MEDIA AND CONFLICT: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF 1994 RWANDA GENOCIDE AND 2008 KENYA POST ELECTION VIOLENCE

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DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been presented in any other University for the award of degree or other examinations

MUBIRI MUTHONI RUTH   **SIGNATURE ……………………….. DATE……………**

REG NO: R50/80452/2012

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

DR. PATRICK MALUKI   SIGNATURE ………………………… DATE………………

DEDICATION

To my parents, Solomon and Alice Mubiri for the love, encouragement to pursue a masters and excel in life. To my Brother and Sister, Thomas and Gladys Mubiri thank you for the support you have accorded to me during this tough two years of my studies. You have all been an inspiration in my life.

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ABSTRACT

Numerous studies have been conducted about the post election violence but little has been done to identify the role media took in comparison to the Rwandan Genocide. Therefore this study looked into how the media used its agenda setting role to fuel conflict in Kenya and Rwanda. Thus the research problem, Media and Conflict: A comparison of 2007/08 and the Rwanda Genocide. Objectives of the study included: To investigate whether the media exacerbated conflict in Rwanda Genocide and in the 2007-2008 Kenya post election violence. To establish the similarities and difference of media coverage of the conflict in Rwanda and Kenya. To establish the contribution of social media to hate speech in the Rwanda and Kenya conflict. To analyse measures taken to avert ethnic conflict in future. The study used the Agenda setting theory. Proponents of this theory argue that the media sets the agenda for the society and people always rely on the media for guidance on issues that are important. There are three concepts under Agenda setting theory that helped the study in uncovering what happened to the media in both the Rwanda Genocide as well as the Kenya post election Violence in 2007/2008. These concepts are: (a) Priming, (b) agenda-building and (c) framing. The methodology that helped put together this study was drawn from both primary and secondary data. Interview technique assisted the researcher to get responses from various media professionals in Rwanda and Kenya.

In the findings the study observed that the media was directly involved in both conflicts in Kenya and Rwanda. The media especially the radio took the leading role in exacerbating conflict by spreading hate messages through its avenues. The western media missed the onset of the Rwanda genocide while exaggerated the outcome of the Kenya post election violence. The level of Professionalism among media practitioners is still a problem in Rwanda and Kenya. Although strides to improve professionalism have been taken since the two conflicts, more needs to be done especially on peace journalism. The study recommends that Conflict sensitive journalism needs to be included in media studies. Peace journalism calls for conflict resolution which involves responsible, fair and balanced coverage of parties involved in any conflict such as the Rwanda genocide and Kenya post election violence. Media ownership influence in what is covered and what is blacked out should not be encouraged. Media owners should rise above self to allow fair coverage of opponents. To enhance professionalism, media houses ought to ensure that they acquire well trained professionals as presenters, news anchors and reporters. This will go a long way in ensuring that the media observes professional ethnics. Local language stations have a policy on content on a language that promotes national unity. Have a percentage of programmes that have a national outlook and use a common language like say Kiswahili and Kinyarwanda. Media should ensure proper content development is achieved. Develop content that is relevant to the mass audience and sets the agenda of nationhood as opposed to divisionism. This will enable people make informed decisions. Reforms need to prevent future genocide and post election related conflicts. The media needs to inculcate systems that would warn of an impending conflict. The media can achieve this by exposing state agents and other leaders who manipulate ethnic grievances to achieve selfish gains. The government too should ask politicians need to delink ethnic undertones in local languages and spread a national agenda. Government should also address historical injustices on land and economic disparity is paramount in order to enhance harmony.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Research Problem

Conflict is ever present in any given society and it this conflict that attracts the media to either broadcast or print the news. But while the media has an obligation to report on any conflict, there has to be some level of responsibility. This responsibility would present an opportunity for peaceful resolution but should not sacrifice the facts and ethical standards of journalism.

Elections are an International Relations affair because we see that actors such as States and world leaders of International Relations always watching the process, the event and finally the outcome of the elections of any state. The Kenyan General elections over the years have received the same attention from the East African partners as well as the Western world that are key partners in trade and are influential in world politics. Therefore when the 2007 General elections in Kenya went wrong by having ethnic violence, killings and uprooting of people from their homes, the world was concerned. The media both local and international helped highlight the chaos and violence taking place in the various parts of Kenya. The research examines the involvement of media in conflict and specifically the 2007/2008 post election violence in comparison to the Rwanda Genocide. It shall compare media activities in 2008 that elevated or mitigated the post election violence with what the media in Rwanda did to fuel the 1994 Genocide.

Elections are world over recognized as a step to democratic governance in any country. Periodic elections in Kenya occur every five years except the 2013 elections, when the Supreme Court intervened after the government of the day failed to establish the election date. Earlier, the elections were scheduled to be held in 2012 but constitutional interpretation caused the delay. Besides, Kenya was still undergoing the Constitutional implementation process that was promulgated in August 2010. The Elections in Kenya are mostly ethnic based. This is because aspirants for elective posts depend on their communities to vote for them into office. Kenya formerly constituted eight provinces of Coast, Central, Nyanza, Rift Valley, Nairobi, North Eastern, Eastern and Western Provinces whose population was majorly ethnically composed. Ethnic tensions have been simmering for quite a while given the inequitable distribution of resources since the era of the first President of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta in 1963-1978.

Some regions have been experiencing ethnic outbursts every five years when Kenya is conducting elections. There have been cases especially within the Rift Valley region where people either migrate a few months to elections or are forcefully uprooted by their rival community from their area of residence. The 2008 post election violence saw more than 1,000 people killed and about 5,000[1] people uprooted from their homes after six weeks from the 30 December 2007, when Mwai Kibaki was sworn in as the Third President of the Republic of Kenya.

One tenet of journalism is setting the agenda. It is this agenda that sets discussion rolling from different quotas of a society, be it from the experts in the field of discussion to the common man.

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[1] OCHA, *Kenya Weekly Humanitarian Update*, vol. 8, 28 Feb – 03 March, 2008. There are various estimates of the number of internally displaced people in Kenya ranging from around 150,000 to 600,000.

The process and events geared toward the elections are covered by both local and international. The Media believes that by covering the process and events leads to transparency of procurements of elections materials, the behind the scene activities among other things are usually in the interest of the public. Such moves have seen journalist make investigative pieces in an effort to inform the public about an ongoing issue.

In Rwanda the media was instrumental in the 1994 genocide, while the local media incited the killing based on ethnicity, the international media either ignored what was happening or misinterpreted the events there. The local population depended on the services provided by the radios especially for those who were unable to read and write. The radios also played a crucial part while connecting the government to the governed. Rwanda, until 1991 was a single party state therefore government used the radios to inform the population on the new cabinet lists, list of admission to secondary schools as well as dismissal of government officials[2]. But in 1994 Genocide was not the first time the radios encouraged ethnic killings. In 1992 the radios were used to fuel killings in a place called Bugesera[3] massacre against the Tutsi. Professor Allan Thompson (2007) agrees when he quotes the International Criminal Tribunal on Rwanda (ICTR) that both print and broadcast stations facilitated the Genocide by promoting hate speech.

He avers that:

> The newspaper and the radio explicitly and repeatedly, in fact relentlessly, targeted the Tutsi population for destruction. Demonizing the Tutsi as having inherently evil qualities, equating the ethnic group with 'the enemy' and portraying its women as seductive enemy agents, the media called for the extermination of the Tutsi ethnic group as a response to the political threat that they associated with Tutsi ethnicity.[4]

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[2] Forges Des Alison "call to Genocide: Radio in Rwanda 1994", in Thomson Allan (Ed),The Media and Rwanda Genocide,2007,p42
[3] IBID
[4] www.ictr.org summarized judgment ICTR 2003: para. 72

Three journalists from Rwanda have since been found guilty of genocide, incitement, conspiracy and crimes against humanity by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. Citizen journalism is a cropping phenomenon in the media industry. With the advent of the Social Media, any individual with an opinion or view point is now able to express themselves on the various platforms of social media. This often begs the question on the accuracy of the information churned out using the social media outlets. There are various forms of social Media that include but not limited to Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, and Instangram. At the same time the social media tends to compete with mainstream media as a source of information. This is also posing a challenge as to the accuracy of information provided without a process of gate keeping.

The media in Kenya has also undergone tremendous changes following the liberalization of the airwaves. Capital FM became the first private Radio Station broadcasting in English since 1996. The media libreralisation law in 2004 saw an influx of radio stations broadcasting in local languages. Prior to 2004, only one vernacular station, Kameme FM, had set up shop in 2000. A debate on opening up the monopoly to broadcast ensued prior to liberalization. The argument was based on the capacity to incite ethnic conflict by opening up vernacular stations in the hands of private individuals. That line of argument was defeated following the new law passed in 2004 allowing further liberalization of the industry.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Numerous studies have been conducted about the post election violence but little has been done to identify the role media took in comparison to the Rwandan Genocide. Therefore this study will look into how the media can use its agenda setting role to fuel conflict in Kenya and Rwanda. Thus the research problem, Media and Conflict: A comparison of 2007/08 and the

Rwanda Genocide. Media can also be a useful tool in managing conflict. What are some of the mechanisms needed to mitigate conflict? How useful can the media be in mitigating conflict? What are some of the best practices of conflict resolution using the media? This study will give recommendations on the best practice by the media in conflict resolution.

1.3   Objectives of the study

The general objective of the study was to investigate the coverage of Rwanda Genocide and the 2008 Kenya post election violence.

1.3.1Specific objectives

1. To investigate whether the media exacerbated conflict in Rwanda Genocide and in the 2007-2008 Kenya post election violence

2. To establish the similarities and difference of media coverage of the conflict in Rwanda and Kenya.

3. To establish the contribution of social media to hate speech in the Rwanda and Kenya conflict.

4. To analyse measures taken to avert ethnic conflict in future.

1.4   Hypotheses

1. The media in Rwanda had a direct role in fueling the conflict than the Kenyan media in the post election violence.

2. The Kenya media landscape is better than Rwanda media environment in conflict resolution.

3. The Kenya media faced more challenges in mitigating the post election violence than the media in Rwanda did on 1994 Genocide.

1.5 Justification

The study will enable individuals become familiar with the media environment as well as understand what happened in 2007/2008 and Rwanda Genocide. Academically, the paper will seek to find out how media can play a positive role in the coverage of any conflict. It examines the agenda setting role of the media and implications of certain messages on the audiences. The research will fill the gap between the discordant relationship between main stream media, their ethics and the hate speech that is sometimes viral on the social media.

Professionalism of the media both in Rwanda and Kenya has been examined in order to understand the landscape in which media practitioners worked under during the conflict in Rwanda and Kenya. Issues in this study may also be helpful in policy formulation in Kenya and other countries across the world. The study elucidates on various interventions geared toward improvement f the laws as well as professionalism of the media.

1.6 Literature Review

 Many documents and scholarly pieces have been written about media and conflict over the years. This paper shall look some of those scholarly thoughts that influence how the media has managed conflict geared toward possible outbreak of violence and in some cases violence. It shall draw literature from the Rwanda Genocide where the media was very instrumental in the genocide of 1994 by promoting hate speech over the radio stations and print media. The Rwanda case shall help mirror the outcome of post election violence in Kenya. Some scholars have for a long time viewed Kenya as an icon of peace in the volatile East African region. Kenya's neighbours Uganda, Somalia, South Sudan and Rwanda have from time to time been engaged in

civil wars as well as political upheavals. So to scholars that viewed Kenya from this light it was a surprise the 2007/2008 post election violence occurred.

But on the other hand, there are scholars who have been keenly watching the political environment in Kenya and were merely asking when the violence would erupt. Those who argue that violence was bound to occur regardless of the 2007 elections, are of the view that the land dispute, longstanding impunity as well as violation of social-economic rights facilitated the outbreak of violence. These causes are in line with those identified by the Office of the High Commission of Human Rights in 2008 as the causes of the Kenya post election violence.

The aftermath of the violence led to two main problems among other smaller ones. First, More than 1,500 Kenyans were reported killed, 1,133casulties, over 350,000 internally displaced persons, approximately 2, 000 refugees, destruction of 117, 216 private property and 491 government owned property, around 42,000 houses and many businesses were looted and destroyed, gang rapes, male/female genital mutilation and destruction of the railway line.[5] Secondly, the post election violence led to factors of production being rendered idle while the country lost millions in the economy. This was demonstrated by the fact that factories went idle, many roads were closed, and food and humanitarian crises became visible. Regionally, other countries suffered too. For instance, in Uganda, Rwanda and the eastern DR Congo, there was interruption of fuel supplies coming from Mombasa port due to lack of transport. By a conservative estimate, the Kenyan economy was losing $30 million a day.[6]

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[5] Juliana, (2008). 'Report on Post-Election Violence in Kenya'. Un Human rights team, March 20, 2008.
http://blog.ushahidi.com/index.php/2008/03/20/report-on-post-election-violence-in-kenya-un-human-rights-team/
[6] Prunier, G., (2008). Kenya: The Roots of Crisis. 7th January 2008
http://www.opendemocracy.net/article/kenya_roots_of_crisis

There was another issue in contention among the scholars. Was the Kenya post election violence tantamount to genocide or not? According to Article 6 of the Rome Statute of the ICC, genocide is defined as any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethical, racial or religious group as such; killing members of the group; causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group, deliberate infliction, imposing measures intended to prevent births within a group and forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.[7] The Rwanda case study fits this definition because; the Hutus spread propaganda against the Tutsis using Radio Rwanda that had been taken over by the Armed Forces Armees Rwandaises (FAR). In the Kenya situation, the United Nations Special Advisor on the Prevention of Genocide claimed that there was genocide, and wanted the application of the responsibility to protect (R2P) tool.[8] But the definition of genocide in the Rome statute shows that there is little evidence to make scholars classify this violence as genocide. This is because the intention to destroy either partially or totally a certain group was not there, but it is evident that the violence targeted the members of an opposing ethnic group.

After the Rwanda Genocide, the media began to invest more in media-related interventions in conflict areas. This is evidenced when Prof. Allan Thompson (2007) quotes Ross Howard[9] "In 2003 [it is] estimated that in the previous ten years, US$ 1 billion had been invested in media-related interventions in conflict-stressed societies." This helps demonstrate the fostering of highly professional cadre of journalists in developing world.

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[7] Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court , Article 6
[8] UN news service (28, January 2008) – this was a call to use R2P:
http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/index.php/component/content/article/1478
[9] An associate at the Vancouver-based Institute for Media, Policy and Civil Society (IMPACS)

The ICTR in its judgment recommended more scrutiny to media expressions to safeguard the minority. It says: "Ethnic expressions by the media should receive more rather than less scrutiny 'to ensure that minorities without equal means of defence are not endangered"[10]. Romeo Dallaire avers that "When news reaches the general population, it shapes public opinion. When there is a lack of statesmanship, public opinion can force a government to make decisions."[11]

The principles of fair and balanced coverage as well as considering the social responsibility role of the media is critical when covering conflict situations such as the post elections violence. There is often a thin line been coverage for public interest and social responsibility. Mutua agrees when he observes that "The 2008 post-election violence left the Kenyan media sullied. Unprofessional media coverage by Kass FM fuelled the post-election violence in Kenya. Musyi FM had more professional coverage of post-election violence compared to Kass FM. When covering conflict, media usually violates the principle of social responsibility and therefore aggravating the conflict situation; as people develop negative perceptions towards each other."[12] Some scholars recommend that the media should not merely report, comment on or interpret conflict but should also enhance peace through conflict resolution. Ekwo voices this view when he advises that "we must be conscious of evolving a conflict-resolving media."[13]

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[10] ICTR judgment, 2003, paragraph 1008, www.ictr.org
[11] Dallaire Romeo, the media dichotomy, 2007, in Thomson Allan (ed),The Media and Rwanda Genocide,2007,p42
 Roméo Dallaire is a retired Lieutenant-General. He led the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) to help implement the Arusha accords. He is the author of *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda* and now sits in the Senate of Canada as a member of the Liberal party.
[12] Mutua Ekzekiel, thesis 2010, Media and Social Responsibility: an investigation into Post-Election violence coverage by Kass and Musyi FM, University of Nairobi, abstract p.i.
[13] Ekwo, Uchenna, 2001, "Nigeria's media in crisis-prone democracy", In *Reporting Conflicts*, Lagos: Mass Media Africa Peace Centre p6.

The Rwanda Case study saw the skilful use of radio to sow seeds of inter-ethnic hatred mainly in the rural areas especially on the unemployed youth. Prof. Chalk (1999)[14] confirms this position when he avers that "Radio RTLM (Radio-tÈlÈvision libre des mille collines), a private station of their own… whipped up fear and ethnic hatred more effectively than Radio Rwanda ever had, using dynamic, innovative programming which introduced to Rwanda's airways for the first time a unique cocktail of the liveliest African music and informal talk radio, blended with culturally-coded attacks on Tutsi and their defenders."

1.6.1 Social Media Influence on Conflict

The social media platform is gaining more popularity among the young generation in Kenya and world over. Through the various platforms such as blogs, face book, and Twitter the media has been able to pick newsworthy stories for coverage. Scholars like Drezner and Farrell, as quoted in Prof. Allan Thompson (2007) argue that blogs are able to set the agenda on content for media coverage. They say "For salient topics in global affairs, the blogosphere functions as a rare combination of distributed expertise, real-time collective response to breaking news, and public-opinion barometer" It is this platform that has created hate speech among Kenyans during the 2013 elections. The Kenya National Human Rights Commission defines Hate speech as any form of speech that degrades others and promotes hatred and encourages violence against a group on the basis of a criteria including religion, race, colour or ethnicity. It includes speech, publication or broadcast that represents as inherently inferior, or degrades, dehumanizes and demeans a group.[15] Therefore this research seeks to answer, whether or not the effort by the media in Kenya was enough to avert the social media crisis on hate speech.

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[14] Prof. Frank Chalk, Radio and Genocide, 1999, MIGS Occassional Paper,
http//migs.concordia.ca/occpapers/radiopr.html
[15] KNCHR http://nipate.com/omar-s-knchr-definition-of-hate-speech-t8927.html, accessed on 5th May 2013.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

The Research used the theory of Agenda Setting. This theory enhances this research using the tenets or principles it subscribes.

1.7.1 Agenda Setting Theory

A scientific revolution occurred in the study of how the mass media affect public opinion. From 1930s to early 1970s the dominant direction of mass communication research was to investigate direct effects of the media on audience's attitude and overt behavior. Paul F. Lazarsfield set this new direction in motion. Researchers found out that the media appeared to affect attitudes and behavior directly only for some individuals in some circumstances for example television violence as found to affect children aggression.

Modern agenda setting notions are draw from mass society perspective as observed by Baran and Davis.[16] Bernard Cohen refined Walter Lippmann's idea of the Agenda Setting theory. Cohen argued that "the press is significantly more than a purveyor of information and opinion. It may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about and it follows from this that the world looks different to different people, depending not only on their personal interests, but also on the map that is drawn for them by the writers, editors and publishers of the papers they read."[17] This argument by Cohen appears to contradict when he observes that the media is often unsuccessful in telling people what to think about while at the same time continue to argue that the world looks different from different people depending on what the media offers. In 1963 Cohen summed up

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[16] Baran Stanley J. and Davis Dennisk, 2006,Mass Communication Theory Foundations, Ferment and Future, 4th edition, Thompson Wadsworth, p.316.

[17] Cohen B.C. (1963), The Press and Foreign Policy, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, p.13.

the theory with words "the media don't tell people what to think, they tell the people what to think about."[18]

Kuhn (1970) saw the anomaly and predicted that the search of a new paradigm. Kuhn prediction led to a 1972 study on Agenda setting by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw. The new paradigm of agenda setting offered new way of thinking in mainly mass communication research and to a less extent in political science , sociology and among social scientists. According to Kuhn[19] this new agenda setting paradigm offered a fresh thinking on effects of mass media so that "familiar objects are seen in different light."

McCombs and Shaw articulate their interpretation of Agenda Setting by observing that "in choosing and displaying news, editors, newsroom staff and broadcasters play an important part in shaping political reality. Readers learn not only about a given issues but how much importance to attach to that issue from the amount of information in a news story and its position…the mass media may well determine the important issues that is, the media may set 'agenda' of the campaign."[20] Agenda setting focuses on changes overtime in the salience of issues on (a) the media agenda (b) the public agenda and (c) the policy agenda. Proponents of this theory argue that the media sets the agenda for the society and people always rely on the media for guidance on issues that are important.[21] There are three concepts under Agenda setting theory that will help the study in uncovering what happened to the media in both the Rwanda Genocide as well

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[18] Anderson James A, (1996), Communication Theory Epistemological Foundations, the Guilford Press.

[19] Kuhn, T.S (1970), The Structure of scientific revolutions, Chicago, University of Chicago Press,p.111.

[20] McCombs, M. E and D.L. Shaw (1972), The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media, Public Opinion Quarterly 36:176-187, p.176

[21] McQuail, M (2005), McQuail's Mass Communication Theory, 5TH edition, New Delhi, Vistaar Publications.

as the Kenya post election Violence in 2007/2008. These concepts are: (a) Priming, (b) agenda-building and (c) framing

1.7.2 Priming

According to Iyengar[22] priming refers to impact of news coverage on the weight assigned to specific issues in making political judgments. This means that the media may draw more attention to some aspects of political life like the elections and the aftermath at the expense of others. Iyengar and Kinder[23] demonstrate that "through priming television news (helps) set the terms by which political judgment are reached and political choices made."

1.7.3 Agenda-building

Agenda-building is another concept under agenda setting theory. Kurt Lang and Gladys Lang[24] define agenda-building as "a collective process in which media, government, and the citizenry reciprocally influence one another." This definition however assumes that the there is increased knowledge by the society.

1.7.4 Framing

Dietram Scheufele[25] avers that "framing words on the assumption that subtle changes in the wording of the description of a situation might affect how audience interpret this situation." McCombs while linking the Agenda Setting theory to framing theory argues that media coverage can help influence how we think about objects like candidates, events and other issues."

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[22] Iyengar, S, (1991), Is Anyone Responsible? How Television frames Political Issues, Chicago, University of Chicago Press,p.133

[23] Iyengar,S. and D.R. Kinder (1987), News that matter: Television and America opinion, Chicago, University of Chicago Press,p.114.

[24] Lang, K and G.E. Lang, (1983), The Battle for public Opinion: The President, the press and the Polls during Watergate, New York, Columbia University,pp.58-59.

[25] Scheufele, D.A (2000), Agenda-Setting, Priming and Framing revisited: Another look at Cognitive Effects of Political Communication, Mass Communication and Society,p.309.

1.8 Methodology of the Research

Methodology describes the procedure to be followed while undertaking research. The Research intends to collect data from the various media houses (radio, Tv, and print) using various data collection methods. The study adopted a qualitative data through interviews from Editors, journalists and media experts. The qualitative methodology determined the trend, attitude and opinion of these media professionals.

1.8.1 Research Design

Research design is a detailed plan indicating how the research will be conducted to be used for research. A case study is a comprehensive investigation of a phenomenon. The case study of Rwanda Genocide and Kenya post Election violence are forms of case studies that enriched this study. The two cases helped enumerate the factors, relationships that resulted to the genocide and violence.

1.8.2 Qualitative Approach

In this approach, the study looked at how media influenced post-election violence in 2007/2008. Which form of media (print, radio or television) was more responsible for both Rwanda genocide and Kenya post election violence? How different could the media have covered the conflict? What measures did the media take to avert spread of hate speech through their avenues? Did these measures work and how?

1.8.3 Data Collection

Data collection is a process of gathering information from both primary and secondary data. This information gathered was measured to answer the objectives, tested the hypothesis as well as assessed the outcomes.

1.8.4 Primary data

 Primary data was gathered from key interviews with media professionals.

1.8.5 Secondary data

The study focuses on already published work as well as the unpublished data gathered from books, journals, newspapers, reports, thesis, private and public papers.[26] This information mainly focuses on the role of media in conflict situations like the Rwanda genocide and the Kenya post election violence.

1.8.6 Data collection Techniques

Interviews were administered to key informants of this study i.e media professionals.

Interview is obtaining information from an interaction between the researcher and respondents. It can be structured or semi structured. Interviews help see the reactions, values and attitude of the respondents. They also ensure that all questions are answered because the researcher can probe further in order to get more information. On the other hand Interviews are very costly and time consuming. The presence of the researcher may intimidate the respondents. Quality of data to be collected may be affected especially when the respondents don't have time to reflect or consult.

1.8.7 Target Population

The target population for this study was selected media houses from print, radio and television. The target for radio stations were Ramogi FM and Inooro FM vernacular radio stations. Print media focused the two main dailies i.e the Standard Newspaper and The Daily Nation. Television stations were the national broadcaster KBC and KTN. In Rwanda the target stations were Radio Rwanda, Rwanda Television and The New Times.

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[26] Kothari,C.R,2004, Research methodology, methods and techniques: Rajasthan, New age International Publishers

1.8.8 Data Processing and Analysis

Data collected was analysed to answer the objectives and the hypothesis. Raw data was cleaned in order to make sense on the study.

1.9 Scope and Limitation of the Research

The study focuses on the influence of media in fueling conflict and best practices to ensure effective conflict resolution using media in the Rwanda Genocide and Kenya post election violence Case Studies.

1.9.1 Limitations

The research faced challenges that stemmed from ICC cases that are ongoing. The matter is still sensitive for discussion given that two journalists, Joshua Sang and Walter Barasa are facing trial at The Hague based court. Data from some radio stations was be difficult to collect owing to the CCK regulations. Long bureaucratic procedures involve while gathering information from the different Editors, media houses and government bodies. The study relied on the memories of editors, media experts, government representatives and senior journalists to collect data. Memories may fade after a while. In order to counter these challenges the researcher was persistent in collecting data from the various respondents. The study also counter checked information provided by respondents with the already available literature of the Rwanda Genocide and Kenya post election violence.

Chapter outline

Chapter one focuses on Proposal while Chapter two examines the role of media in exacerbating conflict in 1994 Rwanda Genocide and 2007-2008 post election violence. Chapter Three elucidates on media landscape in Rwanda and Kenya. Chapter four deals with findings, analysis and interpretation of data. Chapter five deals with summary, Conclusion and recommendation

CHAPTER TWO

ROLE OF MEDIA IN CONFLICT

2.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the role media plays in conflict world over. It later examines on the specific conflict behind the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda and 2008 Kenya Post Election Violence. A similarity and difference will also be drawn in this chapter.

2.2 Media and Conflict in General

Conflict is a never ending phenomenon in modern international relations. Thomas and Lee refer to conflict as:

> Clashes over economic and political principles that are debated and fought over in the corridors of power in local, national and international arenas, and the real bloody battles in the cause of God and country, nation and ethnic group in the killing fields.[27]

In fact in the last ten years, over two million children have died in conflicts, more than one million have been orphaned and more than six million have been disabled or seriously injured.[28] Conflicts exacerbate poverty, displaces a number of households, bring massive human suffering, destroy the environment. A few of the conflicts have attracted the attention of the international community. Despite numerous incidents of conflicts world over, little is understood about the internal triggers of any given conflict. "We still do not know how the instability or ethnic tension that marks many societies can suddenly escalate into organized violence."[29]

Mass media often plays a key role in conflict. The media can be part of the conflict by helping increase violence or stay out of the conflict and contribute towards peaceful resolution.

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[27] Thomas, Pradip and Philip Lee, 1996, "Editorial", *Media Development*, 4,p.2
[28] http://www.soschildrensvillages.org.uk/sos-childrencharity/child-soldiers.htm
[29] Puddephatt Andrew (2006), Voices or war: Conflict and the role of media, international media support , p.5

Combatants seek to prevent information about their human rights abuses reaching the general public. Political leaders frequently disseminate biased or manipulated information in order to mobilise public support for their conflict goals. In some cases the media, motivated by patriotism, publishes deliberately distorted information. Persistent misinformation is a powerful factor in entrenching feelings of mutual hatred between communities. This increases the obstacles which have to be overcome in peace processes and hinders conflict resolution.[30] Some conflicts have been elevated to the international platform through the media coverage while other conflicts in Africa have gone unnoticed. International Media Support (IMS) observes that African conflicts like the wars in Congo since 1997, Angola's civil war and other conflicts in Sierra Leone, Guinea, Liberia and Ivory Coast have not been noticed by the International community.

The presence of media during conflict can complicate the issues but can also be helpful in resolving the conflict. Instances where the media has been instrumental in conflict resolution include the Serbian situation. Here, a United Kingdom based Independent Television News (ITN) covered the existence of detention camps in Omarska and Trnopolie. This coverage helped support the UN Resolution 770 which allowed all necessary measures in the delivery of humanitarian aid. In 1994, NATO was able to give an ultimatum on the bombardment of the city of Sarajevo following the media coverage of the mortar bomb attack on the market. When covering conflicts media institutions face various constraints posed by governments, military, corporate pressure, and economic interests. Anup Shah notes that "the media are more than

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[30] Covering Conflict – Reporting on Conflicts in the North Caucasus in the Russian Media – ARTICLE 19, London, 2008 – Index Number: EUROPE/2008/05 p.1

willing to go along with what could be described as self –censorship…"[31] Shall further emphasizes that the mainstream media is a pillar of functioning democracy, and one of its roles therefore, is to hold power accountable.

Okunna[32] cautions the media to understand the context of conflict while covering issues. She encourages journalists to learn as much as possible about the environment and the people involved in the conflict.[33] Okunna cautions against "parachute journalists" who plunge into the conflict without understanding the issues of the conflict. She avers that possession of the background knowledge enables the journalist to properly contextualize and interpret events. Dunsky agrees with Okunna when he observes that Conflict reporters ought to "be aware of relevant context – be it historical or recent – and include it even briefly via a parenthetical phrase or a few paragraphs"[34] To the media owners who are profit driven, Okunna advises them to place ethics above profits while covering conflict. She observes that many journalists often result to unethical practices in order to attract advertisers to their audiences. This is because conflict sells in print, broadcast as well as online platforms. She says "the media should guard against the tendency to 'commercialize' conflict for their own financial gain."[35]

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[31] Shah Anup, 2005, War, propaganda and the media. www.globalissues.org/article/157/war-propagnda-and-the-media#dilemmaofjournalistsandwartimecoverage

[32] Dr. Chinyere Stella Okunna is head of the department of mass communication at Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka, Anambra State, Nigeria. An earlier version of this paper was presented in March 2003 as the lead discussion paper at a Roundtable on Conflict Reporting, Ethics and Code of Conduct organized by the International Press Center, Lagos, Nigeria.

[33] Okunna Chinyere Stella, 2004, Communication and Conflict: A Commentary on the Role of the Media, Africa Media Review, Volume 12, Number 1, 2004, pp. 7–12, Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa, (ISSN 0258-4913).

[34] Dunsky, Marda, 2002, "What constitutes full and fair media coverage of Israeli-Palestinian issues?" *Media Development*, 3, p.9.

[35] Okunna Chinyere Stella, 2004, Communication and Conflict: A Commentary on the Role of the Media, Africa Media Review, Volume 12, Number 1, 2004, pp. 7–12,Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa, (ISSN 0258-4913), p.11.

The media on the other hand should not stop at covering conflict but ought to play the role of a peacemaker. Ekwo emphasizes this point when he says "we musts be conscious of evolving conflict-resolving media."[36] In order to balance their responsibility while covering conflict, Okunna advises that:

> Journalists who are assigned to cover conflict should be people who are genuinely committed to peace, both in the context of the particular conflict they are assigned to cover, and in the context of conflicts generally …The training of conflict reporters should provide them with a style sheet of conflict reporting; it should also make them knowledgeable about the theory and practice of conflict resolution. In addition, the curriculum for such training should include instruction on propaganda, disinformation and mind management techniques typically employed by either side of the conflict episode.[37]

After media reportedly failed in Rwanda situation, it now suffers from exaggeration of civilian mayhem in ethnic conflict. Kuperman[38] observes that the media is quick to declare "genocide" in situations that are later disapproved by forensic investigation. Such was the situation in East Timor after its vote for independence but only 200 bodies were found following thorough investigations. Similarly in the Kosovo conflict, reporters sounded genocide alarms for several months but in fact the situation was counter-insurgency. Only 2,000 corpses were found and some were armed rebels.

2.3 Use of Social Media and Hate Speech in Conflict

The social media platform is gaining more popularity among the young generation world over. Through the various platforms such as blogs, face book, and Twitter the media has been able to pick newsworthy stories for coverage. Scholars like Drezner and Farrell, as quoted in Prof. Allan

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[36] Ekwo, Uchenna, 2001, "Nigeria's media in crisis-prone democracy", In *Reporting Conflicts*, Lagos: Mass Media Africa Peace Centre.

[37] Okunna Chinyere Stella, 2004, Communication and Conflict: A Commentary on the Role of the Media, Africa Media Review, Volume 12, Number 1, 2004, pp. 7–12, Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa, (ISSN 0258-4913), p.11.

[38] Kuperman J. Allan, 2000, How the Media missed Rwanda Genocide, International Press Institute, report No.1. www.hawaii.edu/powerkills/comm.7.8.03.htm

Thompson (2007) argue that blogs are able to set the agenda on content for media coverage. They say "For salient topics in global affairs, the blogosphere functions as a rare combination of distributed expertise, real-time collective response to breaking news, and public-opinion barometer" It is this platform that has created hate speech among Kenyans during the 2013 elections. The Kenya National Human Rights Commission defines Hate speech as any form of speech that degrades others and promotes hatred and encourages violence against a group on the basis of a criteria including religion, race, colour or ethnicity. It includes speech, publication or broadcast that represents as inherently inferior, or degrades, dehumanizes and demeans a group.[39]

Susan Benesch, a political scientist also identifies that dangerous speech as that which has a reasonable chance to influence or amplify violence by one party against another.[40] Benesch has a five-level model in which one can identify dangerous speech: first is the speakers influence, second, grievances or fears of the audience, third is the speech understood as a call to violence and fourth, the social and historical context of the speech. The fifth is the way in which the speech is disseminated.[41]

2.4 Rwanda Genocide

The Rwanda genocide had the international media caught off guard. Kuperman[42] gives four reasons why the International media failed in reporting the Genocide accurately. First, He says Western reporting "mistook genocide for civil war." This is because there had been continued

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[39] KNCHR http://nipate.com/omar-s-knchr-definition-of-hate-speech-t8927.html, accessed on 5th May 2013.
[40] S. Benesch, 2012,'Dangerous Speech: A Proposal to Prevent Group Violence,' World Policy Institute, available: http://www.worldpolicy.org/sites/default/files/Dangerous%20Speech%20Guidelines%20Benesch%20January%202 012.pdf
[41] Ibid.
[42] Kuperman J. Allan, 2000, How the Media missed Rwanda Genocide, International Press Institute, report No.1. www.hawaii.edu/powerkills/comm.7.8.03.htm Kuperman J. Allan is a MacArthur transnational security fellow at MIT's Center for International Studies and a fellow of the Institute for Study of World Politics.

friction between the government led by majority Hutu and the rebels comprising of Tutsi. The Hutus forcefully took power from the Tutsi in the 1950's. Tutsi fled to neighbouring countries as refugees and so in the next three decades conflict continued to emerge between these two ethnic groups. This is why in 1994, the first reports of violence in Kigali Rwanda were termed as civil war and not genocide in the making. Even experts were slow to acknowledge the events unfolding in Rwanda. "Commander of Belgian peacekeepers stated on April 15 to Paris Radio France International that 'the fighting has…all but stopped.' Not even the rights groups were able to point out the possibility of genocide until April 19." In addition, the Rwanda Hutu government wanted reports to think that the violence was civil war and not genocide.

Secondly, Kuperman observes that "the exodus of reporters was so thorough that it virtually halted Western press coverage." Most foreign national including journalists had left Rwanda in the wake of violence. Coverage of the genocide halted for four days starting on April 18 1994. This was actually when the genocide reached its climax. Otiti agrees with Kuperman when he says "only a few reporters stayed in Rwanda, and even they had difficulty getting their media houses to see the importance or understand the story as it unfolded. Some of the remaining reporters did not get the truth for lack of informers and language difficulties."[43] Thirdly, there were gross underestimates of the number of casualties and the dead. Kuperman avers that by the second week of the genocide Western media was still quoting the number of dead as 'tens of thousands'. He says "the estimates did not rise to levels that commonly would be considered "genocidal" for a country of 8 million people with 650,000 Tutsi." It was until a few days later that the real figures began to be quoted.

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[43] Otiti Aryantungyisa Kaakaabaale, October13 2010, Media and Rwanda Genocide, www.themediaproject.org/article/cam-media-rwanda-genocide?page-full

The fourth reason was that western Media focused their coverage on Rwanda's Capital Kigali for two weeks. He says "the few reports of violence in the countryside seemed to indicate renewal of mutual communal strife or civil war, rather than genocide."

On the local scenario, Otiti[44] in an essay makes similar observations to Kuperman's. Otiti says media failed on three different stages. First, media failed to prepare for the genocide- misuse of the media by government. Second, the media incited violence during the killing and third, media agenda and neglect-absence of true reporting of the genocide.

2.4.1 Radio in Rwanda Genocide

Radio has been an influential tool in fueling conflict especially because it is cheap to acquire a set and also because masses in the rural area tune in for information. Both Ebo[45] and Smith[46] agree that April 1994 was a pinnacle in the media's crisis discourse on Rwanda, and the ethnic explanation of Rwanda's conflict is symptomatic of the press's reversion to simplistic depictions of crisis. Before the war, Rwanda had only one station, Radio Rwanda. Listening to radio was often regarded as a way of distraction among the elite as well as the common people. It announced meetings, nominations, appointments and dismissal of government officials. Radio Rwanda remained the government mouth piece until 1992.

In the Rwanda Genocide, Radio- Television Libre des Mille Collines (RTLMC) began broadcasting in 1993 and Juvenal Habyarimana was a shareholder among his closes associates[47] and advisers, all of whom were Hutu. Radio sets became cheaper to acquire especially for the

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[44] Otiti Aryantungyisa Kaakaabaale, October13 2010, Media and Rwanda Genocide, www.themediaproject.org/article/cam-media-rwanda-genocide?page-full

[45] EBo, B. , 1992, American media and African culture. In *Africa's Media Image (B.* Hawk ed.) pp. 15-25. New York: Praeger.

[46] Smith, A. (1980) The *Geopolitics of Information.* New York: Oxford University Press.

[47] Felicien Kabuga, a wealthy businessman whose daughter was married to a son of president Habyarimana.

illiterate and semi-literate communities in Rwanda. According to Otiti, RTLMC was very different from the lone government station, Radio Rwanda that monopolized the airwaves. RTLMC adopted citizen participation in its programmes that allowed audiences to call-in and make comments or request music as well as send greetings. RTML had a close relation with the national broadcaster, Radio Rwanda.

This is because RTLM was allowed to broadcast on the same frequencies as Radio Rwanda between 8am and 11am, an arrangement that encouraged listeners to see the two as linked.[48] Otiti observes that RTLMC's quest to connect with the audience was not innocent but a deliberate step to prepare it as a weapon. RTLMC propagated the view that Tutsis were cockroaches that had to be killed. The radio further described the way Tutsis should be killed and condemned moderate Hutus who were unwilling to participate in the extermination exercise. Otiti says "the radio used violent language, openly incited violence and directed potential killers to their targets…killers are said to have moved around with a machete in one hand and a small transmitter radio in the other as they swept the neighbourhoods."[49]

Prof. Allan Thompson[50] in an interview[51] describes RTLM as probably the most extreme case of media failure. He said Romeo Dallaire was aware of the impact of RTLM but did not have media capacity. As a result most UN missions have their own radio stations to counter the effects of such messages. Thompson advises that media be professional in order to weed out the extreme stations. The Rwanda Case study saw the skilful use of radio to sow seeds of inter-ethnic hatred

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[48] Human Rights Watch, 1999, Propaganda and Practice, m.hrw.org/reports/1999/Rwanda/geno1-3-10.htm
[49] Otiti Aryantungyisa Kaakaabaale, October13 2010, Media and Rwanda Genocide, www.themediaproject.org/article/cam-media-rwanda-genocide?page-full
[50] Prof. Allan Thompson teaches at Carleton University and is editor of the book The media and theRwanda Genocide.
[51] Interview conducted by Francis Plourde, March 2007, The Media's Failure in Rwanda www.allathompson.ca

mainly in the rural areas especially on the unemployed youth. Chalk (1999)[52] confirms this position when he avers that "Radio RTLM (Radio-tÈlÈvision libre des mille collines), a private station of their own… whipped up fear and ethnic hatred more effectively than Radio Rwanda ever had, using dynamic, innovative programming which introduced to Rwanda's airways for the first time a unique cocktail of the liveliest African music and informal talk radio, blended with culturally-coded attacks on Tutsi and their defenders."

Radio Rwanda, the government owned station also joined in the campaign after the genocide started. The station referred killing as "work" for the Hutu. Radio stations made statements like "all Hutus owed it to the Community to work hard." Otiti also avers that foreigners against the radio campaigns were also attacked. They were described as enemies and people were directed to get rid of them too. According to Human Rights Watch 1999 Report, Radio Rwanda warned that Hutu leaders in Bugesera were going to be murdered by Tutsi, false information meant to spur the Hutu massacres of Tutsi. Radio Muhabura (Radio Beacon), the official radio of the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) and unlike the other two radios, Radio Muhabura did not reach Rwandans all over the country but its audience grew steadily in 1992 and 1993[53]. It focused on national identity of both Hutu and Tutsi as well as minimize their differences. This was in contrast to the Hutu power themes of RTLM's broadcasts.[54]

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[52] Prof. Frank Chalk, Radio and Genocide, 1999, MIGS Occassional Paper, http//migs.concordia.ca/occpapers/radiopr.html

[53] Human Rights Watch, 1999, Propaganda and Practice, m.hrw.org/reports/1999/Rwanda/geno1-3-10.htm

[54] Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies, Rwandan Radio Transcripts The Role of Radio www.migs.concordia.ca/links/rwandaradiotranscripts.htm

2.4.2 Print Media in Rwanda Genocide

Newspapers and magazines too were active in fuelling the 1994 Rwanda Genocide. Human Rights Watch in a 1999 report noted that "Newspapers were published and sold in the capital but urban workers who often went home for weekends carried copies of the better-known newspapers out of the hills…those who knew how to read were accustomed to reading for others"[55] Kangura, a weekly newspaper also carried hate messages against the Tutsi. Kangura started as bi-monthly newsletter in 1990 but later graduated to a weekly outlet. Kangura denounced the Tutsi in what it coined as the 'Ten Commandments of the Hutu.' The paper instructed the Hutus to have no dealings with Tutsi saying they were enemies. Otiti avers that "Kangura used history and fabricated image of what the future could hold or turn out to be to incite the Hutu to commit to obey the 'ten commandments'…" In 1993, Kangura wrote an article headlined 'A cockroach cannot give birth to a butterfly.' The article said:

> We began by saying that a cockroach cannot give birth to a butterfly. It is true. A cockroach gives birth to another cockroach…The History of Rwanda shows us clearly that a Tutsi stays always exactly the same that he has never changed. The malice, the evil are just as we knew them in the history of our country. We are not wrong in saying that a cockroach gives birth to another cockroach. Who could tell the difference between the Inyenzi who attacked in October 1990 and those of the 1960s.They are all linked… their evilness is the same. The unspeakable crimes of Inyenzi of today… recall those of their elders: killings, pillaging, raping girls and women, etc.[56]

After the Rwanda Genocide, the media began to invest more in media-related interventions in conflict areas. This is evidenced when Prof. Allan Thompson (2007) quotes Ross Howard[57] "In 2003 [it is] estimated that in the previous ten years, US$ 1 billion had been invested in media-related interventions in conflict-stressed societies." This helps demonstrate the fostering of highly professional cadre of journalists in developing world.

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[55] Human Rights Watch, 1999, Propaganda and Practice, m.hrw.org/reports/1999/Rwanda/geno1-3-10.htm
[56] Chretien et al, Rwanda Les Medias, p.156
[57] An associate at the Vancouver-based Institute for Media, Policy and Civil Society (IMPACS)

The ICTR in its judgment recommended more scrutiny to media expressions to safeguard the minority. It says: "Ethnic expressions by the media should receive more rather than less scrutiny 'to ensure that minorities without equal means of defence are not endangered"[58]. Romeo Dallaire[59] avers that "When news reaches the general population, it shapes public opinion. When there is a lack of statesmanship, public opinion can force a government to make decisions."

2.5 Kenya Post Election Violence

Some scholars have for a long time viewed Kenya as an icon of peace in the volatile East African region. Kenya's neighbours Uganda, Somalia, South Sudan and Rwanda have from time to time been engaged in civil wars as well as political upheavals. So to scholars that viewed Kenya from this light it was a surprise the 2007/2008 post election violence occurred. But on the other hand, there are scholars who have been keenly watching the political environment in Kenya and were merely asking when the violence would erupt. Those who argue that violence was bound to occur regardless of the 2007 elections, are of the view that the land dispute, longstanding impunity as well as violation of social-economic rights facilitated the outbreak of violence. These causes are in line with those identified by the Office of the High Commission of Human Rights in 2008 as the causes of the Kenya post election violence. The aftermath of the violence led to two main problems among other smaller ones. First, More than 1,500 Kenyans were reported killed, 1,133casulties, over 350,000 internally displaced persons, approximately 2,000 refugees, destruction of 117,216 private property and 491 government owned property, around 42,000 houses and many businesses were looted and destroyed, gang rapes, male/female genital mutilation and destruction of the

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[58] ICTR judgment, 2003, paragraph 1008, www.ictr.org
[59] Dallaire Romeo, the media dichotomy, 2007, in Thomson Allan (ed),The Media and Rwanda Genocide,2007,p.42
 Roméo Dallaire is a retired Lieutenant-General. He led the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) to help implement the Arusha accords. He is the author of *Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda* and now sits in the Senate of Canada as a member of the Liberal party.

railway line.[60] Secondly, the post election violence led to factors of production being rendered idle while the country lost millions in the economy. This was demonstrated by the fact that factories went idle, many roads were closed, and food and humanitarian crises became visible. Regionally, other countries suffered too. For instance, in Uganda, Rwanda and the eastern DR Congo, there was interruption of fuel supplies coming from Mombasa port due to lack of transport. By a conservative estimate, the Kenyan economy was losing $30 million a day.[61]

There was another issue in contention among the scholars. Was the Kenya post election violence tantamount to genocide or not? According to Article 6 of the Rome Statute of the ICC, genocide is defined as any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethical, racial or religious group as such; killing members of the group; causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group, deliberate infliction, imposing measures intended to prevent births within a group and forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.[62] In the Kenya situation, the United Nations Special Advisor on the Prevention of Genocide claimed that there was genocide, and wanted the application of the responsibility to protect (R2P) tool.[63] But the definition of genocide in the Rome statute shows that there is little evidence to make scholars classify this violence as genocide. This is because the intention to destroy either partially or totally a certain group was not there, but it is evident that the violence targeted the members of an opposing ethnic group.

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[60] Juliana, (2008). 'Report on Post-Election Violence in Kenya'. Un Human rights team, March 20, 2008.
http://blog.ushahidi.com/index.php/2008/03/20/report-on-post-election-violence-in-kenya-un-human-rights-team/
[61] Prunier, G., (2008). Kenya: The Roots of Crisis. 7th January 2008
http://www.opendemocracy.net/article/kenya_roots_of_crisis
[62] Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court , Article 6
[63] UN news service (28, January 2008) – this was a call to use R2P:
http://www.responsibilitytoprotect.org/index.php/component/content/article/1478

The principles of fair and balanced coverage as well as considering the social responsibility role of the media is critical when covering conflict situations such as the post elections violence. There is often a thin line been coverage for public interest and social responsibility. Mutua agrees when he observes that "The 2008 post-election violence left the Kenyan media sullied. Unprofessional media coverage by Kass FM fuelled the post-election violence in Kenya. Musyi FM had more professional coverage of post-election violence compared to Kass FM. When covering conflict, media usually violates the principle of social responsibility and therefore aggravating the conflict situation; as people develop negative perceptions towards each other."[64] Some scholars recommend that the media should not merely report, comment on or interpret conflict but should also enhance peace through conflict resolution. Ekwo (2001:6)[65] voices this view when he advises that "we must be conscious of evolving a conflict-resolving media."

2.5.1 Radio in Post Election Violence

Radio broadcast programmes were said to propagate hate speech days to the election. Kass FM was found wanting in its broadcast messages. The stations main language of broadcast is Kalenjin, one of the 42 tribes in Kenya. The Waki Commission found that : "a few days [before] the elections Kass FM announced there would be rigging and in some of their open forums encouraged people to use the radio to incite people"[66] Joshua Sang, a journalist with Kass FM is currently facing charges of crimes against humanity in the International Criminal Court (ICC). The station allowed 'strongly derogatory terminology,' with calls for the 'people of the milk' (the Kalenjin) to 'cut the grass' and get rid of the 'weeds' (the Kikuyu).[67] "Three days before

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[64] Mutua Ekzekiel, thesis 2010, Media and Social Responsibility: an investigation into Post-Election violence coverage by Kass and Musyi FM, University of Nairobi, p. i.
[65] Ekwo, Uchenna, 2001, "Nigeria's media in crisis-prone democracy", In *Reporting Conflicts*, Lagos: Mass Media Africa Peace Centre P.6.
[66] CIPEV, "Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Post-Election Violence," p.67
[67] Keith Somerville, 2011, 'Violence, hate speech and inflammatory broadcasting in Kenya: The problems of definition and identification,' *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies* 32:1, p. 235.

that vote, the privately-owned radio Kass FM, which broadcasts in Kalenjin, was suspended for inciting violence." [68]

Halakhe in a 2013 Occasional Paper observes that "local radio stations and other vernacular media bore particular responsibility for inciting violence through broadcast that included playing of ethnic war songs."[69] The Kriegler Commission found that in 2007 certain media outlets showed a discernible preference for particular candidates.[70] The Waki commission report was also in agreement in the role of media and especially the vernacular radio stations. The report stated that:

> From the statements given by the public, vernacular stations were most responsible for contributing to a climate of hate, negative ethnicity and incitement to violence. Radio stations mentioned included KASS FM in the rift valley, Kameme FM, Inooro FM and Coro FM, Bahasha FM in Nakuru and Nam Lolwe FM.[71]

IRIN identified a number of other stations that broadcast hate speech, including Inooro, Lake Victoria FM and Kameme.[72] "The privately-owned Radio Lake Victoria in Kisumu, which openly backed the opposition, went off the air on 28 December for three days after a mysterious power cut to its transmitter in Kiboswa, 15 kms away…the station resumed broadcasting without further problems, even at the height of the violence."[73] The Kenyan government was also

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[68] Article 19 et al, How far to go? Kenya's media caught in the turmoil of a failed election www.article19.org/data/files/publications/ How-far-to-go-?-Kenya's-media-caught-in-the-turmoil-of-a-failed-election

[69] Halakhe Abdulahi Boru, 2013 "R2P in practice": ethnic violence, elections and atrocity prevention in Kenya, Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect,p.9.

[70] Government of Kenya, Independent Review Commission (IREC/Kriegler Commission), "The 2007 elections in Kenya: Independent Review Commission report," available at: http://reliefweb.int/report/kenya/2007-elections-kenya-independent-review-commission-irec-report.

[71] *Waki Mtaani*, Popular version of the Commission of Inquiry into Post-Election Violence, Booklet on the media and post election violence, march 2009.

[72] Keith Somerville, 2011, 'Violence, hate speech and inflammatory broadcasting in Kenya: The problems of definition and identification,' *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies* 32:1 ,p. 94

[73] Article 19 et al, How far to go? Kenya's media caught in the turmoil of a failed election www.article19.org/data/files/publications/ How-far-to-go-?-Kenya's-media-caught-in-the-turmoil-of-a-failed-election

suspicious of vernacular radio stations that were deemed to fuel ethnic hatred. In an interview

with Article 19, Wachira Waruru of Royal Media Services admitted that there had been problems

that saw the group pull off air some speakers who had gone too far.[74] Royal Media Services is in

charge of Ramogi FM and Inooro FM that are subject to this study.

2.5.2 Television in Post Election Violence

Television coverage during the 2007 elections was mainly live especially on vote tallying that

was being conducted at the Kenyatta International Conference Center. Article 19 in a fact finding

mission avers that:

> Most privately-owned Kenyan TV stations broadcast live the events that plunged the
> country into crisis on 29 and 30 December. The focal point was the Electoral
> Commission of Kenya (ECK) headquarters in the Kenyatta International Conference
> Centre, a large building in central Nairobi. As tension mounted nationwide on 29
> December and first results were given by major TV stations linked with local
> correspondents, signs of trouble appeared.[75]

Soldiers at the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK) ordered all journalists at the press centre

at KICC to leave the premises. Only those journalists working with Kenya Broadcasting

Corporation (KBC), state-owned media house were left. Samuel Kivuitu, the then chairperson of

ECK announced that Mwai Kibaki had won the elections by over 200,000 votes. Kibaki was

shortly sworn in a hurried ceremony. Chaos began to erupt in different parts of Kenya and in a

swift action the government ordered the media to stop live coverage. Alfred Mutua, the

government spokesperson said: "In the prevailing environment, some people are using the media

to call for violence and to incite members of the public to engage in violence."[76]

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[74] Article 19 et al, How far to go? Kenya's media caught in the turmoil of a failed election
www.article19.org/data/files/publications/ How-far-to-go-?-Kenya's-media-caught-in-the-turmoil-of-a-failed-
election
[75] ibid
[76] Article 19 et al, How far to go? Kenya's media caught in the turmoil of a failed election
www.article19.org/data/files/publications/ How-far-to-go-?-Kenya's-media-caught-in-the-turmoil-of-a-failed-
election

CHAPTER THREE

MEDIA LANDSCAPE IN KENYA AND RWANDA

3.1 Introduction

Internationally, Article 19 of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (UNDHR) guarantees media freedom as a right to communicate through both electronic and print media. The chapter focuses on the media environment in both Kenya and Rwanda. It looks at the political will of powers that be in enabling a thriving media practice, independence of the media as well as ownership and media laws that govern the industry.

3.2 Kenya Media Landscape

3.2.1 Kenyan media in post independence

Political, cultural as well as economic climate have been attributed to greatly contribute to the media landscape in Kenya. According to Katharine and Gagliardone, Press freedoms in Kenya are "partly free" even though the media is considered one of the most respected and thriving systems in sub- Saharan Africa.[77]

3.2.2 Jomo Kenyatta's era (1963-1978)

Jomo Kenyatta, Kenya's first African leader tenure was characterised by good will for the media in the beginning. But the good will came to an abrupt end when Kenyatta and his deputy president, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga fell out politically. Kenyatta begun to use state machinery to assert his powers and the media was often used to manipulate coverage in order to manipulate

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[77] Katharine Allen and Iginio Gagliardone,2011, The Media Map Project Kenya Case Study Snapshot of Donor Support to ICTs and Media,

political rivals. The president used "ideology of order" to curtail freedom of expression.[78] The factors that shaped media activities during Kenyatta's rule were largely driven by the ideology of order to push for development, media ownership as well as politics of the day.[79] This ideology helped government to control media and thus enhance government propaganda.[80]

3.2.3 Daniel Arap Moi's Reign (1978-2002)

The media under Moi's reign faced a myriad of difficulties. Publications that did not meet government expectations were closed and press freedom was limited. Ogola notes that while open reprisal toward critical media intensified, independent and critical publications were banned outright.[81] In 1990 donors sharply critiqued government's increased lack of press freedom, repressive human rights conditions and limited political opportunities. These factors were a major consideration for aid into Kenya by donors.[82] But in 1992 the political and press freedom landscape changed following an amendment from one party system to multiparty politics. Official development assistance to Kenya tripled between 1978 and 1990, increasing from USD 334 million USD to almost USD 1.2 billion.[83] Economic liberalization during this time led to the proliferation of independent newspapers and magazines such as Economic Review and Finance.[84]

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[78]Adieno-Odhiambo, E., 1987, 'Democracy and the ideology of order,' in Schatzberg, M. (ed) The political economy of Kenya, New York: Praeger.

[79] Mbeke, P. O., 2008, 'The media, legal, regulatory and policy environment in Kenya: A historical briefing,' Nairobi, BBC World Service Trust.

[80] Mshindi, T. and Mbeke, P.O., 2008, Kenya media sector analysis report, a research report prepared by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), Quebec, viewed March 8, 2012, http://pioneers4change.org/?option=com_k2&view=item&id=51:kenya-media-sector-analysis-report-november-2008&Itemid=135.

[81] Ogola, G., 2011, 'The political economy of the media in Kenya: From Kenyatta's nation building press to Kibaki's local language FM radio,' Africa Today, vol. 57, no. 3, pp. 78-91.

[82] Brown, S., 2007, 'From demiurge to midwife: Changing donor roles in Kenya's democratization process,' in Kenya: The struggle for democracy (Africa in the new millennium), G. Murunga & S. Nasong'o (eds.), pp. 301-331, New York, CODSEIRA.

[83] ibid

[84] Mshindi, T. and Mbeke, P.O., 2008, Kenya media sector analysis report, a research report prepared by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), Quebec, viewed March 8, 2012,

Despite these changes the media continued to experience obstacles stipulated in the law especially the Official Secrets Act and criminal libel laws. The media also took political sides in its coverage with its ownership largely influencing content. Katharine and Gagliardone aver that: "Moi, recognizing the power of media in politics, tried to take indirect control of the two largest circulations, The Standard and The Nation. Through proxies he bought controlling shares in the former and asserted influence over the latter using his business relationship with the principal shareholder."[85]

3.2.4 Mwai Kibaki's rule (2003-2013)

Kibaki's tenure was a significant part in the Kenyan media landscape. First lady, Lucy Kibaki and later security operatives raided print media houses for allegedly publishing sensitive stories. In 2005, First Lady Lucy Kibaki stormed in The Nation Media group premises claiming the press had lied about her and President Mwai Kibaki. Drama ensued when she stayed for over five hours confiscating note books, mobile phones, cameras and later slapped a cameraman. A year later in 2006, government raided the Standard media Group offices after it published stories of grand corruption. Equipment and printed papers set for distribution were destroyed in the raid.

During the 2007 elections and the peak of post-election violence in 2008, Kibaki's government instituted a 24-hour ban on live coverage. At the time government argued that the media was being used as a tool to spread violence in the country. The constitution was promulgated in 2010 after years of formulating a new one. The constitution stipulated freedoms of expression and the press as well as access to information. In policy, the media has since 2010 been able to achieve

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http://pioneers4change.org/?option=com_k2&view=item&id=51:kenya-media-sector-analysis-report-november-2008&Itemid=135
[85] Katharine Allen and Iginio Gagliardone,2011, The Media Map Project Kenya Case Study Snapshot of Donor Support to ICTs and Media p.9.

independence from government. Articles 33 to 35 expressly grant freedom of the media, information and access to information.

Article 33 (1) states that:
"Every person has the right to freedom of expression, which includes: (a) freedom to seek, receive and impart information or ideas; (b) freedom or artistic creativity; and (c) academic freedom and freedom of scientific research."[86]

Article 34 states that:

Freedom and independence of electronic, print and all other types of media is guaranteed, but does not extend to any expression specified in Article 33 (2). (2) The State shall not—(*a*) exercise control over or interfere with any person engaged in broadcasting, the production or circulation of any publication or the dissemination of information by any medium; or (*b*) penalise any person for any opinion or view or the content of any broadcast, publication or dissemination.[87]

The media was also granted the right to information under Article 35. The media has since been ' able to expose corruption in the public sector as well as hold public bodies like parliament accountable of their actions. Article 35 states that:

"Every citizen has the right of access to (a) information held by the State and (b) information held by another person and required for the exercise or protection of any right or fundamental freedom."[88]

3.2.5 Uhuru Kenyatta's term (2013- to date)

Uhuru Kenyatta is the fourth president of Kenya and the son of Jomo Kenyatta the first president of Kenya. His term in office began on a positive note when he invited the media for breakfast at State House. Media monitors saw this as a ground that opened up government more to the public unlike previous regimes. The president has since offered many interviews to both local and International media houses a sign the his government is open and will to discuss various issues

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[86] The Constitution of Kenya www.kenyalaw.org
[87] Ibid
[88] Ibid

ranging from homeland security to Kenya's foreign policy on trade with the East and Western countries.

In 2013, President Kenyatta vetoed an Act of parliament that sought to suppress freedom of expression. Kenyatta argued that many provisions were against the constitution requirements that the tribunal proposed should be independent of commercial, political, and government interests."[89] Parliament had passed the draconian media law that would curtail freedom of expression. "The Kenya Information and Communication (amendment) Act and the Media Council Act will enable new government-controlled regulatory board to fine journalists up to 500,000 Kenyan Shillings (US $5,500) and media companies up to 20million shillings (US$230,000) if the board finds them in breach of government-dictated code of conduct, to be penned by legislators."[90] But barely 2years into office the media has witnessed rough times. A case in point is when President Uhuru's government cut down on advertising in the local newspapers. This move has been seen as one that would curtail revenue for local media.

3.2.6 Radio

Radio still attracts larger audiences than both print and television. This is because it is easy to acquire radio sets and with new technologies, the radio application can be found in mobile phone set. Following the liberalization of airwaves in 2004, there has been an influx of radio stations in Kenya. Prior to 2004, Capital FM had set up shop in 1996 as the only private station broadcasting in English. Kameme FM was also the only vernacular radio station before 2004 and it broadcast in Kikuyu. "There has also been an increase in radio stations since 2009 to about

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[89] www.president.go.ke
[90] Cpj.org/2013/12/Kenya-parliament-passes-draconian-media-laws.php

103. About 300 frequencies and licenses have been issued even though most are not being exploited."[91]

3.2.7 Television

Television attracts large audiences in social and entertaining spots in Kenya. News at 7pm and 9pm have become a popular watch for many Kenyans in order to keep up with the local and international happenings. Kenya boosts of over 20 television stations even though only five are serious.[92] The television scene is set to change with the introduction of set top boxes or decoders. This move is will see the transfer from analogue system to digital in order to match with the worldwide deadline of 2015. During the 2007-2008 post election violence Abdi and Deane observed that although the mainstream media played a substantial and positive role, the television broadcast news remains politically co-opted and exhibits a large amount of political parallelism.[93] Rambaud also found out that television media made concerted effort to practice "responsible journalism" and provided credible information and critical political condemnation[94]

3.2.8 Print media in Kenya

The print media in Kenya is very vibrant with several dailies, weekly and regional newspapers following the introduction of 47 counties. There are now an estimated six dailies, seven weeklies and scores of regional newspaperperson in the country.[95] Some of the prominent newspapers include The Daily Nation, The Standard, People Daily and The Star. In order to beat competition the national papers are now including the county news. Newspapers are widely

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[91] African Media Barometer, 2012, The first home grown analysis of the Media landscape in Africa, Kenya, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) p. 9.

[92] Ibid.

[93] Abdi, J. & Deane, J., 2008, 'The Kenyan 2007 elections and their aftermath: The role of media and communications,' BBC World Service Trust, viewed June 13, 2011, http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/trust/pdf/kenya_policy_briefing_08.pdf.

[94] Rambaud, B., 2009, 'Caught between information and condemnation: The Kenyan media in the December 2007 elections,' Nairobi IFRA Special Issue: The General Elections. Kenya 2007.

[95] African Media Barometer, 2012, The first home grown analysis of the Media landscape in Africa, Kenya, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) p.9.

available but the cost has been a hindrance to easy access especially for the poor. Both The Daily Nation and The Standard Newspapers go for 60 Kenya Shillings while The Star goes for 40 Kenya shillings. In order to bit competition The People decided to offer its printed newspapers for free to the public. Owing to high costs of production and high prices "…national newspapers have seen their circulation drop over the years from figures of 800 000 a few years ago to a joint circulation of all dailies currently put at between 350,000 and 500,000"[96]

3.2.9 Internet

Literature on Internet usage in Kenya remains little. But it is certainly a tool that has been used to fuel hate speech and counter hate speech. While addressing Kenyans in United States, President Kenyatta urged Kenyans to use social media to spread positive messages and not hate speech.[97] Social media applications like Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp have been a tool that is driving debate social discussions. All other forms of media, that is, Print (Newspapers), Television and Radio have adopted the social media platform to spread their news items to audiences that cannot be reached through the formal way.

3.3 Rwanda Media Landscape

The Rwanda citizens rely on various sources of media platform to access information on politics, health, social issues among others. Radio, television, Newspapers as well as internet through social media are ways the audience access information. Statistics from the Media High Council show that there are 32 weekly newspapers and magazines and 27 media outlets approved to conduct business in Rwanda. In a baseline report on media mapping in Rwanda, statistics showed that radio was the most listened to, followed by television and newspapers. Internet came in last. "The mentioned radio most frequently (93% of respondents) followed by television

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[96] ibid
[97] www.Nation.co.ke/news/stophate-speech-on-social-media-uhuru-kenyatta-tells-kenyans.

(33%) and newspapers (32%). Community meetings (13%), word of mouth (12%) and Internet (11%) were also considered as sources of information by a number of respondents."[98] The report also found out that "Government communication on key policies is erratic and does not follow a consistent chain or format. There are systems in place but they are not always followed. Meetings following Umuganda were mentioned as successful for delivering information from the government and stimulating feedback."[99]

3.3.1 Media laws in Rwanda

The Rwanda constitution provides for freedom of expression but also provides for limitations of these freedoms. Article 34 states that: "freedom of the press and freedom of information are recognized and guaranteed by the state"[100] In 2002, a law that formally forbids censorship of the media was passed but in practice the media was still under the government control. In 2012, the Rwandan parliament passed a law on the interception of communications that gave police, army and intelligence services powers to listen and read private communications both online and offline in order to protect public security.

In 2013, Rwanda adopted media law that seeks to safeguard freedom of the press. The same law also has been seen as a threat to journalists and media houses including online outlets. Some of the positive aspects of the media law include: The law also recognizes legal rights for journalists. The right to information, and respect for confidentiality of sources are guaranteed. The right to reply, correct and rectification are provided for in order to protect interests of individuals. The law seeks to establish professional standards as well as establish a body that will regulate the

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[98] Rwanda Media Mapping Baseline Report, 2010, final report, Search for common ground (SFCG), Project funding from the European Commission and USAID
[99] ibid
[100] www.freedomhouse.org

conduct of journalists. The body will also deal with violation of journalists rights in the cause of their duty. The media law adopted a broader definition of who a journalist is and this allows freelance journalists enjoy same rights as those employed. Photo journalists also no longer need special permission from media authorities to perfume their duties. Sanctions for the media have been liberalized. Suspensions or closure of publications that impede freedom of expression have been repealed in the media law.

Despite the positive progress made in the law, it still fails to go far enough. According to Article 19, the law fails to meet international standards because of the following: The state remains in control of the media. Launching a new media will have to meet government's approval. Journalists have to be accredited by the media self regulating body. Article 19 argues that international standards do not require accreditation because it is a restriction to freedom of expression.

On the confidentiality of sources for journalistic work, the media law provides a limit when it stipulates that a court of law can require a journalist to reveal the source. The state also retains the control of the internet space. Article 19 argues that such a move threatens media pluralism and free flow of information. The state defines legal duties required of a journalist. It is still unclear which state body will enforce these obligations. The Media law is not clear about what comprises of legal restriction on the freedom of expression. Some laws are still a hindrance to the greater enjoyment of media freedom such as criminal libel and defamation. The media laws are also unclear on the definition of crimes in the media that constitute as well as promote 'genocide ideology' and 'divisionism.'

3.3.2 Media Ownership in Rwanda

Media ownership in Rwanda has largely remained under the State. But before the genocide there were privately owned radio stations and newspaper publications. A radio station like the infamous RTLM was established in 1993 with President Juvenal Habyarimana as one of the shareholders. Ownership of media has not been as vibrant compared to Kenya. This is because unlike Kenya, the Rwanda Government under President Paul Kagame's leadership censored the press by confiscating newspapers since he came to power in 1994 November.

The Rwandan Utilities Regulatory Agency (RURA) is the government charged with issuance of frequency licenses to broadcast media. All media owners must seek licenses from RURA before setting up shop in Rwanda. Market entry remains expensive, but government has eliminated taxes on imported media equipment and removed the sales tax on domestic media materials in order to decrease costs and spur future investment.[101] Another hurdle to ownership is that private investors are reluctant to make huge investments because of the low purchasing power of Rwandans.

3.3.3 Media Independence in Rwanda

Rwanda government has continued to have suspicion and control on the coverage by media especially after the 1994 Genocide. The 2010 baseline report also showed the relationship between government and the media was poor. The media had a bad reputation and was controlled by a bad government. Respondents also say that although the media is free to criticize government, the government officials want to be portrayed in a positive way.[102] By 2005 the

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[101] www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/2013/rwanda
[102] Rwanda Media Mapping Baseline Report, 2010, final report, Search for common ground (SFCG), Project funding from the European Commission and USAID

government was still able to influence the press through its purchase of advertising space, upon which private media houses were financially dependent on.[103] The New Times is one of the privately owned publications and appears daily. Media monitors say that The New Times has government ties and that is why the paper has survived both politically and financially.

For fear of reprisals, many journalists practice self-censorship and most coverage is in line with the government agenda. This fear is compounded by having one government printing press. Critical publications by 2005 had resulted to publishing their works outside Rwanda to avert content control by government. But Rwanda government maintains that it has been fair to journalists. In a 2011 report conducted by the Media High Council showed that only 16% of the study journalists' respondents had been intimidated, harassed and illegally imprisoned. The larger group of respondents, that is, 78% had never been intimidated because they cared about what they wrote in their articles. [104]

By 2010 the public broadcasters still remained under the control of the ruling party. No attempts were made to change the state radio and television outlets into editorial and financial independence. Other state bodies like the Media High Council (MHC) and RURA may not be perceived as independent. In fact, journalists and media owner have low confidence on these state bodies.[105]

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[103] www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/2005/rwanda
[104] Media High Council, 2011, The State of media freedom, professionalism and development in Rwanda: an assessment, Kigali, Rwanda.
[105] ibid

3.3.4 Online media in Rwanda

About eight per cent of Rwanda's population had access to the internet mainly through their mobile phones in 2012. Despite government pressure, Rwanda's online environment is open with social as well as news outlets freely available.[106] By around 2009, critical bloggers and publishers were based abroad.[107] In 2014, there were reports alleging that Rwanda government uses fake twitter accounts to intimidate journalists as well as help in the spread of government propaganda. A case in point is when the Committee to Protect Journalists found out that an official in the office of the president was using a pseudonym twitter account to harass foreign journalists over their coverage on an alleged murder of an opposition leader.[108]

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[106] www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/2013/rwanda
[107] www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/2010/rwanda
[108] CPJ, Twitter War Shines Light on How Rwanda Intimidates Press, http://www.cpj.org/blog/2014/03/twitter-war-shines-light-on-how-rwanda-intimidates.php

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS, DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study. It included the interpretation and implication of the findings. The findings are be based on various thematic areas covered in the study. The study collected data from media experts, editors, senior journalists and media managers as well as owners.

4.2 Media involvement in Rwanda genocide and post Election violence

Majority (90%) of the respondents agree that media was directly involved in conflict Kenya. The respondents say that radio stations were more involved in spreading hate messages compared to other forms of the media like the print and television. Majority of the respondents believe that Radio fanned violence in their programs and they way they covered the violence. Media personalities took community sides while broadcasting. This is because radio has a wider reach of its audience compared to the print and the television. Some respondents believe that the radio stations often the vernacular take sides during politically charged moments like elections, referendum. Some media personalities go out of their way to improve ratings by pleasing their communities. Media houses used coded language to divide people. Unrefined information was also aired for instance, there were various versions of Raila's controversial Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the Muslims. However not all respondents (10%) believed that the media directly was involved. It is the Kenyans who used the media outlets to cause divisions among the population.

In Rwanda, 100% respondents said that media had a direct role in the genocide. Media experts say that RTLM was instrumental in guiding the militias to places where the targeted were hiding. Presenters encouraged people to call in with details of their whereabouts but it instead acted as a way to direct the militias to such places. For instance Velarie Bemeriki who was later convicted by a Gacaca court, listed names of people she claimed were RPF leaders. Bemeriki called upon her listeners to locate them because they were planning to kill key politicians in Rwanda. 100% tend to agree that the media either simply watched as the genocide raged or played an active role in encouraging the mayhem

4.3 Political influence and Ownership

The media was seen to take political sides during both conflicts. In Kenya, 80% of the respondents assert that the Kenyan media took political sides in their coverage. The remaining 20% say that some media houses upheld the ethics while reporting post election violence. Media houses were busy showing allegiance to either PNU or ODM. This because a significant number of politicians owned or had a significant shares in the media houses. Political pressure in Kenya took a center stage. Respondents say that it was difficult for both print and broadcast to keep PNU and ODM stories from turning into "us-versus-them." The print framed stories that were sensational. They had imbalanced sources in their coverage. Ownership of stations is a key component in freedom of media. Some politicians cum-media owners are increasingly taking political sides. This has led to media blackouts of their political rivals and when covered the rival is given less airtime compared to those with the same political ideology. 40% respondents believe that politicians own media houses for commercial reasons but also as a vehicle to political leadership.

In Rwanda, RTLM, a private radio station launched by supporters of the then President Juvenal Habyarimana is accused of instigating the final call to kill cockroaches and listing the people to be killed including providing the addresses of such people. 100% of respondents say political ownership of RTLM meant that presenters had to conform to the political pressure of the owners.

4.4 Ethnicity division

Despite professional training, some journalists sided with their tribal roots first before acknowledging other tribes. This led to biased reporting of events that unfolded before, during and after the post election violence. The Kenya situation was dire in comparison to Rwanda. This is because there are 42 tribes in Kenya while there are about three in Rwanda. 70% of respondents said that journalists sided with their people instead of pushing for a national agenda setting role and another 30% say some journalists averted the ethnic cocoon in their coverage. Journalists believed that siding with their community offered a protected layer of solidarity. Audiences believed journalists because they reached people emotionally through the various local languages. Some radio stations played war and liberation songs in local languages.In Rwanda 100% of the respondents noted that journalists stopped pushing for the national agenda of togetherness and sided with their ethnic group. This was seen in the call by journalists to eliminate the opposing ethnic group.

4.5. Historical injustices

Historical injustices enabled many journalists take sides in both the Rwanda Genocide and Kenya post election violence.80% of the respondents attributed the post election violence to the historical injustice the other 20% did not mention historical injustice as a factor in Kenya post election violence. Through editorials, issues of land grievances from the colonial-Kenyatta-Moi

eras and economic disparity were projected to lead to election violence.[109] On the other hand, 100% of respondents say that the French and Belgians attempted to separate Rwandese claiming Tutsis came from Ethiopia are thus elite and better rulers. Tutsis got better jobs and more economic opportunities than their Hutu counterparts.

4.6 Mitigating conflict

 Media houses in Kenya began to spread the peace message in the wake of displacement, destruction of property and death. Competition in both print and electronic media took a backstage as the encouraged the restoration of peace in the country. 100 percent of the respondents observed that newspapers carried the same headline "Save our beloved Country." Broadcast media also appealed for peace through music, patriotic poetry. Media spent hours talking about peace and love for thy neighbor. Blackout of messages that were divisive. 80% of the respondents say that their media houses gave a black out to politicians and messages that wanted to divide the nation. Newspapers like the Daily Nation refused the carry adverts that were inflammatory. The electronic media stopped talk shows where politicians were often invited and instead called peaceful means of resolving conflict. This effort brought down tensions and passions of killing and property destruction. In Rwanda, the media watched and encouraged the genocide to take place. 70% of the respondents say the media did not stop or prevent hate messages but instead encouraged mass mobilization of the systematic elimination of the Tutsi. 30% did not mention the mitigating factors of the media during the genocide.

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[109] Daily Nation, 5, 6 and 8 January 2008.

4.7 Professionalism and training

Media was both implicated and affected in the Rwanda genocide. Media personalities not only incited people to kill each other but were also killed in the mayhem. Other media personalities were jailed for their role in the genocide. Respondents say that the Rwanda media has been struggling to emerge from the trauma and that is why most newsrooms comprise of young people. These young journalists are believed to lack experience. In Kenya, 20% of the respondents say that some presenters in Radio still need training on the journalism ethics. They say that if they (presenters) continued with the same practice, the country is likely to see another spate of violence. This is because many presenters are essentially entertainers and are handpicked for radio jobs for their talent. Employers have kept overlooking the training of such media personalities in favour of profits and other commercial interests.

A majority of the respondents (80%) say that the media in Kenya is vibrant and professional in its coverage of issues.100% of the respondents agree that there is need for more training in peace journalism and conflict sensitive coverage. Respondents observed that mass communication departments exist in both public and private institutions. While training exists from certificate to PHD level, most if not all institutions use the western model of teaching including the use of western textbooks. Therefore the component of peace journalism is often excluded in the studies. On wages and remuneration, it has been observed that some journalists (freelancers/ correspondents) are paid for what is published or broadcast. This lack of uniformity has created insensitivity on coverage of certain stories and some journalists are likely to take biased angles of a story which eventually breeds room for corruption. It is important to develop content in media. 30% of the respondents say that there is need for content development mostly in the radio

programmes. Owing to liberalization of the media sector, many radio stations have mushroomed hence the rise of vernacular radio stations in Kenya and many lacked content relevant to avert post election violence in 2008.

4.8 Use of Social media in conflict.

Social media was not a factor in both conflicts. 100% of the respondents aver that in 1994 Rwanda genocide, social media was not a factor since technology has not reached that far. Also in 2008 post election violence, usage of the internet was still minimal.90% of the respondents observed that internet usage was not as rampant as today. 10 percent believed that the bloggers managed to spread hate messages. Short message service (SMS) technology was also used to ask people to vacate their premises.

4.9 A Comparison of Media Coverage in Rwanda Genocide and Kenya Post Election Violence

4.9.1 Similarities and differences

The study looked at both similarities and differences concurrently on the highlighted themes. There were instances where the media worked in similar ways in Rwanda and Kenya and others were different.

4.9.2 Hate Messages

Both the media in Rwanda and the media in Kenya allowed hate messages in their coverage. The use of derogative language acted as a warning sign in both conflicts. Hate speech or messages may not always lead to physical violence but in most circumstances it ruptures the society relations among individual or groups that target each other. Such negative effects need to be resolved even after the physical violence has occurred. It has been observed that before the Rwanda Genocide, radio used dehumanizing language to exacerbate the violence. In Kenya, a

similar coverage was witnessed. Broadcasts in vernacular fell short of using direct language to call for violence against certain groups.

In both conflicts, the media met some of Susan Benesch's five model of identifying dangerous speech. First, the media and specifically radio stations in both Kenya and Rwanda had influential speakers. Radio presenters are known to be influential and can easily sway the decisions of audiences. In fact some audiences believe that whatever is aired on the media is gospel truth. Secondly, the media in Rwanda was able to create fear on the audiences by using hate messages. It dehumanised one tribe hence the genocide. RTLM created fear that blended with culturally-coded attacks on Tutsi. However, in Kenya it is still not clear that the effect on audiences created fear. This is because the ongoing case against Joshua Sang, has not been concluded. But some studies show that targeted communities in certain areas feared for their lives and moved into internally displaced camps. Such is the case with Kalenjins who lived in predominantly Kikuyu areas and vice versa.

Third, it is clear that the speech in Rwanda media was understood as a call to violence. This is because RTLM propagated the view that Tutsis were cockroaches that had to be killed. Radio Rwanda also asked the Hutu's to 'work hard' a terminology that set the agenda kill Tutsi's. Kenya on the other hand framed words differently. The media used indirect language to incite the population. For example, Kass FM allowed the use of strongly derogatory terminology,' with calls for the 'people of the milk' (the Kalenjin) to 'cut the grass' and get rid of the 'weeds' (the Kikuyu).[110]

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[110] Keith Somerville, 2011, 'Violence, hate speech and inflammatory broadcasting in Kenya: The problems of definition and identification,' *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies* 32:1, p 235.

Fourth, the aspect of social and historical context of the speech in Rwanda was reflected. Both print and broadcast as reflected in the ICTR demonized the Tutsi as having inherently evil equalities. The media also called for extermination of Tutsi as a response to political threat. The Kenya case is yet to be decided by a formal court but numerous studies have shown the inequality of Kikuyu and other Kenyan tribes in post independence Kenya. Five is the manner in which the speech was disseminated. In both Kenya and Rwanda conflict the way of disseminating the speech was derogatory. The Rwanda case is confirmed through the ICTR judgment and sentencing those journalists used derogatory manner in disseminating their speech. In Kenya's case study, Human rights watch believes that the manner of dissemination was through other speakers and not broadcasters. Sang still insists that he is innocent. The only difference between the Kenya and Rwanda case studies is the use of short messages (SMS) to spread hate speech. Text messages through mobile phones were more prevalent in Kenya than in Rwanda mainly because of the evolution of mobile phone technology. The use of mobile phones was not wide spread in 1994 Rwanda genocide compared to the 2007-2008 post election violence in Kenya. The wrong use of technology aggravated the violence in Kenya than it did in Rwanda.

4.9.3 Ethnicity in Media

Ethnicity was a common thread in media coverage of both Rwanda genocide and the Kenya post election violence. This has not always been the case for Kenya. This is because during President Daniel Arap Moi's reign both newspapers publications and broadcast houses never mentioned tribes in their coverage. Moi's government did not encourage historical injustices be told along the ethnic lines. Such experiences included colonialism or political marginalisation in post independence Kenya. Ethnicity in the media was mostly about a comical issue. But in the 1990's

the narrative of ethnicity coverage in the media shifted because of the emergence of political clashes along the ethnic lines. The 1990's was also a time in which government embraced the spirit of multiparty politics. Therefore, powerful leaders sort to divide the nation by gaining access to resources such as media houses among others in order to maintain political clout. The break out of clashes also brought out the blame game on ethnic groups. Observers in Kenya initially thought that the post election violence was a reaction to the disputed election results that saw President Mwai Kibaki retain his seat. Later, a pattern of violence along ethnic lines resurfaced and that is why it was compared to the Rwanda Genocide by International media.

4.9.4 Planned attacks

A sharp contrast of the two conflicts is that the Rwanda attacks seemed more planned and well calculated through the media. There was prior knowledge of how to execute the Tutsi. This is because several studies have shown that there was massive importation and buying and distribution of machetes before the Genocide took place. Kangura, a weekly newspaper in 1993 several months before the 1994 genocide published an article 'a cockroach cannot give birth to a butterfly'. This shows that the attacks on Tutsis were hatched earlier. The same cannot be said of the 2007-2008 Kenya post election violence. Images in the media during the post election violence showed that perpetrators used anything like pangas, arrows, stones and Buttons (Rungus) in the hot spots. Although there were signs of violence there was no prior knowledge of preparations to attack.

4.9.5 International media coverage of Rwanda and Kenya

Media plays a role in framing stories for its audience. It is able to set the agenda for discussion. In the Rwanda case study, the International media missed out on the genocide because many had been evacuated along with other foreign nationals. Only a few people were left to cover the

events that saw more than 800,000 people killed in 100 days. Scholars have criticized the western media for turning a blind eye on the turmoil until it was too late. Initial reports in the West referred the genocide as a humanitarian occurrence. Melissa Wall's analysis on Rwanda makes the observation that the western media concentrated on it being an ethnic conflict without considering political and economic aspects. She found instances where Rwandans were portrayed as either wild animals or passive victims. This according to Wall was an attempt to distance the western audience from the conflict. [111] In contrast, international media was present in the Kenya post election violence. The level of violence did not necessitate evacuation of foreign nationals. Therefore, the international media was present unlike in the Rwanda case. However, the media coverage was often exaggerated and some began to refer the situation as genocide yet it was not.

4.9.6 Prosecution of media personalities

Three media personalities were arrested, prosecuted and convicted in connection with atrocities they committed in Rwanda genocide. Two radio journalists and a newspaper editor were found guilty by the ICTR. "This sentencing highlighted the murderous possibility of mere words[112] These media personalities were found guilty of the genocide, incitement to commit genocide and crimes against humanity. These personalities were: Ferdinand Nahimana, a founding member of RTLM was handed a life sentence, Hassan Ngeze, owner and editor of newspaper Kangura was sentenced to life imprisonment and Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza, a founder of RTLM who double as the public affairs director in Rwanda Foreign Affairs Ministry ICTR handed him 35years and later reduced it to 27years.

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[111] Wall, Melissa. 2007. "An Analysis of News Magazine Coverage of the Rwanda Crisis in the United States." In A. Thompson (ed.), *The Media and the Rwanda Genocide*. Pluto Press, London, England: pp.261-275.
[112] Des Forges, Alison. 2007. "Call to Genocide: Radio in Rwanda, 1994." In A. Thompson (ed.). *The Media and the Rwanda Genocide*. Pluto Press, London, England: pp.41-54.

In 2009, another journalist formally with RTLM was sentenced to life imprisonment. Valerie Bemeriki admitted to using networks that asked Hutus to kill Tutsis. Bemeriki was convicted by a Gacaca Court, a traditional concept of village council. The Gacaca had powers to hand down sentences ranging from community service to life in jail. Joshua Sang, is the first journalist to face the International Criminal Court (ICC). Sang was the Head of Operations at Kass Fm during the post election violence. He is accused of crimes against humanity that include: murder, deportation of forcible transfer of population and persecution.[113] His case is still ongoing at The Hague in Netherlands.

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[113] www.icc-cpi.int/en_menus/icc/situation-and-cases-aspx

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of the study and conclusions drawn from the findings of the study. Recommendations made from the study findings in addition to suggestions for further research.

5.2 Summary

There are various roles the media ought to play in a conflict situation. The media ought to guard the trail of misinformation churned through the opposing sides by presenting facts before, during and after the conflict has been resolved. The agenda setting role of the media is the key to finding out how the audiences react to certain messages passed through the media. In these two conflicts, the media negatively used their role to set the agenda in the beginning of the conflict. Kenyan media later realized their problem and changed to a peaceful campaign in order to woe audiences away from conflict.

The level of Professionalism among media practitioners is still a problem in Rwanda and Kenya. Although strides to improve professionalism have been taken since the two conflicts, more needs to be done especially on peace journalism. Major similarities and differences of the two conflicts exist. They include: spread of hate message, ethnicity factor took a central role for media practitioners to divide populations in both countries. Journalists faced prosecution in Rwanda and in Kenya. However, the case of Joshua Arap Sang is still ongoing in the Hague based Court, ICC. The international media coverage of the two conflicts was different. While the International media failed to cover the Rwanda Genocide, they fully covered the Kenyan post election

violence. The international media was accused of exaggerating the post election violence by portraying that the entire country was under fire while in realty was certain pockets where displacement, death and property destruction took place.

5.3 Conclusion and Recommendations

The study confirms the involvement of media in exacerbating conflict. Radio in conflicts, i.e Rwanda genocide and Kenya post election violence, took the leading role because it has a wider listenership compared to television viewership and newspaper readership. At the height of the Conflict in 1994 Rwanda genocide and the 2008 post election violence in Kenya, the media was distracted from pro-peace analysis in their coverage. Kenya media woke up after a week of murder and property destruction to carry out a message of peace in both print and broadcast. It is therefore up to the media industry to include conflict sensitive coverage as part of the policies that guide their journalists and presenters.

5.3.1 To media houses

Conflict sensitive journalism needs to be included in media studies. Peace journalism calls for conflict resolution which involves responsible, fair and balanced coverage of parties involved in any conflict such as the Rwanda genocide and Kenya post election violence. Media ownership influence in what is covered and what is blacked out should not be encouraged. Media owners should rise above self to allow fair coverage of opponents. To enhance professionalism, media houses ought to ensure that they acquire well trained professionals as presenters, news anchors and reporters. This will go a long way in ensuring that the media observes professional ethnics.

Local language stations have a policy on content on a language that promotes national unity. Have a percentage of programmes that have a national outlook and use a common language like say Kiswahili and Kinyarwanda. Media should ensure proper content development is achieved.

Develop content that is relevant to the mass audience and sets the agenda of nationhood as opposed to divisionism. This will enable people make informed decisions. Reforms need to prevent future genocide and post election related conflicts. The media needs to inculcate systems that would warn of an impending conflict. The media can achieve this by exposing state agents and other leaders who manipulate ethnic grievances to achieve selfish gains.

5.3.2 To Media training institutions

Universities and other institutions ought to embrace fully fledge peace journalism studies. Most institutions have peace and conflict courses as separate curriculum from peace journalism studies. Incorporating conflict sensitive studies with go a long way to improve coverage of such conflicts as Rwanda genocide and post election violence in Kenya.

5.3.3 To Government

Political will must be seen in order to allow free expression of opinions, ideas as well as access to information. This is through ensuring that the laws enacted in Rwanda and Kenya enable journalism flourish. Freedom of expression as stipulated in the Constitution of the two countries must not remain on paper only but ought to be felt in practice. Integrate nationhood in school curriculum. This will go a long way to build inter ethnic solidarity and unify the nation both in Rwanda and Kenya. Politicians need to delink ethnic undertones in local languages and spread a national outlook. The need address historical injustices on land and economic disparity is paramount in order to enhance harmony.

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APPENDICES
Interview Schedule Kenya

1. In your view what role did the media play in the 2007-2008 post-election violence?

2. Which form of media (Radio, Television or Print) was more responsible for fuelling post-election violence? How?

3. What factors contributed to escalation of conflict in by media in post election violence?

4. In your view did social media contribute to the post-election violence? If yes how?

5. In what ways did the Kenyan media mitigate post election violence? (Both print and broadcast).

6. In what ways would the media have covered conflict in post-election violence?

7. Does your media house have any policy guidelines on coverage of conflict? If yes what does it require of you as a journalist?

8. In your assessment how professional are media practitioners in Kenya? Explain.

Interview Schedule Rwanda

1. In your view what role did the media play in the 1994 Rwanda Genocide?

2. Which form of media (Radio, Television or Print) was more responsible for fuelling the Genocide? How?

3. What factors contributed to escalation of conflict by media in Rwanda Genocide?

4. In your view did social media contribute to the genocide? If yes how?

5. In what ways did the Rwandan media mitigate the genocide? (Both print and broadcast).

6. In what ways would the media have covered conflict in Rwanda Genocide?

7. Does your media house have any policy guidelines on coverage of conflict? If yes what does it require of you as a journalist?

8. In your assessment how professional are media practitioners in Rwanda? Explain.