominently on the public agenda than debates over complicated social issues”.

Apart from that, as I have mentioned above, political news occupy most of the news media coverage. Most of the political uprisings across the world have received media coverage excessively. With political issues, some media houses tend to attract more audience and increase media market because for the audience, a political conflict is perceived as much more interesting (Chibnall, 1977).

### **3.4 Peace & Conflict**

Accordingly, media can be a source of political conflict. Parajon and Bajraktari (2007, n.p.) explain that International media sources such as the BBC, CNN, Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera have global reach, and as such have an “agenda-setting effect”. This effect as Steven Livingston explained revolves around the ideological components of political disagreements, and more specifically the way key actors on conflict seek to manipulate public perceptions of the disagreement. That is, actors in any conflict will seek to either minimize or exaggerate the conflict, depending upon their relative position of power. Audience from different areas of the world can be easily exposed to the political disruption all over the world through the work of media especially news programs. Also, the role of media can be affected by political revolution change the direction of the media roles over time and different circumstances. Media can

contribute to political conflict, and at the same time media can “play a similar role in construction of political waves associated with peace process” (Wolfsfeld; 2004, p.34).

In some countries in Africa, media have been a catalyst for political conflict and at the same time media have been investing for peace processes. The competitive nature of political issues such as election in East African countries is asserted to be a big cause of conflict. The connection of politics in media is one of the big issues that have resulted to the escalations of conflict in Africa. Different political parties may use the media to send party’s propaganda so as to win election. The main question is on how the media is used by politicians during sending political messages (Stremlau & Price, 2009, p.8 &14).

In Kenya, for example, politics has been polarized for decades, and various actors in the political arena have stoked this polarization to their benefit, including through various communication mechanisms. In the Kenyan case radio was heavily implicated in contributing to violence. In particular, phone-in radio shows permitted the declaration of extreme sentiments. The establishment of local language media in Kenya is because of targeting the ethno-political communities. The local language media have become the tool for ethnic mobilization where by the politicians used them for the purpose of political control. The media owners who some of them are politicians, employ journalists in terms of their local language competence and not professional standards (Ogola, 2011).

In the same line to the 1994 Rwanda genocide that is noted to be fueled by media, in Kenya post election violence of 2007, there are different arguments that the media was also involved in the

uprising of the conflict (Ogola, 2011). The same as Rwanda, media in Kenya was also used by the powerful regime such as the political figures who through their speech, they were spreading hate speech. Always, in order to win election, contestants use media to publicize their political agenda. The way politicians use the media to send political information has resulted to violence in Kenya (Stremlau and Price, 2009). Ethnicity was also another element that is mentioned to be the system of political struggles in Kenya. As a result, political leaders are elected in reference to where he comes from. For example, Kikuyu politicians will hardly be elected in the area that Luo are situated, and the like. Therefore, in order to collect majority votes from the people of the same ethnic origin, the politicians or people with connection to a certain political party established vernacular media as one of the intentions of secretly sending messages of antagonism to one group against another group (Ogola, 2011).

For the media in Kenya, there is a big correlation of media performance and ethnic group it serves (Stremlau and Price, 2009). According to Ogola (2011), there is a mushrooming of Kenya's local language media stations to facilitate the ethno-political communities. These media are acting as the tool for ethnic mobilization where the politicians used them for the purpose of political control. The media owners who some of them are politicians, employed un-professional journalists who were given job opportunity based on their local language competencies. Some of the problems within the media during the post-election period in Kenya have been attributed to poor journalism whereby radio presenters were described as being unable to moderate discussion and mediate conflict once audience or sources participate in the live programs.

Hence, the issue of journalist's professionalism is again questionable. In her words, Ms Christine Nguku, The chairperson of Alternative Media Network and General Manager of Fifa FM, a radio station that is situated in South East of Nairobi explained that there is a cause and effect relation between ethnic media, hate speech and the media practitioners. The situation is that, the journalists reflect where they are coming from, basing on the narratives that a particular journalist was growing with. As a result, this situation is ending up creating biasness on reporting on news stories that do not belong to the ethnic side of the journalist. Ms Christine Nguku was speaking during a Kenya Media Roundtables, a program that is produced by Media Focus on Africa Foundation (MFAF), The School of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Nairobi and Kenya Editors Guild (KEG). The main objective of Kenya Media roundtable is to bring media practitioners and other stakeholders in politics, social and economic carrier who will have a conversation on the role of the media in various issues (Kenya Media Roundtables.org).

Apart from those initiatives to bring all media actors together, to this level, the government of Kenya has failed to bring these ethnic groups together to break divisions. Still, it seems that there are many old underlying issues that exploded in the post-election violence that have long been neglected by the state, which confuses calm for peace; inactivity for stability. Some of these issues include long held ethnic tensions that have roots in political, economic and social dialectics; impunity for massive human rights violations including corruption; and security forces that are corrupt, oppressive and used for partisan political purposes rather than for maintaining security and combating crime. Above all, the contradiction of the Kenyan nation since its formation in the late 1800s, and the lack of a social contract that is relevant to the times

that we live in finally were violently exposed; what was witnessed in 2008 was the decay of the Kenyan state and institutions that have outlived their time (Kiai, 2008, p.1).

At the end, both media and politics are powerful things in the society. Unfortunately, “there seems to be a strong correlation between political power and access to the nation’s resources” (Eti, 2009) Further, Eti (2009) pointed that in developing democracies, politics is important for the survival which at the end of the day, politics generates conflict frequently. For that case, it is clear that in some African countries politics is centralized in the cities. In addition, most of the media houses in Africa are situated in the central part of the country. The connection between media and politics is getting much close because of such closeness and the established dependency from both parts; journalist and politicians.

Therefore, for the media, the application of media guidelines and following media role’s requirements during reporting can be a catalyst for neutral political reporting that may not result to political tensions. The translation of media guidelines is the same as the ethical codes of conducts for journalists. Different media researchers have been documenting on how media practitioners should attend to their profession (Karashini, 2011). Still one can argue that both politicians and media have the responsibility to make sure that whatever information that is disseminated through the media will not cause disruption to the public. For example, in many cases, including Rwanda, hate speech emanates directly from the government or politicians it is not the responsibility of the media alone (Monroe & Stremlau, 2009, p.7). The media independence is also another thing to think about. In his message on the World Press Freedom Day of 2004, the past UN Secretary General Kofi Annan had pointed out that there is a need to

put forward “the freedom and independence of the media as an essential requirement for building a better and fairer world... and to ensure that journalists the men and women charged with helping us understand ourselves and our world are able to do their vital work in safety and without fear” (UN, 2004, n.p.).

### **3.5 Media in Conflict**

There is a difference between media coverage of events happening in the same place that the media is operating, and the international media. It is argued that media that reports conflict events in the same country as it (media) is situated is sometimes manipulated to fuel or incite conflicts by broadcasting hate speech and partisan reporting (Spurk, 2002). Also most of the conflicts covered by the media are conflicts that have political roots in where most of the political conflicts are happening in urban areas more often than in rural areas because of the availability of mobilization infrastructures (Bujra, 2003).

International media can play a destructive role in the country by reporting over incitements and fueling conflict situations. Therefore, I would like to explain more on the African media, by selecting some few countries that have undergone through different conflicts, in which media was involved in one way or another. Wamwere (2003) is arguing on the participation of journalist in staging ethnicity message and contributing to the misunderstanding. From his generalization, Wamwere (2003) argues that African journalists are important players in propagating negative ethnicity. They are the ones who put an ethnic tag on every political party, who tell every ethnic community which party to join or not join, and dismiss as irrelevant any

party or leader that does not speak or act ethnic. They give little or no space to non ethnic politics. It is they who kill multiethnic nationalist agendas as non-news (Wamwere, 2003, p.103).

Today the biggest purveyors of negative ethnicity in Africa are ethnic political parties.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF MEDIA SUCCESS IN CONFLICT PREVENTION IN KENYA**

#### **4.0: Introduction**

This chapter critically examines the media success in conflict prevention in countering political and tribal conflict in Kenya.

#### **4.1: Findings presentation**

This section presents findings addressing the research questions the study sought to answer.

##### **4.1.1 The media fraternity has committed itself to propagating peace in Kenya**

The findings further indicate that the news media have become the central arena for transmitting conflicts today. It is not surprising that the role of the news media in conflicts has received attention from the audience. Still, media is a double edged sword that can influence both peace and conflict. Yet, there is another perspective that media is useful in contributing towards peace building initiatives in places where people have experienced conflicts.

The findings presents the ownership scale of the media that the highest number of media ownership is private in Kenya as analyzed followed by organization ownership and state ownership taking the least stake. In keeping with its own professional standards, the media is expected to observe balance and fairness in its coverage. Reporting and interpreting conflict through the ideological lens of the media owners and those who control it distorts information and undermines the critical role the media ought to play in international peace and security.

This could explain the facts on the ground concerning a body of opinion which hold the view that while private media is perceived as free and independent, the ownership and the vested interests for which they hold brief manage public opinion through influencing reportage. This school of thought argues that in a world of concentrated wealth and major conflicts of class interests the media serves the interests of the dominant elite. The analysis on the opinion on the coverage of election violence showed that articles on the election violence gave a fair, balanced and impartial coverage of election violence as indicated by the findings under strongly agreed with the items. The writers did not misrepresent the factual position of the election violence covered despite the difference in ownership.

The findings show that the post election violence had an impact in the country in different ways. For example, it had an impact on the economy, displacement of people, destruction, looting and burning of property, re-awakening of latent ethnic hatred among other effects. The findings of the research indicate the writers of articles seemed to condemn violence.

Analysis on the coverage of land issue indicated that the land issue was framed as indigenous communities' versus non indigenous community in all the general elections. The land issue was also framed as politically instigated by the government. In the 2002 General Elections, land issues was framed as a tussle between minority elite land owners and landless, while in 2007 it was framed as a tussle between minority elite land owners and landless. The 2007 gave a new angle of arguments on land issue.

The findings show that opinion on coverage of land issue in 1992 indicated that articles on the land issue were given a fair and accurate presentation. The writers' did not misinterpret the facts on land issues, the articles on land issue did not have evidence of ethnic conflict of interest and

also the writers did not focus on ethnic relations among ethnic groups rather than on important historical issues that have an impact on ethnic relations

The findings show that in 1997, there was a feeling that articles on the land issue had been not given a fair and accurate presentation of the land issue(s). However the writers did not misrepresent the facts on land issues and also the writers did not focus on ethnic relations among ethnic groups rather than on important historical issues that had an impact of ethnic relations

In 2007, there was a feeling from three articles that covered the land issue were given a fair and accurate presentation of the land issue(s) while from 2 articles it was found that they did not give a fair and accurate presentation of the land issue. However the writers did not misrepresent facts on land issues. The writers did not focus on ethnic relations among ethnic groups rather than on important historical issues having an impact of ethnic relations.

On the issue of Majimbo, the 1992 election articles framed Majimbo as support of the president in terms of the Kalenjin rallying behind Moi. In the 1997 and 2007 general elections, the Majimbo was framed as exposure of regional disparities and limitations and the inequitable sharing of resources among regions was also shown by the articles. These articles target specific ethnic communities. The polarization between communities of the two presidential contenders namely Kibaki and Raila was also framed on ODM and PNU tussle. The Majimbo issue also was seen as an attempt to balkanize Kenya.

The issue of the constitution was not focused on in the 1992 general election however, in the General Election of 1997, the constitution was focused on and the necessity to do away with institutions that had hindered it, as seen in two articles. It was also framed as a platform allowing those opposed to the constitution air their views and also provide greater freedom for the IPPG.

As it was framed, it allowed Moi extend his term of office. In 2002, the agitation for a new constitution was framed as a battlefield of power for politicians and as a legal document aimed at providing for the restructuring of the nation in order to allow for the mutual interaction of ethnic groups. The matter of the need for the new constitution was also framed as an attempt by the Chief Justice (CJ) and the Judiciary to block the constitution review. It is interesting to note that the writer in one article framed the constitution issue as a right of the Muslim law to be incorporated in the new constitution. The findings showed that the 2002 and 2007 general elections did not significantly focus on the on the constitution.

Analysis on corruption during the 1992 general election showed that the articles identified the perpetrators(s) of corruption as government ministers and civil servants, parastatal chiefs, politically correct individuals, relatives and friends of the ruling elite, candidates, supporters, election officials and government got officials and the electoral commission. In 1997, articles identified the perpetrators(s) of corruption as political officials who were accused of using money to buy votes; KBC which was also identified as perpetrating corruption by giving fair coverage of Moi.

In 2002 general election the perpetrators of corruption were identified as Government Ministers and civil servants, politically correct individuals, relatives and friends of the ruling elite, as person not specified or identified by opposition leaders, politicians vying for various parliamentary seats, the opposition, individuals such as President Moi and VP Musalia Mudavadi, Kibaki and NARC party, the corrupt politicians and Electoral Commission, KANU chief operatives and their rivals.

In the 2007 general elections, perpetrators of corruption were identified to as Government

Ministers and civil servants, politically correct individuals, the political class, security forces pushed by Kibaki as polling agents, the Government officials who were tampering with the electoral process to favour PNU candidates and members of opposition parties opposed to PNU.

Analysis of items based on the code of conduct of journalists indicated that journalists adhered to the code of the conduct when covering elections as indicated by strong disagreement with statements that would otherwise show in adherence to the code of conduct. However, the findings show that in the articles of the 1992 there were some provocative and alarming headlines of the articles. It was also realized that the articles were not accurate, were unfair, and not balanced. Further analysis of the articles showed that articles were regarded as critical. It was also found that the articles contained hate speeches, contained language that demeaned other ethnic communities, the articles were slanted towards a political side, and that slanted towards a particular ethnic community while some of the articles had evidence of conflict of interests.

Facebook and Twitter were identified among the most commonly known due to the recent events in the Arab world, but cell-phones, text-messaging, video-recording or blogging have been very active in the past decade. New technology tools have strengthened the power of citizens who, often more quickly than professional journalists themselves, can report news as they happen. Some argue that citizen journalism can be extremely useful in contexts of oppression or state control over mainstream media.

Unlike the 1992 General Election the findings show that there was stronger adherence to the code of conduct regarding coverage of general elections. The majority of the articles showed that journalists showed proper adherence to the code of conduct. For example, the majority of the articles were accurate, were fair and balanced. There was a strong disagreement to articles that

would otherwise shows in adherence to the code of conduct. For example, the articles did not contain propaganda messages, they did not contain hate speech, did not have vulgar language, did not demean other ethnic communities, were not slanted towards a particular political side and did not have has evidence of conflict of interests.

Analysis of the articles covered in the 2002 general elections indicated that journalists adhered to the code of conduct in covering general elections for instance, the titles of articles were not provocative and alarming, were indicated as accurate, were regarded as fair, were regarded as balanced, the articles did not contain hate speech, did not use vulgar language and that the article did not demean other communities. Further analysis showed that the articles were not slanted towards political side. The articles did not also show in-house bias or support for particular ethnic communities just as the articles were not condemn of election violence based on ethnic considerations.

An analysis of the 2007 General Election revealed that the titles of articles were covered provocative and alarming, the articles were not accurate. Analysis of other articles revealed that the journalists adhered to the code of conduct. Only few of the articles were slanted towards a particular ethnic community and were a condemnation of election violence based on ethnic considerations. In any case, recent history gives us a few examples of how social networks operated in order to benefit activists seeking to expand their efforts, communicate their ideas or make information available in places where traditional communication tools were limited or not even allowed. In authoritarian regimes, different forms of social media can provide alternative sources of news and information.

Analysis of the 2008 post election violence period revealed that the headlines of the articles

covered were provocative and alarming. However, all the other items on the adherence of journalists' code of conduct showed that they adhered to the code of conduct. For example all the articles did not contain propaganda messages, hate speech or vulgar messages. Only few of the article demeaned other ethnic communities, were slanted towards a particular ethnic communities, clearly showed in-house bias or support for a particular political side while just few articles were a condemnation of election violence based on ethnic considerations.

The findings also indicate that citizen journalists can function as a proxy free press, a medium that can uncover and challenge falsehoods and misinformation. Texting messages were an effective strategy to rapidly convey thousands of angry citizens in one of the major crossroads, who wanted to raise their voice against the politics of the time that would have otherwise left the country into bloodshed.

The findings further indicate that in Kenya the vernacular media's programs targeted the ethno-political communities; meaning that the media practitioners in such media were favoring the ethnic tribes that they (journalists and broadcasters) belonged to. Local language media was a tool used by politicians for ethnic mobilization and political control in a certain area. Also most of the journalists who were working in local language media were not professionally trained. The lack of training opportunities for media practitioners meant that presenters working for most of the FM radio stations lacked the necessary journalistic skills and largely got their jobs on the basis of being widely known or having competency in the local languages. The lack of training was especially evident in the talk shows where hosts failed to moderate debates, leaving callers to vent their frustrations sometimes by suggesting and encouraging violence against opponents.

The findings further indicated that audience from different areas of the world can be easily exposed to the political disruption all over the world through the work of media especially news programs. Also, the role of media can be affected by political revolution change the direction of the media roles over time and different circumstances. Media can contribute to political conflict, and at the same time media can play a similar role in construction of political waves associated with peace process.

The findings further indicate that in Kenya, media have been a catalyst for political conflict and at the same time media have been investing for peace processes. The competitive nature of political issues such as election in Kenya is asserted to be a big cause of conflict. The connection of politics in media is one of the big issues that have resulted to the escalations of conflict in Kenya. Different political parties use the media to send party's propaganda so as to win election. In Kenya, politics has been polarized for decades, and various actors in the political arena have stoked this polarization to their benefit, including through various communication mechanisms. Radio is heavily implicated in contributing to violence. In particular, phone-in radio shows permitted the declaration of extreme sentiments.

#### **4.1.2 The effects the various avenues employed by the media in creating conflict awareness had in facilitating peace**

The findings indicate that journalists choose what to cover and what not to cover. Also media audiences are regarded as passive consumers who swallow what has already been prepared for them by the media institutions. Despite making decision on what to cover and what not to, the findings indicates that journalists doing media productions such as news, rely on the ongoing

events so as to increase market opportunities for their industries. The findings further indicate that media industry is like any other business industry which aims to collect, produce and sell for profit. Therefore, media depend on conflict situations to increase their circulation. One element of news is conflict. For this reason, media have a tendency of watching over the potentials of war and act as a channel between fighters themselves, and the others. While doing so, media spread news on who is defeated and who gained victory.

The findings also indicate that, among the most influential news in the media is about politics. In journalistic life, reporters must have a story to tell because their business is to gather and disseminate news in daily basis. But with political influence, some politicians have created a bond with some media organization or journalists. As a result, this bond tends to affect media decision of what to report and what not to report. For example, during election time, the media role of information become very important for informing the public and the politicians about each sides; such as what the politicians promise the public and what the public expect from the politicians.

The findings showed that media can only act as a catalyst for peace building by performing different roles such as information provider, watchdog, mobilizer and promoter. All these can be attained through generating programs or writing newspaper articles on peace building activities that may open up space for dialogue. Media can opt to transmit popular music, soap operas and call-in shows, in the television or radio shows and allow people to discuss together.

Analysis of the placement of stories interestingly revealed that only one article in 2008 was placed as a splash. Very few news articles were placed on front pages as opposed to the majority

that were placed in the inside pages of all the papers that covered the four general elections. For instance, most of the news articles were placed in inside pages in 1992 namely between pages 1 and 3, in comparison to higher percentage in 1997, in 2002, in 2007 and in 2008. In connection with this the analysis showed that a relatively fewer number of articles were placed on the front pages in 1992, in 1997, in 2002, in 2007 and in 2008. In contrast, only three articles in 1997 and two in 2007 were placed on back pages.

Analysis of the category of the stories published revealed that all the newspapers covered items on election violence. There was 68% coverage on election violence in 1992, 82.1% coverage in 1997, 49.1% coverage in 2002 and 48.8% coverage in 2007. This is a clear indication that news items on election violence were well covered in all the newspapers in all the general elections even if they did not categorically state so the violence had strong element of ethnicity.

News on corruption was given some prominence in that most of the articles covered in 1992 were on corruption, most of the articles in 2002 were also on corruption, and few of the articles in 2007 were on the same, while the articles on corruption in 1997 were also few.

The issue of Majimbo received significant coverage in 2007 by 32.9% and 30.2% in 2002. In 2007, news on land issues was given some emphasis in comparison to few in 1992, 3.6% shown in 1997, and 3.8% in 2002. The Constitution Review or making process was not given priority in 1992 and 2007 as no significant articles focused on the constitution. However, in 1997 the issue of the constitution making was highlighted 8.9% and also highlighted 17% in 2002.

The findings further indicated that Radio has long been used in Kenya due to its accessibility, low cost and high impact among people who may be mostly illiterate; it is the most readily available of all media. As a result, radio can play an important mobilizing role in conflict

management. Indeed, radio can play an important role in four areas: informing, facilitating decision making, educating, and entertaining. Indeed, this has now become a model for much of community radio in which it is used as an agent for social change; perhaps it can even be examined in the context of nation- building or political development.

The findings also indicates that media is seen as crucial in the social mobilization in political and social change in Kenya. This is particularly effective in areas of conflict or former conflict where health and educational infrastructures had broken down, and where radio is one of the few sources of education as well as information. The findings also indicate that the broadcaster is a development agent and that it is up to the producers to “create the right environment for broadcasting and a way of thinking familiar to the current economic situation. Dialogue will be genuine and real. Concrete solutions to concrete problems can be discovered together. They preserve the cultural identity of their audience and hand back to them their right to be heard.

The study indicates that the extent to which the social mobilization programs planned and executed in rural areas have generally failed, pointing to the likelihood that, among other conjoint factors, radio’s potential as a viable medium has never been fully tapped. Indeed, if radio’s potential has never been fully tapped, one must also ask how it could be. The findings indicated that if it can be looked at radio as a development agent, we can then take this a step further and ask, or try to find, a methodology that looks at the broadcaster as peacemaking agent, or to assist in the maintenance of peace in a post-conflict thereby tapping into radio’s full potential that.

The findings further indicate that freedom of communication is a measure of the reality of

political liberalization and in such contexts radio and the media in general are seen as core elements that enable democratization. If the media are crucial for democratization then would it not stand to reason that this process would include conflict resolution and particularly in post-conflict situations.

The study further found that violent conflict in developing countries is often characterized by use of light weapons and a blurring of the distinction between combatants and civilians. Such conflicts are increasingly waged by opposing groups through civilian populations such as in the Liberian and Sierra Leone conflicts. Open conflict can pass through both acute phases, with high levels of violence, and chronic phases of lower intensity conflict with generalized insecurity. Interventions which are possible vary accordingly. During more acute phases, media initiatives may be limited to provision of humanitarian information and supporting objective reporting. Lower intensity conflict may provide more opportunities for peace-building initiatives through the media.

The study also found that the use of social media and its effect has many interpretations and it all depends on the context where it is being applied. The potential impact and limitations of social media on political change make new digital applications a powerful tool to those who consciously decide to make use of them. It has vastly been argued that new media tools help social movements in organizing and disseminating information, as seen above. However, much has also been argued about the perverse effects of the social media.

The study further found out that freedom of communication is a measure of the reality of

political liberalization and in such contexts radio and the media in general are seen as core elements that enable democratization. If the media are crucial for democratization then would it not stand to reason that this process would include conflict resolution and particularly in post-conflict situations? Further the findings found out that violent conflict in Kenya is often characterized by use of light weapons and a Blurring of the distinction between combatants and civilians. Such conflicts are increasingly waged by opposing groups through civilian populations. The findings found that open conflict can pass through both acute phases, with high levels of violence, and chronic phases of lower intensity conflict with generalized insecurity. Interventions which are possible vary accordingly. During more acute phases, media initiatives may be limited to provision of humanitarian information and supporting objective reporting. Lower intensity conflict may provide more opportunities for peace-building initiatives through the media.

The study further found that aside from radio drama, media stations produce factual broadcasts and a cartoon journal based upon the drama's storylines. Their multi-media approach to informing and disseminating crucial messages is one that is especially powerful given the low capacity of the political environment and the high levels of state censorship and media.

The study further found that political, religious, economic or ethnic tensions are a feature of many societies in Kenya. Such tensions are increasingly being focused on by the media and peace- building organizations because they often ignite more acute forms of conflict. For example, creative children's' television drama produced by Search for Common Ground has been used to draw young people from ethnic groups together so as to begin a positive inter-ethnic dialogue.

The findings also found out that when peace agreements are reached, efforts to sustain peace-building and enhance reconciliation and reconstruction are crucial. Media interventions can take

the form of: Media training, especially in the fields of impartial or inter-ethnic news reporting. This is news reporting that adequately reflects the ethnic make-up of a country and the true diversity of opinions. Programming aimed at sustaining peace through building support for peace agreements and focusing on reconciliation and Supporting development of free media through policy and legislative reform and other measures.

#### **4.1.3 The media's effort in promoting peace and peaceful conflict resolution have shortcomings**

The findings further indicates that during violent or non-violent conflict situations, the relationship between media and audience grow, that lack of information can, at any stage of a conflict, make people desperate, restless and easy to manipulate. The ability to make informed decisions strengthens societies and fosters economic growth, democratic structures and the positive outlook on the future". The need for information increases as the audiences would depend on the media to have information on the running conflict. The findings showed that it is obvious that audiences would need information on possible threats and how they can overcome. From this perspective media can support peace initiatives because media has the power to influence beliefs, opinions and attitudes of people.

The findings further indicate that the establishment of local language media in Kenya is because of targeting the ethno-political communities. The local language media have become the tool for ethnic mobilization where by the politicians used them for the purpose of political control. The media owners who some of them are politicians, employ journalists in terms of their local language competence and not professional standards. At the end, both media and politics are

powerful things in the society. In Kenya, political practices are set mostly in the urban places because in the urban there is: a large number of the volatile university students generally concentrate; where the opposition political parties practice their opposition to the governments; where the media (both local and international) is ever present in search of stories and from where most of the advocacy NGOs and civil society groups operate and where most of the embassies monitor all aspects of a country's activities. And it is in the urban centers that differences in wealth are exhibited and sharply contrasted. Given these conditions and the presence of many of the most politically sensitized actors, it is not surprising that politicians mobilize their supporters and organize political activism which often results in conflicts between these supporters who are mostly ethnically based. And these conflicts are not only one-time affairs but take place frequently and over a longer period of time.

The findings further indicate that the application of media guidelines and following media role's requirements during reporting can be a catalyst for neutral political reporting that may not result to political tensions. The translation of media guidelines is the same as the ethical codes of conducts for journalists. The findings further showed that both politicians and media have the responsibility to make sure that whatever information that is disseminated through the media will not cause disruption to the public.

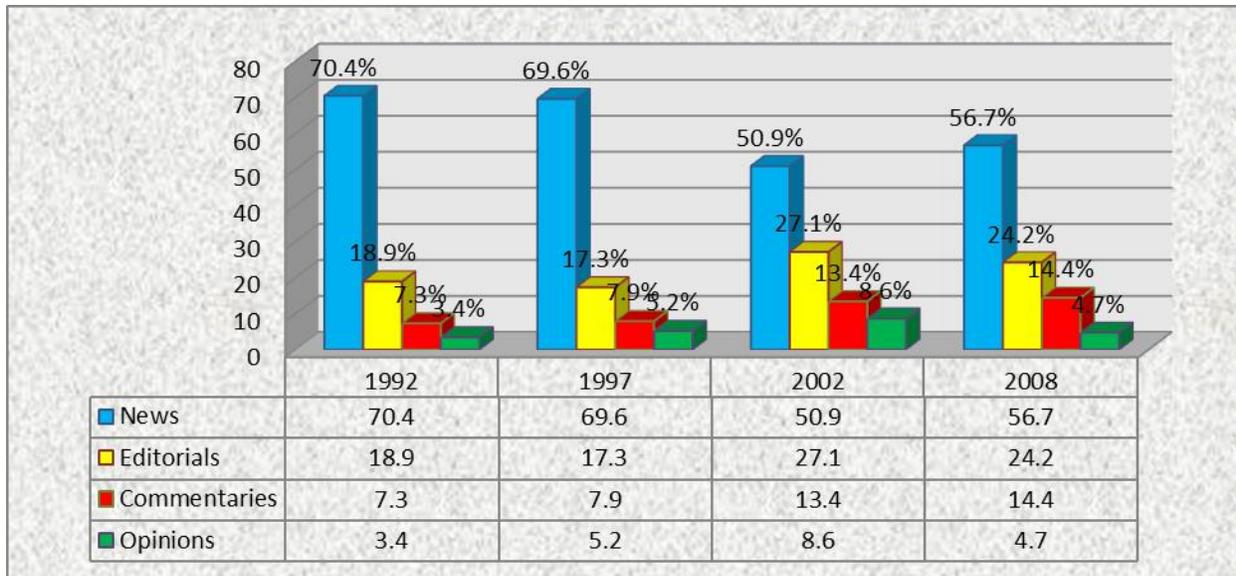
Most articles that appeared in the newspapers on the four general elections were hard-news. This could be attributed to the fact that people relied heavily on the media for information and hence the decision by the newspapers houses to focus on reporting events as they occurred. However, all the newspapers covering the four general elections also published several editorials, commentaries and opinions, while features, analyses and advertorials were not very prominent.

According to the research findings, analysis of the coverage of election violence in 2002 was given a fair, balanced and impartial coverage. The writers did misrepresent the factual position of the election violence covered, while the writers did not focus on ethnicity rather than on the important issues of what caused or triggered the particular violence covered. The analysis also indicated that the article had evidence of conflict of ethnic interest.

Coverage of election violence in 2007 indicated that the articles gave fair, balanced and impartial coverage of election violence. The writers did not misrepresent the factual position of the election violence covered. The writers also did not focus on ethnicity rather than on the important issues of what caused or triggered the particular violence covered while the article did not have evidence of conflict of ethnic interest.

The use of social media and its effect has many interpretations and it all depends on the context where it is being applied. The potential impact and limitations of social media on political change make new digital applications a powerful tool to those who consciously decide to make use of them. It has vastly been argued that new media tools help social movements in organizing and disseminating information, as seen above.

#### **Figure 4.1 Publication items percentage space allocation**



**Source: Author, 2013**

From the above graph, news items took the majority of space in the publications studied during the years. In 1992, news items in all the publications had 70.4 % of the space allocation, 69.6 % in 1997, 50.9% in 2002 and 56.7 % in 2008. This was closely followed by editorials, commentaries and opinions.

The researcher wanted to know whether the manner in which the media reported these violent cases undermined peace and security through their coverage on the news coverage, reportage and articles publication. The findings shows that majority of the respondents felt that the media report led to a serious bridge of security to a moderate extent. This statistics show how the media to some extent fueled insecurity and how inconsiderate it may have been on matters of etiquette. The respondents were asked to state if the media initiatives recommend peace and security. It is clear that majority of the respondents actually at some point saw some media effort on peace reconstruction. It is clear now that, reporting and interpreting conflict through the ideological lens of the media owners and those who control it distorts information and undermines the

critical role the media ought to play in international peace and security. In keeping with its own professional standards, the media is expected to observe balance and fairness in its coverage.

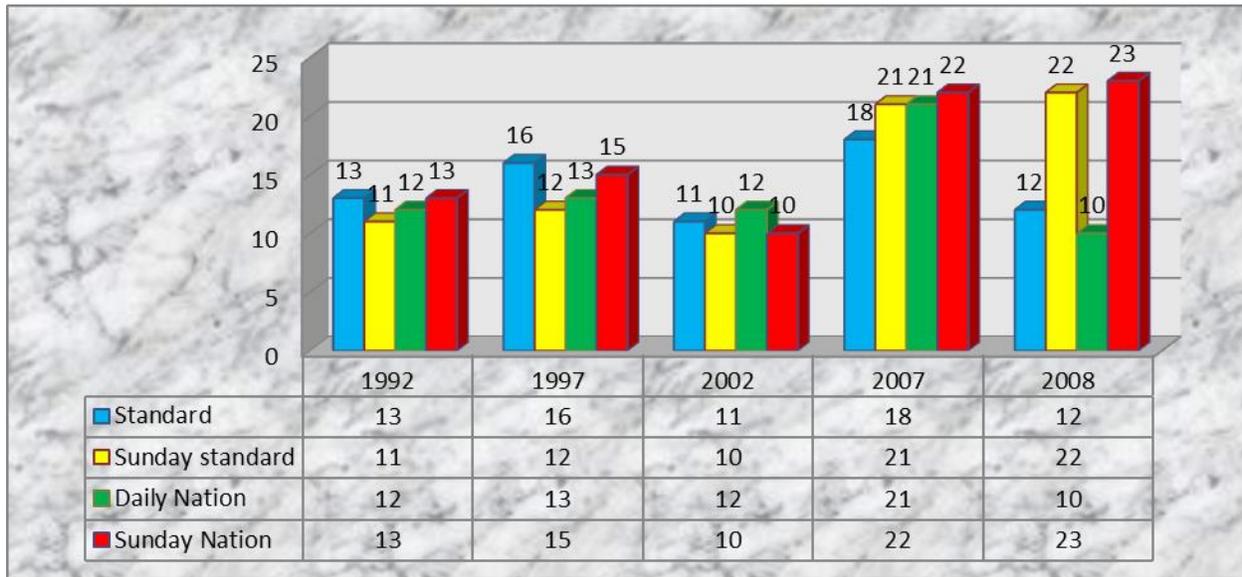
**Table 4.1      Number of publications analyzed**

<b>Item/Year</b>	<b>1992</b>	<b>1997</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2007</b>	<b>2008</b>
Standard	13	16	11	18	12
Sunday standard	11	12	10	21	22
Daily Nation	12	13	12	21	10
Sunday Nation	13	15	10	22	23
<b>Total</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>67</b>

**Source: Author, 2013**

The data in the table above shows the number of publications that were analyzed. These included the Standard, Sunday Standard, Daily Nation and Sunday Nation. A total of 49 newspapers were analyzed in 1992, 56 news papers in 1997, 43 newspapers in 2002, 82 newspapers in 2007 and 67 newspapers in 2008. The deficiency in the number analyzed is because on some days the coverage of the main issue under study was so insignificant as to warrant coding.

**Figure 4.2 Number of publications analyzed**



**Source: Author, 2013**

From the above graph, it is clear that the highest number of publications analyzed was the Sunday Nation with a total of 23 papers reviewed in 2008, followed by the Sunday Standard in 2008. This is because the country saw its worst form of post election violence after the disputed 2007 presidential election results. The Sunday Nation publication had the highest number of papers analyzed in 1992 with closely followed by the Daily Nation. This is attributed to the 1992 general elections which were marred with violence during the introduction of multi-party democracy in the country.

The researcher wanted to know to what extent the respondents felt that the media ownership had an outward impact on the news coverage, reportage and articles publication. The findings shows that 38% considered the media owners had a moderate influence on the content of the articles. to a moderate extent, 28% to a less extent, 14% not applicable, 12% considered it a lot while 8% did not considered at all. It is clear that power are in the hands of a state bureaucracy, the

monopolistic control over the media, often supplemented by official censorship, makes it clear that the media serve the end of the dominant elite. Based on the right to freedom of opinion and expression, this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers. Biased, distorted and untruthful information about political events creates wrong perceptions, leads to bad decisions by policy makers and may exacerbate or trigger conflict.

The findings indicated that majority of the articles in the 1992 General Election showed that articles on election violence did not give fair and balanced coverage of election violence as indicated. However, the analyses showed that some of the articles had given a fair, balanced and impartial coverage of election violence. Beside, the analysis indicated that the writers did not misrepresent the factual position of the election violence covered and most of the articles to have evidence of conflict of ethnic interest(s).

The analysis on the opinion on the coverage of election violence in 1997 showed that articles on the election violence gave a fair, balanced and impartial coverage of election violence as indicated by 23.2 % of the findings under strongly agreed with the items and 57.1% under agreed. The writers did not misrepresent the factual position of the election violence covered as shown by 7.1% of the finding under disagreed with the statement and 67.9% who strongly disagreed. Under the question as to whether or not the writers focused on ethnicity rather than on the important issues of what caused or triggered the particular violence it is indicated by 7.1 %, that the majority of the writers did not do so as shown by 69.7% of the findings. While 16.1% of the findings under the item of agreed shows that the articles had evidence of conflict of ethnic interest(s), the majority of the articles did not have evidence of conflict of ethnic interests

The findings shows that critique of social media is based on the hypothesis that authoritarian regimes can be as quick as activists in using new media tools for their own interest, as a means of monitoring and controlling societies with increasingly improved mechanisms and extensive evidence also indicate that Internet control mechanisms have improved and that more governments use more sophisticated methods to filter and monitor web-based contents, like targeting local languages and websites of opposition movements.

As it happens with mainstream media, the findings indicate that social media can be a double-edged sword; their use by political activists or by state actors can lead to totally opposite outcomes. On the one hand, they can be a tool for opening up to democracy and challenge authoritarian states. They can become a source of useful information, raising awareness that enable the emergence of social capital. On the other hand, social media can support authoritarian states in their efforts of disseminating propaganda.

The findings pointed out a major weakness of social media: when used by leaderless movements, they may experience frustration when the time comes for negotiating, as these movements do not have the usual array of party elites. When the time arrives for dealing with the terms of democratic transition, online activists cannot defend their demands, as they do not have a visible leader to participate in the negotiations. On the other hand, social media pose another danger yet to be thoughtfully analyzed. New information and communication technologies are basically designed to be open and unlimited in that the length, amount or even the accuracy of what is being transmitted through social media can sometimes lead to misinformation.

The findings further indicates that social media though can also bring opportunities beyond their role in accelerating social movements by providing upgraded forms of communication. Authoritarian regimes can indeed learn fast and adapt to new tools and strategies. They can even shut down the Internet as it happened in Burma and Iran but, in doing so, they may have to face economic and political consequences and, what is more, opposition movements may grow more legitimated for their cause.

#### **4.2 Hypothesis testing**

These findings lead to the hypothesis to be tested:

The study proceeded with the null hypothesis that the media fraternity has not committed itself to propagating peace in Kenya.

Findings show that some articles on land, constitution, majimbo and corruption cases across the years since 1992 contained some provocative and alarming headlines of the articles, but this is seen as reducing in the later years. It was also realized that the articles were not accurate, were unfair, and not balanced. Further analysis of the articles showed that articles were regarded as critical. It was also found that the articles contained hate speeches, contained language that demeaned other ethnic communities, the articles were slanted towards a political side, and that slanted towards a particular ethnic community while some of the articles had evidence of conflict of interests. However, analysis of items based on the code of conduct of journalists indicated that journalists adhered to the code of the conduct when covering elections as indicated by strong disagreement with statements that would otherwise show in adherence to the code of conduct. The study therefore deduces that the media fraternity is committed to propagating peace in Kenya, thus rejecting the null hypothesis.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.0: Introduction**

This chapter contains the key finding of the research, conclusion and recommendation for the study.

#### **5.1: Key findings**

The study found that Radio has long been used in sub-Saharan Africa due to its accessibility, low cost and high impact among people who may be mostly illiterate; it is the most readily available of all media. As a result, radio can play an important mobilizing role in developing countries. Indeed, radio can play an important role in four areas: informing, facilitating decision making, educating, and entertaining.

The study also found that one of the longest standing examples of the use of radio as a tool for social development is that of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). Since the 1960s the FAO has been using radio as a means of assisting those in rural areas of developing countries. The goal of which was to assist rural workers so they could come up with concrete solutions to the shared problems they faced together. Indeed, this has now become a model for much of community radio in which it is used as an agent for social change; perhaps it can even be examined in the context of nation-building or political development.

The study also found that there are other examples of radio's ability to convey ideas and messages in basic education. The media were seen as crucial in the UNESCO/UNICEF

“Education for All” initiative taken at the Jomtien conference in 1990. Some believe UNICEF used the media effectively for social mobilization in health and other basic education in a number of developing countries. This was particularly effective in areas of conflict or former conflict where health and educational infrastructures had broken down, and where radio was one of the few sources of education as well as information.

The study also found that for many political scientists and international agencies freedom of communication is a measure of the reality of political liberalization and in such contexts radio and the media in general are seen as core elements that enable democratization. If the media are crucial for democratization then would it not stand to reason that this process would include conflict resolution and particularly in post-conflict situations? If so, what role can the media play and who controls the media in such situations?

Further the findings found out that violent conflict in Kenya is often characterized by use of light weapons and a blurring of the distinction between combatants and civilians. Such conflicts are increasingly waged by opposing groups through civilian populations. The findings found that open conflict can pass through both acute phases, with high levels of violence, and chronic phases of lower intensity conflict with generalized insecurity. Interventions which are possible vary accordingly. During more acute phases, media initiatives may be limited to provision of humanitarian information and supporting objective reporting. Lower intensity conflict may provide more opportunities for peace-building initiatives through the media.

The study further indicates that aside from radio drama, media stations produce factual broadcasts and a cartoon journal based upon the drama’s storylines. Their multi-media approach to informing and disseminating crucial messages is one that is especially powerful given the low

capacity of the political environment and the high levels of state censorship and media.

The study further found that political, religious, economic or ethnic tensions are a feature of many societies in Kenya. Such tensions are increasingly being focused on by the media and peace- building organizations because they often ignite more acute forms of conflict. For example, creative children's television drama produced by Search for Common Ground has been used to draw young people from ethnic groups together so as to begin a positive inter-ethnic dialogue.

The findings also indicate that when peace agreements are reached, efforts to sustain peace-building and enhance reconciliation and reconstruction are crucial. Media interventions can take the form of: Media training, especially in the fields of impartial or inter-ethnic news reporting. This is news reporting that adequately reflects the ethnic make-up of a country and the true diversity of opinions. Programming aimed at sustaining peace through building support for peace agreements and focusing on reconciliation and Supporting development of free media through policy and legislative reform and other measures.

## **5.2: Conclusion**

From the study findings the study concludes that Radio has long been used in sub-Saharan Africa due to its accessibility, low cost and high impact among people who may be mostly illiterate; it is the most readily available of all media. As a result, radio can play an important mobilizing role in developing countries. Further the study also concludes that one of the longest standing examples of the use of radio as a tool for social development is that of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), that since the 1960s the FAO has been using radio as a means of assisting those in rural areas of developing countries.

The study also concludes that there are other examples of radio's ability to convey ideas and messages in basic education. The media are seen as crucial in the UNESCO/UNICEF "Education for All" initiative taken at the Jomtien conference in 1990. The study also concludes that for many political scientists and international agencies freedom of communication is a measure of the reality of political liberalization and in such contexts radio and the media in general are seen as core elements that enable democratization. If the media are crucial for democratization then would it not stand to reason that this process would include conflict resolution and particularly in post-conflict situations? If so, what role can the media play and who controls the media in such situations?

The study further concludes that violent conflict in developing countries is often characterized by use of light weapons and a blurring of the distinction between combatants and civilians. Such conflicts are increasingly waged by opposing groups through civilian populations such as in the Liberian and Sierra Leone conflicts. Open conflict can pass through both acute phases, with high levels of violence, and chronic phases of lower intensity conflict with generalized insecurity. Interventions which are possible vary accordingly. During more acute phases, media initiatives may be limited to provision of humanitarian information and supporting objective reporting. Lower intensity conflict may provide more opportunities for peace-building initiatives through the media.

The study also concludes that political, religious, economic or ethnic tensions are a feature of many societies in the developed and developing world. Such tensions are increasingly being focused on by the media and peace- building organizations because they often ignite more acute

forms of conflict. For example, In Macedonia, where ethnic tensions resulting from the Kosovo crisis remain acute, creative children's television drama produced by Search for Common Ground has been used to draw young people from ethnic groups together so as to begin a positive inter-ethnic dialogue.

### **5.3: Recommendation to the relevant authorities**

The study recommends that a broadcaster should be seen as an agent of social change and should discuss the social mobilization which may be able to bring about. The study further suggest that if we can look at radio as a development agent, can we then take this a step further and ask, or try to find, a methodology that looks at the broadcaster as peacemaking agent, or to assist in the maintenance of peace in a post-conflict thereby tapping into radio's full potential.

The study further recommends that when peace agreements are reached, efforts to sustain peace-building and enhance reconciliation and reconstruction are crucial. Media interventions can take the form of media training, especially in the fields of impartial or inter-ethnic news reporting. This is news reporting that adequately reflects the ethnic make-up of a country and the true diversity of opinions. Programming aimed at sustaining peace through building support for peace agreements and focusing on reconciliation and supporting development of free media through policy and legislative reform and other measures. For example, In 1997 Common Ground Productions began producing radio programs for national and community radio stations, such as Star Radio, at its Talking Drum Studio in Monrovia, Liberia. Its programming has supported the electoral process and has sought to strengthen civil society and democratization by promoting peace, conflict mediation and reconciliation. In support of these goals it produces programs on women's issues, traditional storytelling, rural society, traditional music, talk shows, radio

dramas, children and refugees and returnees.

The study further recommends that social media though can also bring opportunities beyond their role in accelerating social movements by providing upgraded forms of communication. Authoritarian regimes can indeed learn fast and adapt to new tools and strategies. They can even shut down the Internet as it happened in Burma and Iran but, in doing so, they may have to face economic and political consequences and, what is more, opposition movements may grow more legitimated for their cause.

#### **5.4: Recommendation for further studies**

The researcher recommends that future researchers should carry out further study in area of the role of media in post-political conflicts and how the media use different strategies to counter the effects. The study further recommends a similar study should be done on a different political block for comparative purpose.

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## **APPENDICES**

### **APPENDIX II: Introduction Letter**

**MAXINE MWENDIA,**

**University of Nairobi,  
P.O BOX, 30197  
Nairobi.  
August, 2013**

**Dear Sir/Madam,**

#### **RE: DATA COLLECTION**

I am a postgraduate student at University of Nairobi undertaking a Master of Arts in International Studies. One of my academic outputs before graduating is a project and for this I have chosen the research topic, The role of media in countering political and tribal conflict in Kenya.

You have been selected to form part of the study. This is to kindly request you to assist me collect the data by responding to the interview guide. The information you provide will be used strictly for academic purposes and will be treated with utmost confidence.

A copy of the final report will be available to you upon request. Your assistance will be highly appreciated.

**Yours sincerely,**

**MAXINE MWENDIA**

## APPENDIX II

### INTERVIEW GUIDE OF DAILY NATION AND THE STANDARD NEWSPAPER

#### ISSUES FOR YEARS 2006 AND 2013.

#### Appendix I: Coding sheets

##### Type of article, source and placement

Variable	<i>Nation (%)</i>	<i>Standard (%)</i>
<b>Type of article</b>		
News		
Feature		
News analysis		
Editorial		
Photograph		
Book review		
Letter to editor		
Science feature		
Regular column		
Cartoon		
<b>Placement</b>		
Frontpage2		
Page 3		
Other inside page		
Feature/magazine section		
Back page		
Prominence		
Edition lead		
Page Lead		
Main editorial		
Special commentary		
Origin of article		
Local		
Foreign		
International syndicate! agency		
<b>Source of article</b>		
Ministry of internal security		
Other government official		
Politician		
Religious body		
Workshop/seminar		
Scientific report		

Researcher		
Research institute/university		
NGO/UN		
Journalist's initiative		
Reader/letter to editor		

### Possible causes of political and tribal conflicts in Kenya

<b>Cause</b>	<i>Nation (%)</i>	<i>Standard (%)</i>
Kenya state has failed to honor provisions designed to protect the Kenyan community		
The inferior socio-economic position of the country		
Land tenure		
Post-independent demographic growth and Commercialism		
Other ethnic group		
Politics of social exclusion		
Unemployment		
Marginalization		
Poverty		
Others (specify)		
<b>Who is to blame?</b>		
Politicians		
Foreigners		
Other ethnic group		
Nobody in particular		
Government,		
Religious organizations		
Poverty		
Poor political institutions and structures		
Lack of youth empowerment		
Poorly implemented police reforms		
Weak judicial institutions		
Political elites		
Others (specify)		

### Main actors, actors and subject of discussion

<b>Variable</b>	<i>Nation (%)</i>	<i>Standard (%)</i>
<b>Main actor</b>		
Researcher/scientist		
Ministry of internal security/government		
NGO		
UN agency		
Research institute/university		
Religious body! official		
Private individual/family/group		
<b>Main subject of discussion</b>		
How the political and tribal conflict has been primed in the print media in Kenya		
Controversy on the emergency of political and tribal conflict		
Prevention on the spread of tribal and political conflicts		
Use of police		
Religious leaders		
Civil activism		
International community		
Regional balance		