

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM

**ROLE OF EFFECTIVE COMMUNICATION IN CONFLICT
RESOLUTION: CASE STUDY OF POST-ELECTION VIOLENCE IN
KENYA.**

PRESENTED BY:

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of Master of Arts Degree in Communication Studies of the University of Nairobi's

School of Journalism

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DECLARATION

This project is my original work and has not been presented in any university for a Master's or any other degree award.

Agnes W. Kamiri



Date

14/11/2011

This research project report has been presented for examination with my approval as the supervisor.

Dr. Tom Kwanya



Date

23/11/2011

DEDICATION

This research project is dedicated to my children, Annrita Waguthi and Liana Wangari.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This study owes its success to several people. I express my gratitude to them individually and collectively.

I sincerely thank my supervisor Dr. Tom Kwanya without whose tireless efforts this study could not have been accomplished.

I am also grateful to the University of Nairobi management, the Jomo Kenyatta Memorial Library staff, my fellow students, for their assistance. I thank them all most sincerely for their contribution to this work.

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I also thank the Almighty God for His grace, guidance, sustenance and blessings that saw this work come to a successful conclusion.

ACRONYMS

AU	African Union
CIPEV	Commission of Inquiry into Post-Election Violence
CRECO	Constitution and Reform Education Consortium
ECK	Electoral Commission of Kenya
ICC	International Criminal Court
KNCHR	Kenya National Commission of Human Rights
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
PEV	Post-Election Violence
PNU	Party of National Unity
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Scientists
TJRC	Truth, Justice and Reconciliation
UN	United Nations
BBCWST	British Broadcasting Corporation World Service CNN Cable News Network
ET	Expression Today
FM	Frequency Modulation
KHRC	Kenya Human Rights Commission
MCK	Media Council of Kenya
TV	Television
NMG	Nation Media Group
SG	Standard Group
SPRR	Strategic Public Relations and Research
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
VOA	Voice of America
RTLM	Rwanda's Radio-Television Libre des Milles Collines

DEFINITION OF TERMS

- Hate Speech - Hate speech is a form of speech that degrades others and promotes hatred and encourages violence against a group on the basis of criteria including religion, race, colour or ethnicity.
- Genocide - Killing, causing serious bodily or mental harm, deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part, imposing measures intended to prevent births, committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national ethnical, racial or religious group.
- Madoadoa - Kiswahili word meaning stains or spots
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ABSTRACT

The mass media plays a key role in society. Traditionally, the media was thought to have a direct and powerful effect on the people. For instance, the Magic Bullet Theory holds that the media broadcasts directly shape the opinions and actions of the viewers. Opinion on the effect of the media on the society is now divided, however, what ought to be understood is that regardless of the type, the role of the mass media to the society is of primary value for any electoral process and needs to be facilitated and analyzed more keenly.

The media plays a critical role in reporting events in the lead up campaigns. Thus, it can contribute to conflict by inciting violence, failing to highlight emerging conflicts, delaying to report conflicts, biased reporting when journalists take sides in the conflict, highlighting hate speech, downplaying genocide, acting irresponsibly, and deliberately misrepresenting the events. But the media also has the potential of positive impact based upon professional standards, combined with diverse access to information and adherence to ethical codes. Such media can contribute to societal reconciliation, alter misperceptions and broaden understanding of the cause and consequences of conflict.

Communication has a big role to play in conflict resolution. It has been observed that poor communication always results in misunderstanding and eventually conflicts. The mass media is the most important channel of communication that exists between sides in a conflict. Whereas several studies have been conducted to establish the role the media played during the 2007 elections, little has been done to establish the role of the media in facilitating the resolution of the post election violence in Kenya. This study seeks to seal this information gap by ascertaining whether the media played a role in the post-election conflict resolution.

how effectively it was done, and recommends how the media can be used effectively in conflict resolution in Kenya and elsewhere.

Using the Post-Election Violence (PEV) in Kenya as a case study, the researcher investigated the role media plays in conflict resolution. The researcher used the interpretive research paradigm to attach meaning to the events, information and documents surrounding the 2007/2008 post election violence. The researcher used documentary analysis and key informant interviews to collect data for the study. The data was analyzed through content analysis. The test-retest method involving administering the same instrument twice to the same group of respondents was used to ensure reliability. The validity of the data was assured through the use of accurate measures, instruments and standardized data collection procedures. Specifically, cross-case examination and within-case examination along with literature review were applied to ensure validity.

The results of the study indicates that the media initially did not provide comprehensive reporting on the unfolding post-election violence and also, knowingly or unknowingly, fuelled it through the promotion of hate speech, partisan management of news, incompetent journalism and dramatization of conflict situations. Fortunately, the situation changed afterwards and the media then set the agenda of healing and peace immediately after the eruption of post-election violence.

The researcher concludes that the media, especially radio, has both positive and negative effects on the election process. She recommends that journalists should guard their profession from subjective individual agenda particularly during electioneering.

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CHAPTER ONE – INTRODUCTION

The term communication refers to the transfer or sharing of information through transmission of symbolic messages, writing or speaking. It can also be perceived as the giving, receiving or exchanging of information, opinions or ideas through writing, speech or visual means (Sillar, 1998).

Communication in modern society has another dimension to it. It is rich in mass-media which have the power to influence people directly and indirectly, overtly and covertly on daily basis. Notably, despite the differences between inter-personal communication and mass communication, the mass media have expanded - not destroyed - personal, group, and public communication. For this media environment, also serves as a background, for all other communication relationships. It is as a result of personal communication that most friendships and relationships are formed (Laswell, 1972).

Effective communication implies that the message sent through appropriate tools/channels is understood and that the desired effect is achieved. For communication to be effective, the originator has to choose a suitable medium or channel of transmission (Wright, 2008). Media of communication are diverse but for the purpose of this study, the term is used to refer to e-mail, cell-phone, television, radio and newspapers.

Communication competence may be achieved by choosing the most appropriate, socially acceptable channel, and the one that will be effective which can accomplish one's goal. The chosen channel may be an effective way to achieve the goal, yet it may not have a required degree of social presence or richness. The television in the living room, the newspaper on the

doorstep, the radio in the car, the computer at work, and the fliers in the mailbox are just a few of the socially present media channels used widely to deliver advertisements, news, opinion, and other forms of communication (Akini, 2005).

Although the influence of the media during periods of conflict has long been recognized, it is only in more recent years that it has been specifically addressed by the international development community as a means for positively impacting on conflict, both through its function and to communicate information, as well as to address issues and events in an objective, reliable and accurate manner¹.

The post-election situation in Kenya raised discussions about the performance of the media. Many observers asked whether the media performed its watchdog and unbiased observer roles, or it contributed to the crisis instead. According to Reporters without Borders (2008), the media failed to perform its role adequately by being too careful and self-censoring. For instance, the report asserts that journalists did not push to expose the truth about the allegations of rigged results.

Some Kenyan media were accused of pro-government bias during the election crisis (Miriri 2008), and some analysts partially blamed the media for the violence. This view was confirmed by journalists at a media workshop² in January 2008, who agreed that the media failed during the crisis. It is also alleged that local radio stations propagated and spread ethnic hate which, arguably, incited violence (Musungu 2008; Otieno 2008).

¹ SIDA/UNESCO international roundtable on Assistance to Media in Tension Areas and Conflict Situations in May, 2003.

² A three day workshop in Nairobi organized by the International Media Support (IMIS).

To provide reliable information to the public in a time of conflict requires additional journalism skills (Howard, 2008). Reporters need to understand the conflict cycle as well as where to get hints on its various stages. By providing this information, Journalism makes the public far better informed about the real conflict beneath the violence and can assist in resolving it (Howard, 2008).

The media, therefore, has an enormous importance in conflict resolution because it is the primary and, frequently, only source of information during conflicts. When peaceful options such as negotiation and other collaborative problem solving techniques are not covered, or their successes are not reported, they become invisible and are not likely to be considered or even understood as possible options in conflict management (Akini, 2005).

In conflict situations, the spotlight is on the media, and people expect it to be a saner voice, to inform accurately and truthfully, to clarify and interpret, and ultimately to show the way out of the situation. It is obvious that the media professionals are currently empowered by the new technologies, but the speed with which information is gathered, presented and transmitted to the audience, makes being objective, accurate and responsible extremely challenging³.

Of course the media coverage of some of the recent socio-political developments in some countries including India⁴ raises worrying questions regarding the objectivity and responsibility of the media. Media objectivity is complex. For instance, an editor may strive to be objective by not publishing a slanted story but remains subjective by selectively

³ Ibid, E-journal of the 7th AMSAR Conference

⁴ The country witnessed some deep rooted political crisis during 1980s and 1990s.

assigning the best reporters to specific stories, spiking unfavourable articles, and priming, for example, by dictating which stories get printed on the front page⁵. The media must therefore tell what is going on as completely, accurately, honestly and dispassionately as possible. That constitutes objective reporting⁶.

⁵ Proceedings and E-journal of the 7th AMSAR Conference on Roles of Media during political crisis Bangkok, Thailand, 20th May, 2009.

⁶ Ibid Proceedings and E-Journal of the 7th Amsar Conference, Thailand, 20th May, 2009.

1.1 Problem statement

From the foregoing, the media can play both a negative and constructive role in fuelling, preventing or resolving conflicts (BBC, 2008). Studies indicate that the mass media can contribute to conflict by inciting violence, failing to highlight emerging conflicts, delaying to report conflicts, journalists taking part in killings, highlighting hate speech during conflicts, downplaying genocide during conflicts, and deliberately creating misrepresentations in reporting (Inter News, 2009).

Communication has a big role to play in conflict management. It has been observed that poor communication always results in misunderstanding and eventually conflicts (Jerri, 2003). The mass media is the most important channel of communication that exists between sides in a conflict. Sometimes the media is used by one side to broadcast intimidating messages. But other times, the parties speak to each other through the media or through specific journalists (Howard, 2008).

The events of 2007/2008 post election violence will remain indelible in Kenya's history. Approximately 1,150 persons lost their lives, and more than 300,000 persons⁷ were displaced. Destruction and massive looting of private property was also witnessed. The economic loss was estimated at several billions of shillings (CIPEV, 2008) and the economic growth rate severely declined in the first quarter of 2008. The international community sharpened its focus on the situation in Kenya calling for peace and urging the main presidential contestants, Mr. Mwai Kibaki and Mr. Raila Odinga, to enter into dialogue. For this reason, Mr. Kofi Annan, the former United Nations Secretary General was appointed by the African Union to

⁷ IREC supra pg 3

spearhead dialogue efforts between the two warring sides culminating in the signing of the National Peace Accord on 28th February 2008 (KNCHR, 2008).

Whereas several studies have been conducted to establish the role the media played in fanning the 2007 elections⁸, little has been done to establish the role of the media in facilitating the resolution of the post election violence in Kenya. This study therefore seeks to seal this information gap by ascertaining whether the media played a role in the post-election conflict resolution; how effectively it was done; and recommends how the media can be used effectively in conflict resolution in Kenya and elsewhere.

1.2 General objective

The purpose of the research is to explore the role of effective communication in conflict resolution and management.

1.3 The specific objectives

The specific objectives of the study are to investigate the role the media, as a major communication channel, played in the resolution of the post-election violence in Kenya; how effectively the role was played; which mass media channels were used and with what effect; and to recommend communication strategies which can be applied to facilitate effective conflict resolution through dialogue.

1.4 Research Questions

The research questions were:

1. What role did the media play in the resolution of the post-election violence in Kenya?

⁸ KNCHR report, 2007 and BBC World Trust Service Report of 2008.

2. How effectively did the media play the role?
3. Which media (in terms of radio, TV, print) played a critical role and which ones did not?
4. What are the best practices to ensure effective conflict resolution using the media?

1.5 Significance of the study

The role of the media and communication in democratic governance is the subject of increasing attention from international development actors. The situation in Kenya has potentially profound implications for and lessons relevant to many other countries. The crisis in Kenya had deep historical grievances and many other complex factors which included political, cultural, economic, historical and colonial issues. The role of the media and communication is just one among many other such factors (BBC, 2008).

As highlighted during the 7th AMSAR Conference in Bangkok in 2009, the today's media constitute a major coverage of crime, conflicts and controversies and the way these are presented call for utmost caution and objectivity. How a journalist weighs conflicting ideologies in the context of communal riots, protest rallies, ethnic clashes, and violence is interesting to speculate. It is on occasions of social turmoil and conflict that the society at large looks to the media for direction and light.

Though conflict is irresistible to the media, it is the duty of the media practitioners to report conflicts as they see them (the mirror analogy). They also have a responsibility to enhance opportunities for their peaceful resolution (social responsibility). The media should call for a solid understanding of the core values of professional journalism, accuracy, balance, fairness and responsibility (Ngugi, 2006).

This research will help to underscore the importance of conflict-sensitive and responsible reporting. The study will help journalists to realize the importance of professional reporting of conflict situations. The research provides information which can be used to sensitize the journalists on the proper communication in conflict situations.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

Theories of communication have always focused on the “cause and effects” notion as per Laswell’s (1949) essential questions: who says what, in what channel to whom with what effects?” Berelson (1949) said that some kind of communication on some kind of issues, brought to the attention of some kind of people, under some kind of conditions, have some kind of effects. Therefore, what the media communicates to its audience in times of conflict is bound to have some kind of effect. The researcher used three theories to investigate role of effective communication in conflict situations using Kenya’s post-election violence in 2007/2008. The theories were the Agenda Setting Theory, Framing Theory and Social Responsibility Theory. Each of the theories and how they were used in the context of this study is discussed hereunder.

Agenda setting Theory

The Agenda Setting Theory was developed by Maxwell McCombs and Donald L. Shaw in 1972. This theory puts forth the ability of the media to influence the significance of events in the public’s mind. The theory stipulates that the media sets the agenda for the audience’s discussion and mentally orders and organizes the world. McCombs and Shaw (1972) assert that the agenda-setting function of the media causes the correlation between the media and public ordering of priorities. They also argue that the people most affected by the media agenda are those who have a high need for orientation.

The theory stipulates that the media sets the agenda for the society and people always rely on the media for guidance on issues that are important in society (McQuail, 1987). Gladys and Kurt (1983) explain that the media identifies issues pertinent to societal needs and amplifies them through coverage and media framing so that the society can have a platform to discuss issues. Through this role, the media is able to influence the society and in the process bring about desired social change (McCombs and Shaw, 1972). Cohen (1963) states that the press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but is stunningly successful in telling its audiences what to think about.

Given the agenda-setting function of the press (McCombs and Shaw, 1972), it is unrealistic to rule out the power of the media in contributing to the escalation of inter-ethnic conflicts anywhere in the world. As Peters (2001, p. 312) contends, “in conflict situations there is always the danger that the media are conscripted by undemocratic politicians to inspire, provoke, and underwrite national fears and hatreds.” Once drafted to provoke ethnic tension, media reports become the lubricants that heighten such conflicts (Gardner, 2001).

Today, the agenda-setting function of the media has come under intense scrutiny. Studies like “*The People’s Choice*” by Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet (1940), have shown that there is always an intermediary between the media and the people. This is more so with the growth of the information society (Mencher, 1993). The human intermediaries (opinion leaders) are perceived to have a more literate understanding of the media content which they interpret for the society.

This theory was used to demonstrate how the mass media set the agenda for public opinion during the conflict period by emphasizing specific topics. It was also used to explain how the

media influences how people thought about the issue. It was also used to demonstrate how the media participated in the reconciliation efforts after the conflict flared.

Framing Theory

Framing is one of the prominent communication theories of the 20th Century (Bryant and Miron, 2004). Entman (1993) conceptualizes the theory as the process of selecting an aspect of reality and giving it prominence for the purposes of drawing attention to it. Framing is essentially a judgmental process which inevitably raises the question of objectivity in the selection process (McQuail, 2002).

This theory was used to demonstrate whether and how the Kenyan media presented the reality of the post election violence to their audiences. It was also used to ascertain whether the news stories highlighted by the media dealt with the events in a piecemeal manner, that is, by reporting each episode in the ethnic clashes, or there was a theme around which the reports were generally anchored.

Social Responsibility Theory

This theory was developed by Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson and Wilber Schramm in 1956. Its emphasis is on the media's responsibility to use its powerful position to ensure appropriate delivery of information to audiences. If the media fails in carrying out this responsibility, it may be relevant to have a regulatory instance to enforce it.

According to this theory, the media is driven to benefit the public. It expects journalists to answer the society's need for truth; requires an open and diverse debate on public issues; and honest updates of current events (Siebert, Peterson and Schramm, 1956). According to this

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theory, media ethics is automatic because the press is free to serve its purpose for the public, as opposed to special interest groups or advertisers. Another condition of the Social Responsibility Theory is that news reporting cannot be dependent on groups as it may encourage bias and unethical practices in exchange for financial support (Howard, 2008).

Journalists have obligations to the people they report about, and to the society to whom they report the news. Therefore the Social Responsibility Theory emphasizes certain obligations to the society such as truth, accuracy, objectivity, and balance; the media should be free but self-regulated through codes of conduct and ethics; the media is pluralistic and reflects the diversity of society through various points of view and provides forum for ideas; the media ownership is a public trust; and the journalist is accountable to his audience (Howard, 2008).

This theory was used to evaluate whether the media acted in the public interest during the post-election conflict period.

1.7 Limitations

Due to sensitivity of the subject matter the researcher may not have got all the information, especially from the key informants. This is because the matter is in various courts of law, including the International Criminal Court (ICC) and many respondents may have not wished to comment in detail.

1.8 Dissemination strategy

The results of the study will be disseminated through:

1. Distribution to the relevant organizations and disseminated through their libraries;

2. Published using new media, specifically the researcher's personal blog;
3. Placed at the Jomo Kenyatta Memorial Library at the University of Nairobi; and
4. Disseminated through academic conference and journal papers.

CHAPTER TWO - LITERATURE REVIEW

Effective communication means that people can express themselves, both verbally and non-verbally, in ways that are appropriate to their cultures and situations. This means not only being able to express their opinions and desires, but also their needs and fears and to ask for advice and help (Saleemi, 1997).

Communication is done by merely looking, by speaking, by posture, or by gestures. If used properly, communication can inform, educate, reassure, evoke sympathy, arouse interest in, or acceptance of, situations as and when they occur (Phillip, 2002). It is also through communication that disputes are solved (Krauss & Morsella, 1966).

Sociologist Charles Woley (1909) defined communication as the mechanism through which human relations exist and develop all the symbols of the mind, together with the means of conveying them through space and preserving them in time. The art of Communication includes the facial expressions, attitude and gesture, the tones of the voice, words, writing, printing, telephones, telegraphs, and whatever maybe the latest achievement in the conquest of space and time.

An important characteristic of communication is that it is purposive and goal directed, both from the point of view of the sender of the message and the receiver. Both parties participate in the transaction expecting a return for their efforts (McQuail, 2005).

According to Thomson (2007), effective communication of information and decisions is an essential component for management-employee relations. In any organization, managers cannot get the work done by employees unless they are communicated to effectively of what should be done. Managers should also be sure of some basic facts such as how to

communicate to their superiors, and what results can be expected from that communication. Most problems arise because of lack of effective communication. Chances of misunderstanding and misrepresentation can be minimized with proper communication systems.

Tan (1981) argues that the major objective of communication is to preserve existing relationships. The communicator informs (transfers information to the receiver) so that the message can be recalled. The communicator teaches (transmitting information so that it can be used in the subsequent performance of legitimate tasks). The communicator persuades (convincing the receiver to accept new attitudes and behaviours); the communicator gratifies, that is, ensures the satisfaction of the receiver's needs. Sometimes the receiver may need information for enjoyment or entertainment.

Tan (1981) further argues that people and social institutions communicate for surveillance, where communities are informed about threats and opportunities by scanning the immediate and far-away environment. Surveillance function today is often attributed to the mass media. People also communicate for correlation and transmission of the social inheritance. For a community to survive its members must share common values and must agree on what behaviours and roles are appropriate. Communication is necessary in this socialization process. The mass media in many modern societies attempt to fulfil this correlation function by providing their publics with a free market place of ideas, or with a discussion of the day-to-day issues.

Inadequate communication can impose a number of costs including bad decision making, misunderstanding among one another, leading to costly mistakes, incorrect perceptions and

personal objectives, the possible emergence of grapevines, conflicts and disputes (Rogers, 1997).

It is difficult to find an aspect of leadership that does not have the potential for communication breakdowns. Problems arise when directives are misunderstood, rumors spread, informal remarks by leaders are misinterpreted or distorted, or casual kidding in a workgroup leads to anger. Thus the real issue is not whether leaders communicate but whether they do it effectively or ineffectively. Everything a leader does, or in many cases doesn't do, communicates something to the public. The only question is: with what effect (Donnelly, 1995)?

When neighbours feud, lovers quarrel or nations go to war, the predictable remedy prescribed by the voices of reason is communication. The prevailing view is that, faced with conflict, communicating is always the right thing to do. The U.N. Security Council encourages hostile countries to hold talks, to express their feelings (Krauss and Morsella, 1966).

With rapid advancement of science and technology in the 21st Century the role of the media is omnipresent for all positive and negative changes in the society regardless of geographical location but it depends on how media performs its duties and responsibilities in such situations. Media as a whole has the potential either to affect any social development or to get affected by the factors of the social change. For all types of public opinion which impact mass media in any crisis situation with regard to media coverage or crisis one has to reflect on how the mass media can influence the public opinion on the other hand⁹.

⁹ Ibid Proceedings and E-Journal of the 7th Amsar Conference, Thailand, 20th May, 2009.

The media plays a vital role in the way people perceive a situation, a story or even an individual. The media must be able to give both sides of the story, attempt to be fair and present the events rather than making, exaggerating or changing a story in order to catch the people's attention. Mass media plays a crucial role in forming and reflecting public opinion, connecting the world to individuals and reproducing the self-image of society (IMS, 2004).

Getting the correct information is most important of all. Everything which is reported must be described accurately, the spelling of names, the facts as they happened, and the real meaning of what was said. Before they report it, good journalists seek the evidence and accurate facts (Howard, 2008).

Conflicts can occur in any situation when two or more people have a different opinion about something. In other words, whenever two or more people are together! Having different opinions is a fact of life, these differences affect how we live and work. Those views can mean the difference between a happy and awful work environment, or the difference between a satisfied customer and one committed to tarnish the name of the organization forever (Wright, 1965).

Conflict is not necessarily a bad thing. In fact, a relationship with frequent conflict may be healthier than one with no observable conflict. Conflicts occur at all levels of interaction; at work, among friends, within families and between relationship partners. When conflict occurs, the relationship may be weakened or strengthened. Thus, conflict is a critical event in the course of a relationship (Wright, 1965).

Sometimes people shy away from conflict, and the reasons for this are numerous. They may, for example, feel that their underlying anger may get out of control if they open the door to conflict. Thus, they may see conflict as an all-or-nothing situation (either they avoid it altogether or they end up in an all-out combative mode, regardless of the real severity of the conflict). Or they may find it difficult to face conflict because they feel inadequate in general or in the particular relationship. They may have difficulty in positively asserting their views and feelings. Children who grow up surrounded by destructive conflict may, as adults, determine never to participate in discord. In this situation, the person may never have learned that there are effective, adaptive ways to communicate in the face of conflict (Wright, 1965).

Conflict attracts viewers, listeners, and readers to the media; the greater the conflict the greater the audience, and large audiences are imperative to the financial success of media outlets. Therefore, it is often in the media's interest to not only report conflict, but to play it up, making it seem more intense than it really is. Long term, on-going conflict resolution processes such as mediation are not dramatic and are often difficult to understand and report, especially since the proceedings are almost always closed to the media (Wright, 1965).

Thus conflict resolution stories are easily pushed aside in favour of the most recent, the most colourful, and the most shocking aspects of a conflict. Groups that understand this dynamic can cater for it in order to gain media attention. For instance, the common attribute of terrorist attacks include timing them to coincide with significant dates, targeting elites, choosing sites with easy media access, and aiming for large numbers of casualties (Wright, 1965).

Protestors will hoist their placards and start chanting when the television cameras come into view. It is not unusual for camera crews or reporters to encourage demonstrators into these actions so they can return to their studios with exciting footage. For example, during the peak of the post election violence when the Kibera AIC church was torched, some journalists were covered while encouraging people to wail. The resulting media coverage can bestow status and even legitimacy on marginal opposition groups, so television coverage naturally becomes one of their planned strategies and top priorities (Akini, 2005).

2.1 Role of Mass Media in society

The mass media plays a key role in the society. Traditionally, the media was thought to have a direct and powerful effect on the people. The “Magic Bullet Theory” (or Hypodermic Needle Theory) holds that the media broadcasts directly shape the opinions and actions of viewers. According to this theory, information is “fired” or “injected” directly into the viewer, and then guides their actions (Hoynes, 1997).

According to David Makali, the Executive Director of the Media Institute in Kenya, argued in a 1997 media monitoring report¹⁰, that citizens can only attain democratic governance if, one, the elections are free and fair; and, two, if the voters have the ability to make informed decisions.

It is in this regard that the role of the media has been touted by, among others, Don R. Pember, a respected US scholar and author¹¹, as critical and essential not only for the attainment of democracy, but also in the actual consummation of democracy. Article 19 of

¹⁰ David Makali, *Cheating Democracy: The 1997 General Elections in Kenya*, Nairobi: Media Institute.

¹¹ Don Pember, law teacher at the University of Washington – Seattle, and author of *Mass Media Law in 1977*

the freedom for expression, and information, has rightly argued on its website¹² that the media plays a significant role in informing and educating the public on their rights as citizens. The rights include participating in a free and fair election. The media also points to them the direction of the available choices across the political divide.

The media's role in shaping the public opinion is still fundamental in another way. Information gathered by the viewers or listeners or readers from the various media outlets is transmitted further by word of mouth or the Internet. If the way the Kroll report¹³ was quickly circulated and the interpretations that accompanied it are anything to go by, then blogs are assuming an increasingly significant place in the realm of political education (Okombo, 2009).

What ought to be understood from the outset, however, is that, regardless of the type, the role of the mass media in public education is of primary value for any electoral process and needs to be facilitated and analyzed more keenly. Further, it should be understood that the media plays a critical role by reporting events in the lead up to the campaigns, even when accompanied by interpretation and contextualization (Okombo, 2009). But as Kasoma (2006) argues, the challenge for the media and the individual journalist lies not in the mere task of informing or educating the public, but in doing so ethically.

The media's potential lies in its vast outreach to the public through its different forms such as radio, television, newspaper, magazines and websites, and the diversity of means and

¹² www.article19.org.../kenya-article-19.

¹³ The looting of Kenya (2007): The Guardian of UK. The copy was leaked to wikileaks.org, a website that anonymously publishes documents relating to corruption and illicit government activities. Kroll provided detailed financial records and accounts and shows that Mr. Moi made investments in many countries.

messages that can be communicated. However, to successfully educate citizens, the media needs to be free from state interference. On the professional front, the media needs to be fair, accurate and balanced in reporting or analyzing the social, economic and political trends.

In most international crises, the media is expected to perform the “watcher” role by providing accurate and useful information. Usually, political and other relations between countries can compel a government to come up with propaganda-based information programmes to influence and rally the support of the masses. For example, before the United States of America (USA) actively participated in the Second World War, the government had built the support of its people and new army recruits, most of whom were previously civilians (Leng, 1983). The American Department of Defence prepared a series of films entitled “*The why we fight films*”. The films were meant to justify why Hitler had to be stopped and this greatly influenced the opinion of Americans in favour of the War (Mencher, 1993).

2.2 Conflict resolution

Wikipedia (2005) defines conflict resolution as the process of attempting to solve a dispute or a conflict. Successful conflict resolution occurs by listening to and providing opportunities to meet the needs of all parties and to adequately address interests so that each party is satisfied with outcome. Conflict practitioners talk about finding the win-win outcome for parties involved versus the win-lose dynamic found in most conflicts. While ‘conflict resolution’ engages conflict once it has already started, conflict prevention aims to end conflicts before they start or before they lead to verbal, physical, or legal fighting or violence (Nyamboga and Kiplang’at, 2008).

Conflict resolution is one of the techniques used in conflict management and it involves recognition by the clashing parties of one another's interests, needs, perspectives, and continued existence. The most effective forms of conflict resolution identify the underlying causes of the conflict and address them through solutions that are mutually satisfactory, self-perpetuating, and sustaining.

Conflict resolution can also be practiced with a variety of emphases, including but not limited to cooperation, non confrontation, non-competition and positive sum orientation. Serious challenges are found when parties at times favour, for various reasons, continuation of conflict over its resolution. In such cases, the role of external parties can be critical in creating a balance of power: enabling sanctions or incentives, or acting as neutral mediators or interested facilitators. Not all conflicts lent themselves to conflict resolution techniques (Nyamboga and Kiplagat, 2008).

There are three major conflict resolution strategies namely; win-lose (fighting to win), (negotiating a compromise); and win-win [problem solving]. Maluki¹⁴ argues that all three strategies may at one time or another be the best to use. The selection of one strategy over another depends on: each person's experience in conflict situations; their perceptions of the balance of power in the current situation; their personal or normal relationship when conflict is not a factor and their individual skills in communicating.

Conflict resolution is aimed at alleviating or eliminating discord through conciliation, the resolution of conflicts does not aim at the elimination of conflict, and even less at the elimination of opposing interest. Its aim is the search for such forms of conflict behaviour

¹⁴ Patrick Maluki, lecturer University of Nairobi class notes of KSC 617; Class of 2010

which allows a non-violent handling of opposing news in an orderly, pre-arranged process, the course and result of which will be accepted by all parties involved (Nicholson, 1992). According to Schellberg (1999), conflict resolution may broadly be conceived as any marked reduction in social conflict. But more specifically, it is a marked reduction in social conflict as a result of a conscious settlement issues in dispute. It involves conscious settlement of issues between parties.

2.3 Effects of the mass media on conflict

Studies indicate that mass media can contribute to conflict by inciting violence, failing to highlight emerging conflicts, delaying to report conflicts, journalists taking part in killings, highlighting hate speech during conflicts, downplaying genocide during conflicts, acting irresponsibly, and deliberately creating misrepresentations in reporting (Mbeke, 2009).

According to Howard (2002), the effects of the media can be viewed in terms of the negative repercussions that inadvertent or overt propagandistic or one-sided reporting may have in terms of fuelling tensions and provoking conflict. Conversely, the media may potentially have a positive impact if based upon basic professional standards, combined with diverse access to information, reasonable financial resources and adherence to ethical codes. Such media can contribute to societal reconciliation, alter misperceptions and broaden understanding of the cause and consequences of conflict.

The effects of the media on conflict and vice-versa are dependent on the context in which the interaction takes place. Such contextual factors dictate the role and scope of the media to influence the root causes, patterns of violence and current or future dynamics of conflict (Howard, 2002).

Due to time constraints, journalists are often unable to gather, digest and filter information. Coupled with interpretation weaknesses of the opinion leaders and instinctive assumptions made by policymakers, the information gets skewed many times before reaching the audience (Lang et al, 1983). For example, in relation to the “watcher” function, various witnesses who appeared before the Kriglar and Waki Commissions, investigating the post election violence blamed the media for escalating the violence through distorting information and disseminating hate messages. Similarly, the international media, and especially the BBC is alleged to have done more harm than good in the Rwandan Genocide in 1994.

Most international news organizations initially misunderstood the nature of the killings in Rwanda, thereby portraying it as the result of tribal warfare, rather than genocide. As a result much of the international coverage focused on the scramble to evacuate expatriates from the country with most journalists leaving along with the other foreigners. Worse still when the killing intensified, they reduced the volume of news reports (Thompson, 2007).

The international media played a role by, in essence, acquiescing to the killing campaign by downplaying it” (Thomson, 2007). They also covered unrelated and unimportant issues at a time when the genocide should have been given prominence (Thompson, 2007).

The international media especially CNN, BBC and Al Jazz era framed the post-election conflict as a tribal war between Luos and Kikuyus. While the local media did not mention communities in their reportage, the international media were explicit in mentioning names of communities engaged in various crimes during the post-election violence (BBCWST, 2008). This kind of reporting excited a lot of passion and fuelled ethnic animosity between the two communities.

The media in conflict situations often use “dehumanization” and “depersonalization”¹⁵ to incite hatred against individuals and communities. In the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, the Tutsi were portrayed by radio (RTLM) as “cockroaches” or “lesser creatures” that deserved extermination. (Thompson, 2007). In Kenya, the media especially the FM radio stations encouraged hate speech that elicited ethnic hatred and animosity (BBCWST, 2008). Some ethnic radio stations broadcasting to Kalenjins in the Rift Valley used to call their Kikuyu neighbours Kenyambi (weeds), while a popular Kikuyu radio station often referred to Luos as fishermen (KNCHR, 2008).

The media may also incite violence through manipulative, negative and pessimistic presentation of facts that create the impression that the situation is worsening. This more often than not provides a justification for people or groups to take decisive action, including violence (Frohardt and Temin, 2003). In Rwanda, Radio-Television Libres des milles collines (RTLM) made the Hutus believe that they must strike first in order to save themselves from the Tutsis. Therefore, the media created fear, thereby laying the foundation for taking violent action through self defence.

The dissemination of information is crucial in considering its potential to influence communities. Media with low dissemination of information significantly restricted from communicating to the wider public and, in that regard, affecting public opinion. Likewise, the accessibility of information flow to the public is central in defining its influence. If media

¹⁵ Dehumanization and depersonalization involves stigmatization of individuals and groups at objects of hate.

is inaccessible that is if a 'media vacuum' exists, either due to low technical means, prohibitive costs, deliberate obstruction or lack of interest, then its role will be diminished¹⁶.

The plurality of certain media can also have a significant impact, because if there is only one outlet in the most popular and/or easily accessible form, then its influence will be significantly enhanced due to the lack of competition (IMIS, 2004). Furthermore, the access that the media has to timely and provide accurate information from primary sources is essential for balanced, objective and reliable reporting. In this regard, linkages and cooperative relations with local authorities, civil society, academia and the development aid community are of significant importance (IMS, 2004).

The skills and resources available to media outlets and practitioners, ranging from owners, editors to reporters, have a significant impact on the media's role, (Howard, 2002) If there is an engrained understanding of the role of the media and the professional standards required, then the media is more likely to have a positive impact. Conversely, if these are not present, then the potential for inadvertent conflict provocation, as well as purposeful manipulation and abuse is greater (Howard, 2002).

Howard (2002) further argues that likewise if the media has access to developed financial and institutional resources this will facilitate best practices and allow media practitioners to perform their work effectively and in accordance with professional standards. Financial self-sustainability also removes dependency on external sources of funding and influences thereby strengthening the potential for independent media to operate.

¹⁶ This is according to a research paper prepared by the Institute for the studies on free flow of information- Jakarta, Indonesia with support of IMS, July, 2004.

2.4 Best practices for effective conflict resolution using media

In many conflict areas, the media have neglected to report on structural inadequacies and root causes posing a threat to the stability of the country. The reasons may be lack of editorial independence, the media's loyalty to certain population groups, lack of professionalism, and other reasons. Obviously, any long-term strategy for peace and conflict prevention should seek to eliminate the root causes (Loewenberg and Bonde, 2007).

The media has been challenged to guard their profession against individuals pushing their own agenda. The media have both positive and negative effects on the election process. Journalists have the onerous duty of building the nation particularly during electioneering and the electoral process by acting responsibly as noted during the media training programme organized by Inter News Kenya¹⁷.

Although the media have obligations to the people they report about, and to the society to whom they report the news, the media were careless during the 1994 Rwanda Genocide. They over-exploited the situation and had no responsibility towards their listeners. They used dishonest and unprofessional ways to obtain the news, which resulted in breaking the law (Thompson, 2007).

It is imperative for media as well as individual journalist to be always guided by professional ethics. This becomes crucial in campaign periods when the key pursuit for every well-meaning institution and individuals is that, whatever else happens, the general election should be free and fair (Okombo, 2009).

¹⁷ The People Daily pg. 2 of 16th august, 20 11

Everyone has to make decisions continuously in a world where there are right and wrong ways of doing things. In order to have an orderly social life, as Tutus (1946) says, there must be agreements, understandings, principles and rules of conduct. There is no human society, he argues, which does not have well-established codes or rules of procedure. In the same breath, argued Oruka (1990), professionals in the various fields such as Journalism may encounter many problems. This is where knowledge of the ethics of their profession becomes an essential aid.

Journalism ethics as Kasoma (1995) argues, is concerned with making sound moral decisions in journalistic performance, and assumes the presence of societal morality. Merrill and Barney (1975) argue that journalists should think and feel. They should be rational and sensitive; they should be concerned with facts and with feelings. They should be dedicated to the objective world 'out there' and to the subjective world 'in here'. They should be rational synthesizers – the journalist who is able to intentionally develop a journalistic philosophy which merges the strains or stances of freedom, rationality and duty.

During conflict, the media should provide accurate, balanced and fair reports of the unfolding. Critics have described the role of some Kenyan media soon after the breakup of the post-election violence as scandalous (ET, 2008)¹⁸. Although some journalists and media houses compromised their professional integrity, some journalists though working under a climate of fear, still provided accurate, balanced and fair reports of the unfolding conflict in Kenya (Howard, 2008). The media should therefore stick to their professional integrity by providing accurate, balanced and fair reports during conflict (Howard, 2008).

¹⁸ Expression Today (ET) is a publication by The Media Institute to promote freedom of the media and expression in East Africa

Journalists need to be very careful when reporting conflicts. They should not use words which would have implications to the society. For example most journalists who covered the post-election violence had no experience in conflict reporting and used words without fully realizing their implication (Howard, 2008). A good example is during the reporting of the burning of people in the Eldoret Church on the New Year Day. The media reporting to the Kalenjin community merely reported the facts and treated the incident just like any other news story. However, the media reporting to the Kikuyu audiences engaged in emotional and inflammatory reporting characterized by “they are killing our people” outbursts with some presenters of radio actually breaking down on air (BBCWST, 2008). Therefore, the media were guilty of framing the issues as an ethnic vendetta that promoted the “them-versus-us” that fuelled ethnic hatred and revenge attacks.

Journalists need to be trained in conflict-sensitive Journalism. Many Kenyan journalists were reporting on conflict for the first time in their careers as the country had been relatively peaceful though low level tribal clashes had occurred in 1992, 1997 and 2002. In any case, most FM stations across the country employed DJs and presenters with no journalistic ability and experience. The media training institutions rarely have serious courses on conflict reporting and ethics that would have prepared a cadre of conflict sensitive journalists (International Media Support, 2008).

The media should report conflict without delay. For example, the media in Rwanda delayed in reporting the Rwanda genocide. Journalists who failed to promptly report on the emerging situations are on record saying they felt guilty for not doing enough to change the course of the events in Rwanda. In Kenya the media houses were also very unprofessional in the manner they handled the release of election results. They released varying, piecemeal and

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speculative results that caused anxiety and confusion among already anxious voters across the country (ET, 2008¹⁹; Howard, 2008). This reporting galvanized the perception that the election was rigged.

¹⁹ Expression Today (ET) is a publication by The Media Institute to promote freedom of the media and expression in East Africa.

CHAPTER THREE - METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Methodology, according to Mugenda and Mugenda (1999), describes the procedures that have been followed in conducting the study. At this stage, techniques of obtaining data are developed and data is actually collected to test hypothesis, if any. The steps involved in conducting the study are described in details. This description is meant to help other researchers to understand the study.

The term research as used here refers to the total plan of an investigation or study. Methodology on the other hand, refers to the system of explicit rules and procedures upon which research is based and against which claims of knowledge are evaluated (Nachmias and Nachmias, 1996). The rules in turn enable communication, constructive criticism and scientific progress. According to Nachmias and Nachmias (1996), methodology uses logic as the foundation of scientific reasoning and thus enhances consistency of the scientific claim of knowledge. Additionally, they note that a major function of methodology is to help the "blind man see", to facilitate communication between researchers who have shared or want to share a common experience.

This chapter therefore focuses on the research design, target population, sample design, sample frame and size, data collection, data collection techniques, data collection tools, and data analysis.

3.2 Research Design

There are various research designs such as case study, survey and experimental to mention a few. A case study is an in-depth investigation of an individual, group, institution or

phenomenon. Yin (1984) defines the case study as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used.

Most case studies are based on the premise that a case can be located that is typical of many other cases. The primary purpose of a case study is to determine factors and relationships among the factors that have resulted in the behaviour under study.

This study used the case study design because the researcher wanted to carry out an in-depth investigation of the role of effective communication in conflict resolution by demonstrating the role the media played during the post election violence in 2007/2008 in Kenya.

3.3 Research Paradigm

Two terms used to describe the two major research approaches to management or organizational research are quantitative and qualitative. Other terms used include functionalist, objectivist or positivist for the former, and interpretivist or subjectivist to describe the latter. Within management and organizational studies, the quantitative approach is seen as objective, that is, relating to phenomenon or conditions independent of individual thought and perceptible to all observers, and relying "heavily on statistics and figure" (Lee, 1992). On the other hand the qualitative approach is seen as subjective relating to experience as conditioned by personal mental characteristics or states, and preferring language and description. Maanen (1983) refers to the qualitative mode as an attempt to reduce distance between context and action through "trade in linguistic symbols". This approach involves the examination of perceptions in order to gain an understanding of social and human activities.

In qualitative approach, knowledge is established through the meaning attached to the phenomena studied; researchers interact with the subjects of study to obtain data; inquiry changes both researcher and subject; and knowledge is context and time dependent (Coll and Chapman, 2000).

The researcher used the qualitative paradigm. Most specifically she used the interpretivist approach to attach meaning to the events and information around the 2007/2008 post election violence in Kenya. These meanings could not be perceived effectively through quantitative approaches.

3.4 Data Collection

Data collection is the process of gathering and measuring information on variables of interest in an established systematic fashion that enables one to answer stated research questions, test hypotheses and evaluate outcomes. Data for this study was collected from both primary and secondary sources.

Primary sources

Primary data is data collected afresh and for the first time and thus happens to be original in character. It is a direct description of any occurrence by an individual who actually observed or witnessed the occurrence. In this particular research study, primary data was obtained through personal interviews with key informants in various media houses. Primary data was acquired from media groups and radio stations.

Primary data included information on key research questions as well as data on media coverage, circulation, target listeners, number of articles on post election conflict resolution and management in local dailies and best media practices.

Secondary data sources

Secondary data may either be published data or unpublished data, books, magazines, newspapers, reports and publication, reports prepared by research scholars and universities, periodicals, private papers and public papers (Kothari, 2004). The nature of secondary data collection is merely that of compilation.

Secondary data for this study included information obtained from studies conducted earlier on the role of the media in Kenya's post election violence. The researcher reviewed existing literature from published and unpublished documents. Magazines, newspapers, past studies and reports from the conflict resolution organizations such as Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR), Constitution and Reform Education Consortium (CRECO), Media Focus on Africa, and Peace Net, on the role played by the media during the post election violence.

By way of caution, the researcher, before using secondary data, must see that the data is reliable. This researcher therefore ensured that the data collected was from recognized sources and in this case the media which is a recognized source of information. The researcher ensured that the data was collected using proper methods of research. The researcher also ensured that the data collected has the desired level of accuracy.

3.4.1 Data Collection Techniques

Data collection techniques included documentary analysis and interviews.

3.4.1.1 Documentary Analysis

Documentary analysis is a social research method and is an important research tool. It involves reading lots of written material (it helps to scan the documents onto a computer and use a qualitative analysis package).

Documentary analysis covers a wide variety of sources, including official statistics, photographs, texts and visual data (May, 2003). Bloyce (2004) has argued that documentary analysis can be a useful research tool. Documents such as newspapers, books, reports, magazines and journals can be read and preserved so that they are available for analysis by the social researcher (Bryman, 2004). The extent of their relevance depends, however, on the adequacy of the document chosen for the phenomena being investigated. With reference to the research topic under scrutiny here, books and reports analysis were deemed the most appropriate because of the centrality of the organizations to the broader aspects of this project.

Documentary analysis was deemed as one of the appropriate methods to adequately perceive the role played by the media in the resolution of post election violence of 2007/2008 in Kenya. The documentary analysis was based on information derived from literature reviewed by interested researchers and reports. The unit of analysis was entirely information from the media (radio, TV and print).

3.4.1.2 Key informant Interviews

Interviews were used for this research to obtain corroborating information. An interview is an oral administration of an interview schedule. Interviews are face to face encounters which provide in-depth data. The key informants included media professionals and journalists who provided information on the role played by media in the post election violence resolution. The researcher interviewed 12 people in total to corroborate the information which was collected from the content analysis of the media. Semi structured questionnaires and checklists were used to guide the interviews.

Personal interviews require the interviewer to ask questions generally in a face to face contact to the respondent. During interviews samples are controlled more effectively as there arises no difficulty of missing returns; non-response generally will remain very low. The interviewer was able to initiate the interviews and collect the information and in great depth.

3.4.2 Data Collection Instruments

A researcher needs to develop instruments with which to collect the necessary information. In this study, the researcher used interview guides and checklists to collect qualitative data. Interview guides were used because the researcher wanted to obtain data required to meet specific objectives of this study. The researcher also wanted to standardize the interview situation so that same questions can be asked in the same manner. Checklists were used because the researcher wanted to observe behaviours as it occurs. This is because the researcher wanted to find out the role the print media played in the resolution of PEV conflict resolution and how the two dailies reported conflict.

3.5 Target Population

Target population is that population to which the researcher wants to generalize the results of study (Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999). The target population was all the media channels in Kenya. However, due to time and other constraints, the researcher focussed on the print media, radio and television. This decision was largely based on the availability of evidence as well as the perceived widespread usage of the audiences in Kenya on these media.

For print media, the study targeted two major local dailies. These are *The Standard* which has a daily circulation of 80,000-110,000 copies and the *Daily Nation* which has a circulation of 100,000 – 120,000 (Mbeke and Mshindi, 2008).

The researcher focused on the 730 issues of the two print media that were circulated daily from 27th December 2007 to 28th December 2008 - the period of the post election violence and peace development. The study further targeted five major TV stations in Kenya which included Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC), Citizen TV of Royal Media Group, NTV of Nation Media Group, Kenya Television Network (KTN) of the Standard Media Group, and the K24 TV of the Media Max Group.

The radio stations targeted included Royal Media Group's radio stations such as Inooro FM (Kikuyu), Ramogi FM (Luo), Voice of America (VOA), Radio Africa (KISS FM) and Milele FM.

3.5.1 Sample Design

Sampling is the planned way that is used to select subjects for a study when it is not practically possible to study an entire population like the entire publications in Kenya largely

due to constraints of time and resources (Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999). Sakaran (2003) explains that sampling is the process of selecting sufficient number of elements from the population so that a study of the sample and understanding of its properties or characteristics will make it possible to generalize such properties or characteristics to the population elements. For the purpose of this research, the researcher analysed documents which were published before and after the 2007 post election violence.

In this research purposive sampling was used. This is because purposive sampling allows a researcher to use cases that have the required information with respect to the objectives of the study. Cases of subjects are therefore handpicked because they are informative or they possess the required characteristics (Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999).

Since the study focused on the reports in Kenya during and after 2007 disputed election results, media (print and electronic) was purposively selected. Senior media professionals were also purposively selected for interviews because they possessed vital information about role the media played and how effective it was during the 2007 – 2008 post election violence. The reason for selecting the reports to be analysed was because they carried the study conclusively. Because of the limitation of time and resources, it was not possible to visit the areas affected by the post election violence and the focus was mainly on how electronic and print media contributed to the conflict and its resolution.

3.5.2 Sampling Frame

A sample frame is a list that includes every member of the population from which a sample is to be taken. A frame (data sources) can be a list from cases under study. A sampling frame is

required to define the population. A good sampling frame should include a complete list of all eligible units within the geographic, industry or product coverage.

No documented sampling for the media in Kenya exists. However, other sources indicate that there are about 14 TV and 63 radio stations in Kenya (Steadman Group, 2008). Radio is the number one source of information reaching almost 90 percent of the entire population followed by television reaching about 40 percent and newspapers (30 percent). There are also over 600 active blogs in Kenya (Business Week, 2007). Kenya has over 8 daily newspapers and over 10 weekly newspapers.

3.5.3 Sampling Size

Where time and resources allow, a researcher should take as big a sample as possible. With a large sample, the researcher is confident that if another sample of the same size were to be selected, the findings from the two samples would be similar to a high degree. The rule of the thumb is to obtain as big a sample as possible.

The print media (newspapers) sample size was calculated based on Yamane (1967) which provided a simplified formula to calculate sample sizes. This formula was used to calculate the sample sizes in the study and is shown below. A 95% confidence level and $P = 0.05$ was assumed for Equation below

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + Ne^2} \quad \text{where:-}$$

n = Sample size of the study

N = population size

e = is the level of precision.

The sample size in research was calculated from 730 circulations for the two daily issues.

$$n = \frac{730}{1 + 730(0.05)^2} = 255$$

To have equal representation of the two dailies the sample size was divided evenly between the media groups and thus each daily had 127 newspapers that were sampled for content analysis to achieve the objective of this study. To achieve the representativeness of the circulation in a year the study period was divided into 4 (four quarters) of four months each. This was designed to cover the peak period of the post election violence and peak period for post election conflict resolution. The newspapers sample for each daily publication was further divided in the four quarters, where each quarter had 31 newspapers sampled. Having eight newspapers randomly sampled in a month.

The sample was generated by assigning the dailies numerical numbers before being sampled out randomly from the sampling box. Randomization was done to minimize sampling errors and increase the representativeness of the sample to the population thereby increasing the accuracy of inferences in the findings.

Five key informants who included reporters from radio stations were purposively selected and interviewed. These were from Inooro and Ramogi FM stations (Royal Media Services), Voice of America (VOA), Milele FM and Kiss FM (Radio Africa). Also five programme producers from five major TV stations were purposively selected and interviewed. This is because the researcher wanted to obtain accurate information and in-depth data on the role played by media in post election violence resolution. To corroborate a wider perspective of

the study, one media owner and one senior Editor were also interviewed. Therefore a total number of twelve interviews from the media houses were conducted.

3.6 Data Analysis

Data analysis is the process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of information collected (Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999). Data obtained from the field in raw form is difficult to interpret. Such data must be cleaned, coded, key-punched into a computer and analyzed. It is from the results of such an analysis that researchers are able to make sense of the data.

In this research study, data was analysed qualitatively. Qualitative analysis of data refers to non-empirical analysis. In qualitative studies, information is obtained about the phenomenon being studied, and then patterns, trends and relationships form the information gathered. Content analysis was used for this study. This is because content analysis involves observation and detailed description of objects, items, or things that comprise the sample (Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999). The researcher critically analysed the newspapers which were published between 28th December, 2007 and 28th December, 2008.

3.6.1 Content Analysis

Content analysis is the systematic qualitative description of the composition of the objects or materials of the study. In content analysis, information is analysed in a systematic way in order to come to some useful conclusions and recommendations.

The main purpose of content analysis is to study existing documents such as books, magazines, photographs, in order to determine factors that explain a specific phenomenon.

In this particular research study, content analysis was used to try and bring out the role of effective communication in conflict resolution. This involved a wide range of sources, in particular a systematic analysis of the Internet, newspaper sources, magazines, journals and books.

Content analysis is a widely used qualitative research technique. Researchers regard content analysis as a flexible method for analyzing text data (Cavanagh, 1997). Content analysis describes family of analytic approaches ranging from impressionistic, intuitive, interpretive analyses to systematic, and strict textual analyses (Rosengren, 1981). The specific content analysis approach chosen by a researcher varies with the theoretical and substantive interests of the researcher and the problem being studied (Weber, 1990).

Content analysis was chosen because it was deemed to be economical in terms of time and money. With content analysis, errors which arise during the study are easier to detect and correct.

In Harrold Laswell's model of communication which stresses on who says what, to whom, through what channel and with what effect, content analysis becomes the instrument of choice in this endeavour to satisfactorily answer such questions. It therefore provides an appropriate yardstick against which the effectiveness of a piece of communication can be measured.

3.6.2 Coding

Coding refers to the process of assigning numerical or other symbols to answers so that responses can be put into limited number of categories or classes. Such classes should be

appropriate to the research problem (Kothari, 2004). Here the researcher designed a code sheet and coded all cases and analyzed the resulting data regarding the general information about the article, pertinent issues regarding the role of communication in conflict resolution, the pertinent issue about the role of media in conflict resolution. The researcher was directly responsible for the collection of data and to ensure that there are no distortions.

Data was collected through data collection form. The form was coded to avoid repetition during sorting or analysis using CSpro4 software. A data code-sheet was used for data entry (key-punching data into computer to process, analyse and interpret them objectively. Objectively implies that all sessions of interpreting the qualitative and quantitative data must be guided by an explicit set of rules to minimize subjectivity (Nachmias and Nachmias, 1996). An interpretation list was developed. The data from the form was then tabulated into a spreadsheet format. The researcher then did data cleaning to ensure that the data collected had no typographic errors and to reduce redundancies. The researcher then imported the data to an SPSS environment for analysis and interpretation of results. Tables, charts and graphs were used to present findings of the research.

3.7 Reliability

Reliability, according to Mugenda and Mugenda (1999), is a measure of the degree to which a research instrument yields consistent results or data after repeated trials. Reliability in research is influenced by random error. As random error increases, reliability decreases. Errors may arise from inaccurate coding or ambiguous instructions to the subjects. In this particular research, the researcher ensured reliability of data by test-retest method of assessing reliability of data which involved administering the same instrument twice to the

same group of subjects. The researcher also ensured that the procedures used were well documented and can be repeated with the same results over and over again.

3.8 Validity

According to Kothari (2004), validity is concerned with the question “*Am I measuring what I intend to measure*”? It is about accuracy and meaningfulness of inferences which are based on research results. Validity is the degree to which results obtained from the analysis of data actually represents the phenomenon under study. Validity therefore has to do with how accurately the data obtained in the study represents the variables of the study (Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999). The researcher must ensure that the study is well constructed to ensure construct validity, internal validity and external validity. Construct validity requires the researcher to use the correct measures for the concepts being studied. External validity reflects whether or not findings are generalized beyond the immediate case or cases. For this research, the researcher ensured validity of the data by developing accurate measures or instruments and standardized data collection procedures. The researcher also used techniques such as cross-case examination and within-case examination along with literature review to ensure validity.

CHAPTER 4 - FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study. It also discusses the findings based on the objectives of the study.

4.2 The role played by media in the resolution of the post-election violence in Kenya: December 2007-December 2008

The understanding of the role played by media in the resolution of the Kenya's PEV was based on an evaluation of how the media relayed the unfolding conflict over the disputed election and the ensuing violence in the country. The study established that 65% of the respondents credited the media for breaking news on the sporadic violence that was taking place in Kenya. The role played by media in the resolution of the Kenya's PEV was defined by the accuracy with which it conveyed the information to the public with limited parochial or prejudice on the conflict parties. The study established that the media did not report news accurately during this period as stated by 63% of the respondents. This is shown in table 1 below.

Table 1: Media best practice rating.

Media best practice rating (Jan 2008-Dec 2008)	Jan		April		August		Dec	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Stories were inaccurate	63%	37%	52%	48%	43%	57%	38%	62%
Stories were favouring one political party	35%	65%	40%	60%	35%	65%	28%	72%
Stories were factual	29%	71%	36%	64%	40%	60%	49%	51%
Media was independent	20%	80%	15%	85%	45%	55%	52%	48%

The study established media's performance at the height of post election violence in January 2008 was poor as 71% asserted that the stories published by the media were not factual. Similarly, 80% of the respondents said that the media lacked independent and objective

reporting at the height of the post election violence. Only 20% of the respondents believed that the media was independent and were not controlled by powerful people and organizations. The study also established that only 29% of its respondents viewed media to have been factual in covering post election violence and fostering peace.

However as the year progressed from January 2008 to December 2008 the number of respondents who perceived stories in the media as inaccurate dropped to 38%. This indicates that the media became more careful and stories carried out were proven to be accurate. Respondents rated independence in the media in the month of April lowest at only 15%. This is because respondents still believed that the media was still controlled by the government and powerful people. However, towards December 2008 the perception changed to 52%. This is because there was no influence and the media was concentrating on peace and healing advocacy. Figure 1 below summarizes these views.

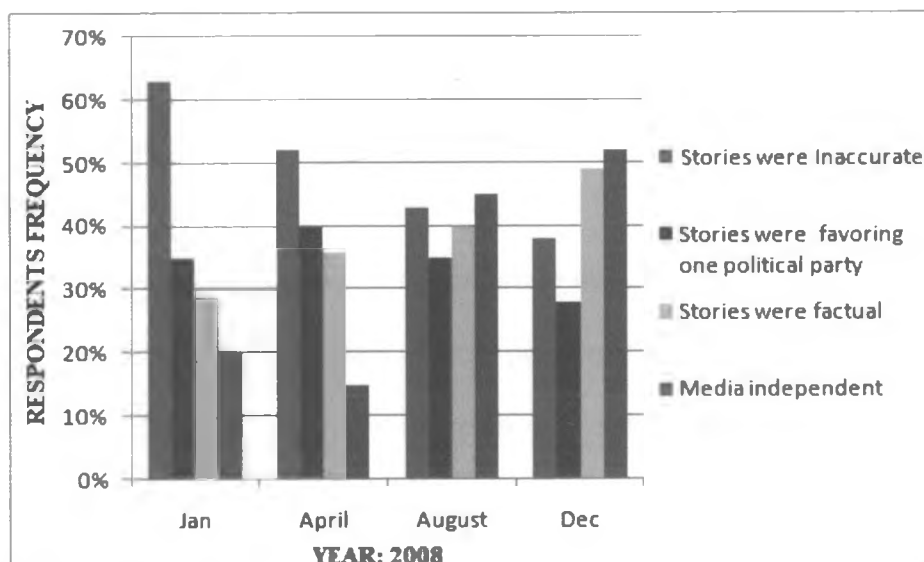


Figure 1: Views of respondents on media best practices during PEV

When asked how they would rate the role played by media in the post election violence, the respondents said they perceived the media to have had a role in the post election violence

with 68% of them being of the view that the media instigated the violence. To further compound this finding, 74% of the respondents rated the media as having carried stories along tribal lines especially on highlighting the post election violence hotspots being inhabited by a particular ethnic community. Only 26% rated the media not to have highlighted the post election violence hotspots along ethnic community lines. This is shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Media and post election violence

Role of media in PEV	Yes	No
Media instigated Violence	68%	32
Media highlighted violence hotspots along tribal lines	74	26

4.3 Media and the resolution of post election violence

After the post election violence the media started to run interactive programs geared towards letting their listeners talk about the issues of concern that contributed to PEV. This was important as the public would freely share their emotions out with the rest of the country to foster healing and peaceful coexistence. Different media groups ran different programs across the country to reach its listeners. The study established that K24 of Media Max Network ltd had “building bridges understanding” program while the Citizen TV of Royal Media Group had “fist to five for change” program. These programs were moderated by well trained journalists who sought to have the public speak out their grievances on what could have precipitated conflict. The Figure 2 below shows the number of programs various media institutions launched to help resolve the post-election violence.

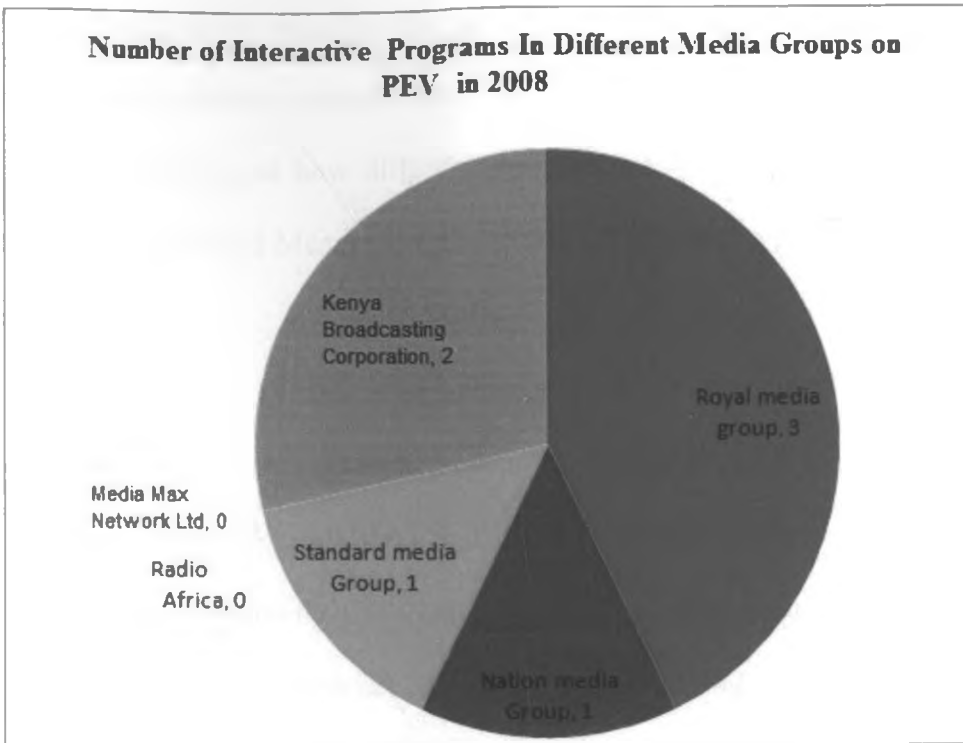


Figure 2: Number of interactive programs on PEV in different media houses in 2008

Table 3 below also summarizes the frequencies of peace interventions by leading media institutions in Kenya during the PEV period.

Table 3: Number of peace programs in different media institutions

		Royal media group	Nation media Group	Standard media Group	Radio Africa	Media Max Group	Kenya Broadcasting corporation
Use of media as emotion outlet	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	No. of interactive features programs on PEV in 2008	3	1	1	0	0	2
Journalist as peace advocates	No. of programs on Peace in 2008	2	1	1	0	0	3

The findings indicate that the Royal Media Service had three peace initiative programs, the highest number of peace interactive forums for its listeners both on radio network and television. This was followed by the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) which had two

interactive programs both on radio and television. The Nation Media Group and The Standard Group had only one interactive program each. These programs helped highlight the causes of the post election conflict and how different communities were coping with post violence challenges. Radio Africa and Media Max Group had no interactive programs advocating for peace during the period.

4.4 How effectively the media played its role in PEV resolution

As stated earlier, the study established that different media groups had initiated diverse interactive programs to discuss the post election violence conflict issues with their listeners in an effort to foster peaceful coexistence among the different ethnic communities. Depending on the audience of each media house, they targeted population is summarized in the Figure 3 below.

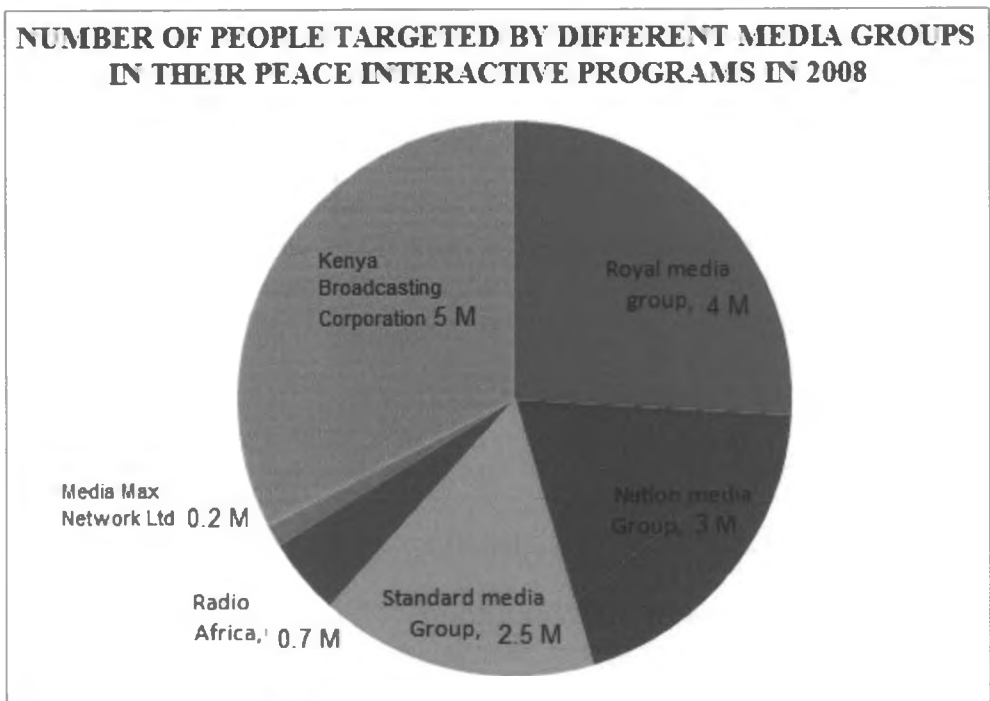


Figure 3 : Targeted number people by media groups in peace interactive programs

The study established that going by the statistics at the Communication Commission of Kenya the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation reached over 5 million listeners, the highest in the year 2008. This was followed by Royal Media Group with 4 million listeners targeted for peace interactive programs after the PEV. The Nation Media Group and The Standard Media Group reached 3 million and 2.5 million listeners respectively in their peace interactive programs. This implies that the media may have reached a total of 14.5 million people with the peace message. This is a very commendable progress in buttressing the role of the media in initiating peace in the country. These programs were effective to restoring peaceful coexistence of communities in post election hotspots in Kenya. From the foregoing, it can be deduced that the media was effective in playing its role in the conflict resolution.

4.3.1 Ranking of media effectiveness

The study ranked the media effectiveness based on geographical area, accuracy of news on PEV, advocacy on peaceful resolution of PEV conflict, the targeted number of people reached and the active population segment involved in the PEV. The study established that based on the geographical area and number of people reached in the peace advocacy after PEV, the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation had an average of four points, the highest among the media groups. In general, Kenya Broadcasting Corporation had scored 19, the highest rating among the media groups in Kenya. The Royal Media Services and the Nation Media Group had a total of 17 scores each. K24 of Media Max Group had the least rank scores on its effectiveness in reporting of the PEV with a total of 7 scores in reporting of PEV issues. Figure 4 and Figure 5 summarize these results.

Ranking of Media Effectiveness In Reporting of PEV Issues

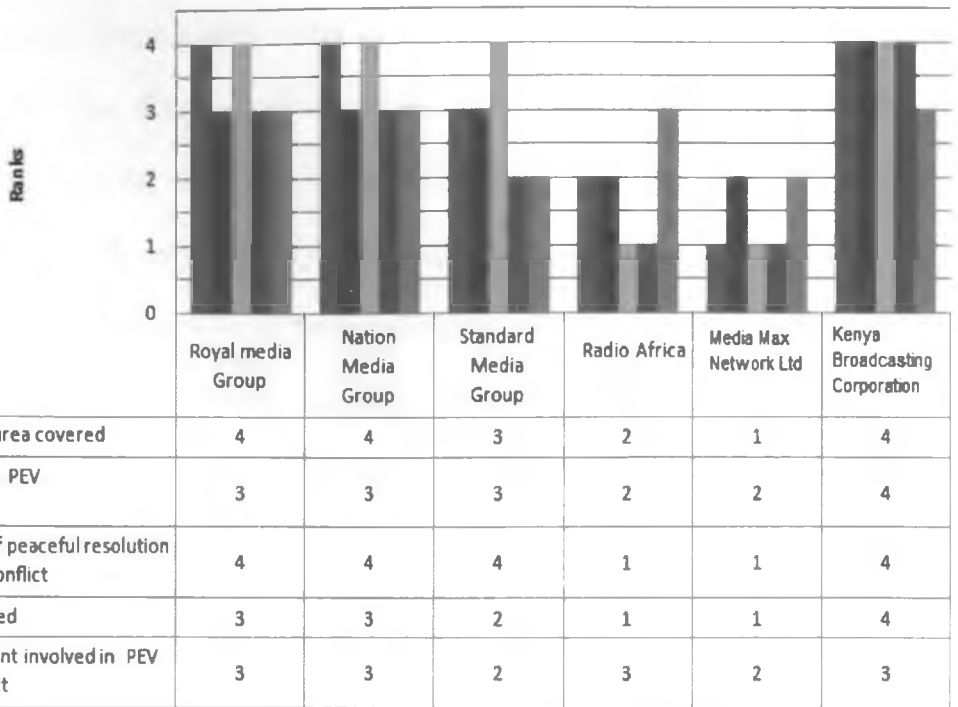


Figure 4: Respondents' ranking of media effectiveness in reporting of PEV issues.

Ranking of media effectiveness in Reporting of PEV

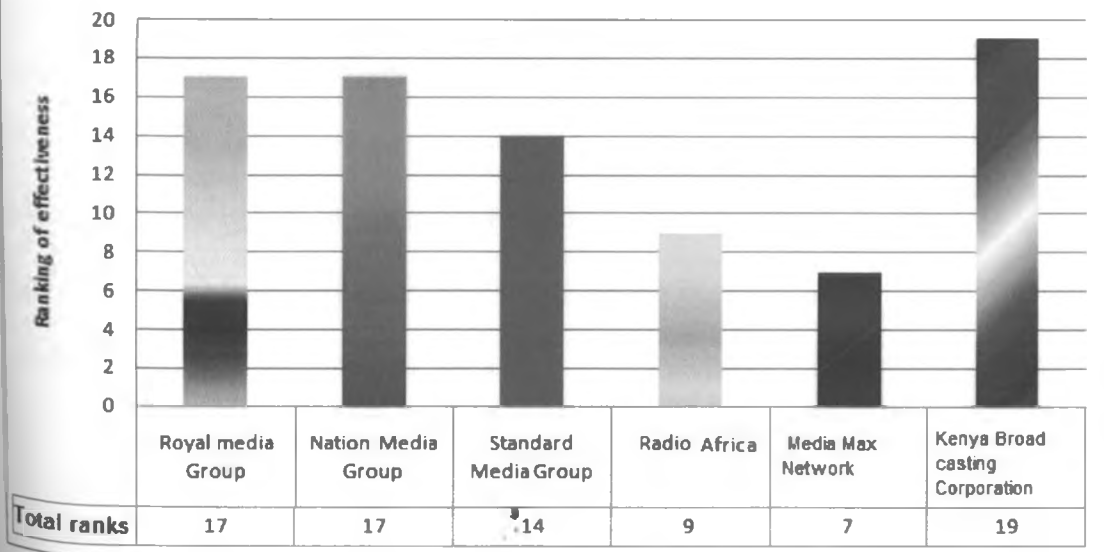


Figure 5: Respondents' overall ranking of media effectiveness in reporting of PEV

4.4 The media (in terms of radio, TV and print) playing a critical role during the post election violence and the one which did not

The choice of the source of news particularly on post election violence is important. The promptness of news was also a key consideration to the respondents choosing a source of news. Fifty percent (50%) of the respondents opted for radio as they considered it prompt in relaying PEV news. However, only 21% of the respondents considered radio as accurate and nonpartisan. This is central to the 40% of the respondents who relied on television for PEV news. Thirty eight percent (38%) of the respondents who turned to television for news considered its news as prompt and 67% of them considered it to be accurate and nonpartisan.

The study established that radio was the dominant news source for the public, with 70% of the respondents getting their local news from the medium. This was followed by television as 19% of respondents reported to have acquired their local news from television. The respondents rated newspapers as the second last source they turned to for local news at 10% while the Internet was the least source of local news with only 1% of the respondents saying they turned to it. Of particular importance to this study was the source of news that the respondents relied upon to get post election news. The study established that 42% of the respondents got their news on the subject from the radio, compared with 40% who cited television. These results are summarized in the Table 4 and Figure 6 below.

Table 4: Media playing the most critical role among respondents

Media	Where one gets news			Accuracy and non partisan	Promptness in news	PEV news
	Local news	Regional news	National news			
Television	19%	58%	20%	67%	38%	40%
Internet	1%	2%	0%	1%	0%	8%
Newspapers	10%	14%	10%	11%	12%	10%
Radio	70%	26%	70%	21%	50%	42%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

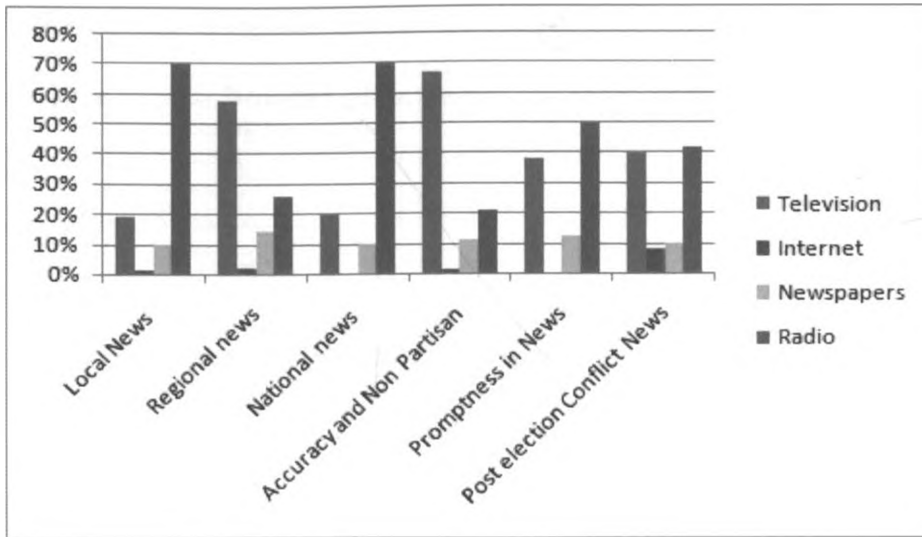


Figure 6: Views of the respondents on the choice of the source of news

Despite 70% of the respondents turning to radio for local news only 21% considered it to be accurate and nonpartisan however prompt it may have been as considered by 50% of the respondents. Therefore the respondents were willing to listen to radio despite the inaccuracies in its coverage of post election violence. Sixty-seven percent (67%) of the respondents rated television news as more accurate and nonpartisan.

However, only 40% of the respondents tuned to television to get news on post election violence compared to 58% of the respondents who tuned to television for regional news coverage. Such a skewed preference emerged among respondents when they wanted to get national news during the post election period.

26% of the respondents said that the local radio stations that covered regional news in vernacular languages did the most to uncover and report on the important local issues with regard to the post election violence, while only 14% identified local daily newspapers as the primary sources of local news reporting despite the newspapers having a national coverage.

Table 5: News coverage in the two leading newspapers in Kenya during PEV

Number of pages		Number of pages on PEV		Total article on PEV	
Daily Nation	The Standard	Daily Nation	The Standard	Daily Nation	The Standard
53	48	26	19	10	8

The study established that the two leading dailies, that is, *Daily Nation* with a circulation of 100,000 – 120,000 and *The Standard* with a daily circulation of 80,000-110,000 in 2008 were also important sources of information. The newspapers had an average of 53 and 48 pages in each issue which had 26 and 19 pages on post election violence and conflict. In general, *Daily Nation* had the highest allocation of space in the newspaper to PEV conflict with 26 pages when compared to *The Standard* which had an average of 19 pages daily in the year 2008 as shown in Table 5 above and Figure 7 below. *The Standard* had an average of eight articles on post election violence, the least number of articles in the year 2008 when compared to the *Daily Nation* that had an average of ten articles on post election violence in the same period.

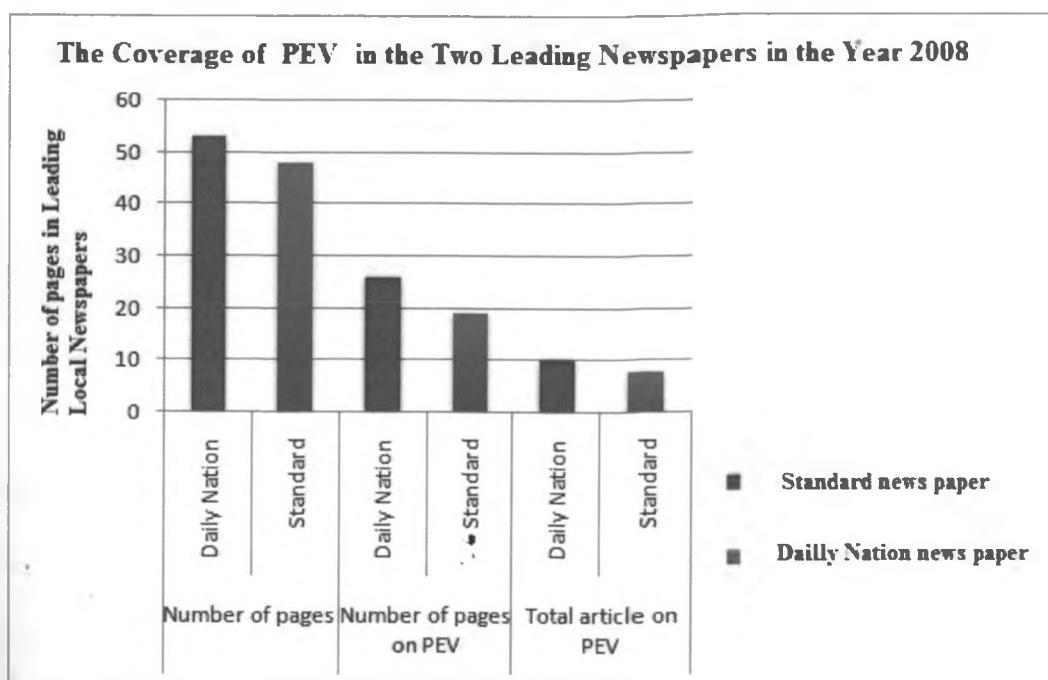


Figure 7: The coverage of PEV in the two leading newspapers during PEV in Kenya

The study assessed the local dailies on how they reported on different issues of PEV and how such issues influenced the public to embrace peace. *Daily Nation* had an average of four articles daily on peace negotiations and mediation process while *The Standard* newspaper had only two articles on the same subject. Articles on peace advocacy were only two on a daily basis in the *Daily Nation* while *The Standard* newspaper had only one. Figure 8 below summarizes these results. The media coverage of conflict hotspots was important in raising the awareness to the public the crime that was being committed and the humanitarian situation in the conflict areas.

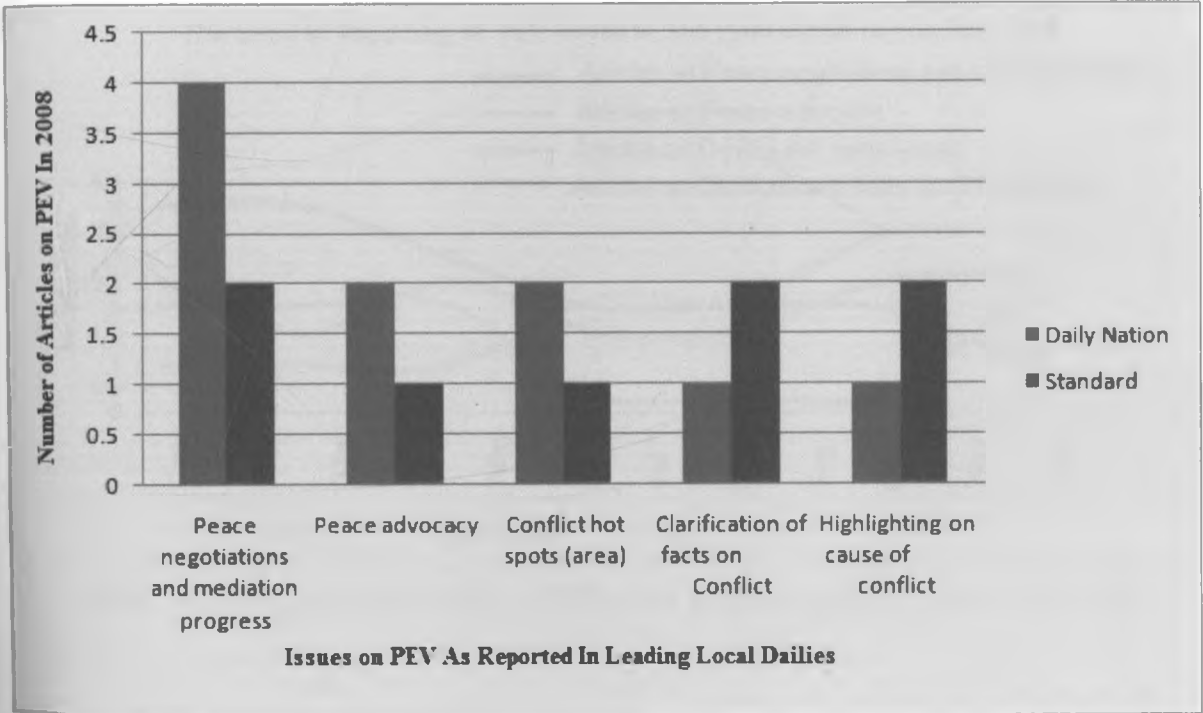


Figure 8: issues on PEV as reported in leading local dailies in 2008

The media had reported on the PEV issues in a rather unique trend. This trend indicated the print media setting an agenda for peace and reconciliation while not losing the gains made in peace. In January 2008 the media gave prominence to articles informing the public on peaceful negotiation and the mediation process for the first three months in the year. The

trend declines on the subject after the signing of the peace accord and the formation of the coalition government. Consequently, December 2008 had the least articles on peace negotiation and the mediation process. This is shown in figure 9 below.

The study established that in January 2008 the media gave little coverage on peace advocacy. This had an average of one article daily for the first three months in the year. The trend increases on the subject after the signing of the peace accord and the formation of the coalition government. December 2008 had four articles, the highest on peace advocacy in the print media.

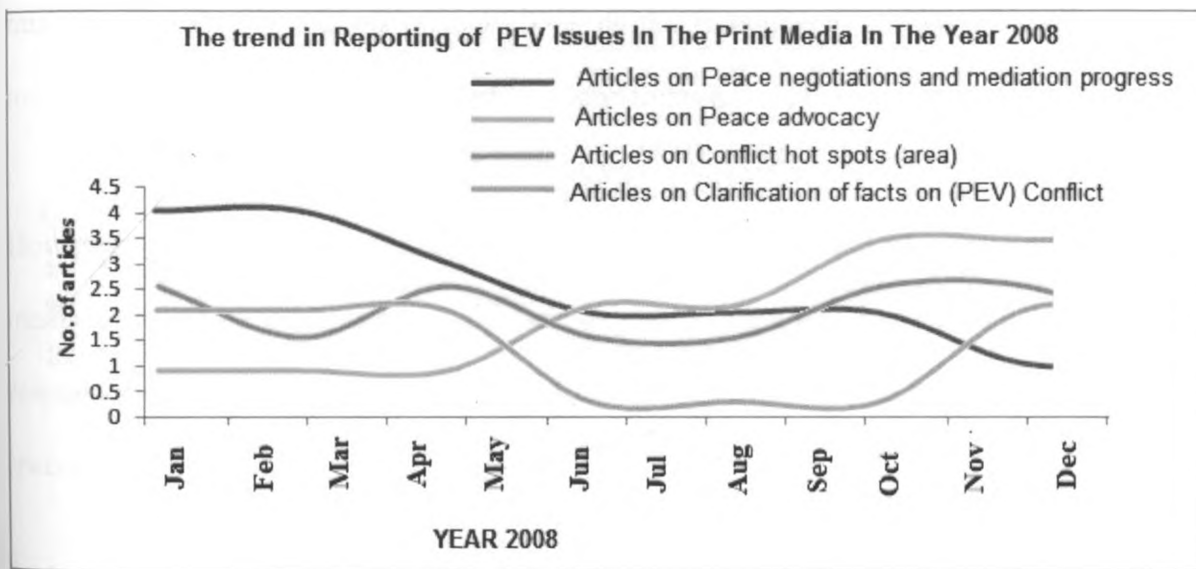


Figure 9: The trend in reporting of PEV issues in the print media in the year 2008

Articles on conflict hotspots in the country were given prominence in the print media in January 2008 having an average of two articles. At this time, the print media gave prominence to articles on clarification of facts on PEV causes with an average of two articles daily in January, February and March. The clarification of the facts on PEV was given a low coverage in the print media after the signing of the peace accord and the formation of the coalition government with only one article daily for four months of June, July, August and

September. However the trend changed drastically with the change in articles of peace advocacy that are given prominence in the media with over three articles daily from September to December. The trend in clarification of facts on PEV increased with an increase in articles on peace advocacy peaking from October to two articles in December.

4.5 Best practices and effective conflict resolution

4.5.1 Long-term views of media performance

Since the occurrence of PEV the public had long been critical of the media in several areas. In August 2008, 57% of the respondents suspected the media organizations tried to cover up mistakes and during this period only 39% of the respondents considered media to have improved on accuracy of news on post election violence.

However, the study established that in January 2008 at the height of post election violence media performance in terms of getting facts on PEV straight was considered only 23% of the respondents said that the media "*got the facts straight,*" while 77% said stories were often inaccurate.

The respondents' perception of the media getting the facts straight on PEV issues in news stories was steadily improving over the study period with 53% of the respondents considering the media as more straight on the PEV facts in December 2008. The trend in media accuracy on PEV was further complemented by the fact that the study established that over the same period the respondents perceived an increase in media embracing professionalism despite having a low rating of only 28% in January 2008 to a high of 49% rating in December.

Figure 10 summarizes these views.

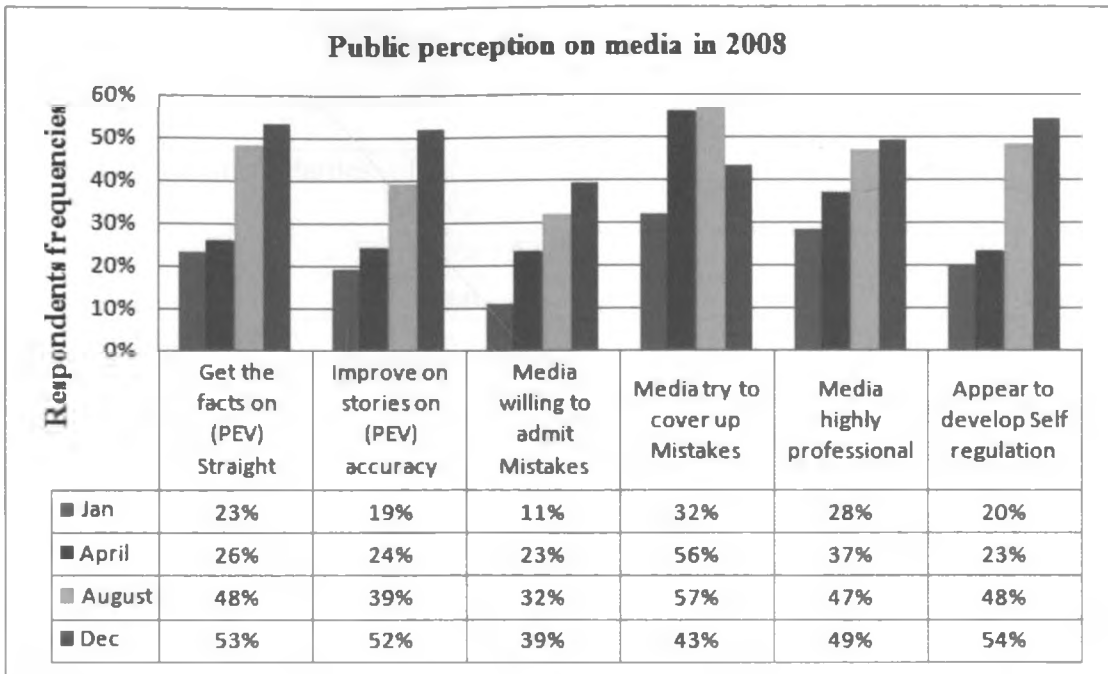


Figure 10: Public perception on media in 2008

The study established that the media appeared not to have self regulation in January with only 20% of the respondents citing self regulation in media organizations. The respondents however increased their perception to 54% in December. This does not come as a surprise when media groups are perceived to admit mistakes in covering the PEV conflict news and peace fostering program

4.5.2 Media and peace advocacy by engaging in reliable reporting

In January 2008, 12% of the respondents noted that the media were engaged in reliable reporting and 88% of the respondents viewed media to be engaged in unreliable reporting. The study established that media reports were skewed in favour of the ODM with 53% followed by PNU at 25% and lastly ODM-Kenya at 22%. Table 6 below summarizes these views. This clearly indicates respondents' perception towards media as partisan.

Table 6: Media best practices and reporting on PEV issues in 2008

Media best practice rating (Jan 2008-Dec 2008)		Respondents frequency in Percent
Media favoured political Parties	PNU	25%
	ODM	53%
	ODM KENYA	22%
	Total	100%
Reliable Reporting on PEV Issues	Yes	12%
	No	88%
	Total	100%
Run news briefs or programs calling for peaceful co-existence	Yes	77%
	No	23%
	Total	100%
Media reported fairly on antagonistic parties	Yes	67%
	No	33%
	Total	100%

The study however established that 77% of the media organizations did run news briefs or programs calling for peaceful co-existence among Kenyans. Around January 2008, the study established that media reporting dealt fairly with antagonistic parties who were called to honour patriotism and embrace dialogue, a fact supported by 67% of the respondents. Table 6 above summarizes these views.

On the growth of media influence for peace, the study noted that the respondents rated different sources differently. As a whole, only 43% of the respondents rated the media as a force to peace existence in Kenya. This is far low when compared to 57 % who consider it as a source that exacerbated the already polarized country to violence. Thirty eight percent of the respondents considered newspapers as a news source that had influence on peace. This was followed by television with 30% of the respondents. Radio stations and the Internet only had 20% and 12% respectively. The score of radio stations as an influence to peace in Kenya

is worrying as it is a key source of news to respondents at 70% yet it had one of the least influences for peace in the year 2008. Table 7 summarizes these views.

Table 7: Media sources that influenced peace

Media advocates for peace	Yes	43%
	No	57%
	Total	100%
Media sources that influenced peace	Television	30%
	Newspapers	38%
	Radio	20%
	Internet	12%
	Total	100%

However, other than the call to patriotism by the media on the political elites across Mr. Kibaki' PNU and Mr Odinga's ODM negotiators the public rated different sources of news on PEV differently. The study established that respondents rated television news during PEV to be in the interest of peace at only 34% while newspapers were ranked 41%. Radio stations had 31% while the Internet emerged least at 12%. Figure 11 below summarizes these views.

When the respondents were asked as to whether the media highlighted the causes of the PEV accurately 32% acknowledged the print media to have highlighted the causes of PEV accurately. This was followed by radio stations at 20%. The television stations were at 19% and the Internet was the least source that reported accurately on causes of PEV at 9%. Figure 11 below shows these results.

Public perception on media and peaceful resolution of PEV conflict in Kenya 2008

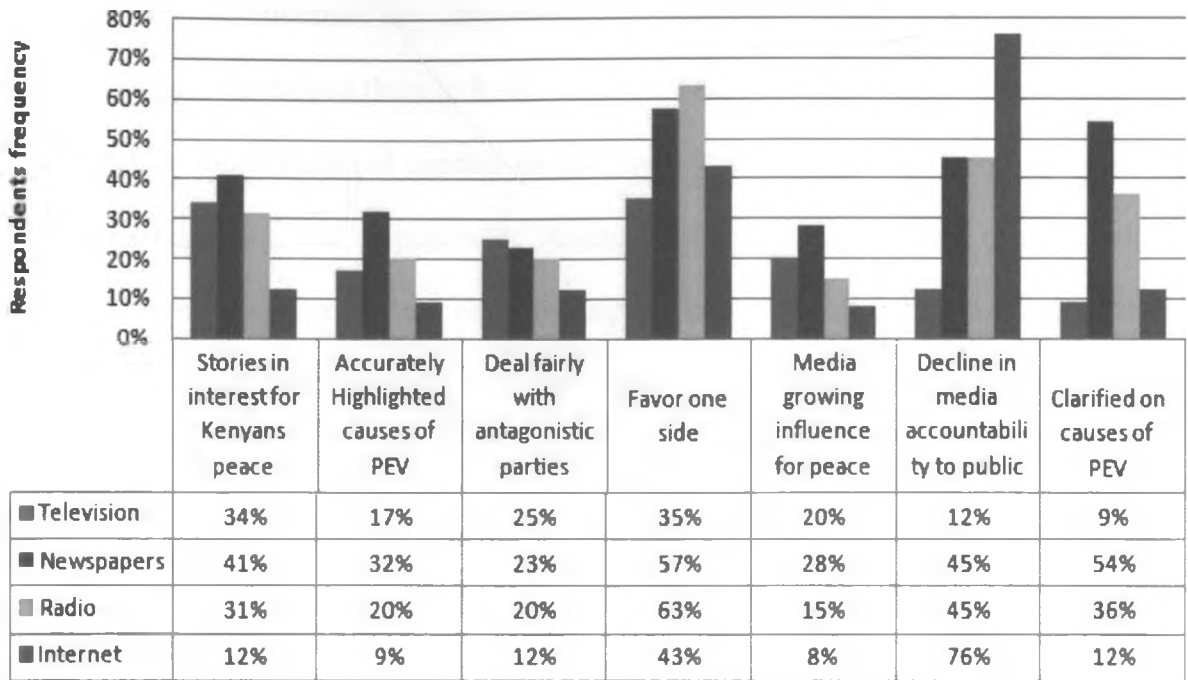


Figure 11 : Public perception on media and peaceful resolution of PEV conflict in Kenya 2008

On the media accountability to the Kenyan public during the PEV, the study noted that different sources of information were considered as not being accountable to the public. Seventy six percent (76%) of the respondents considered the Internet as a source that had least accountability to the Kenyan public and therefore its content polarized or agitated for violence. This was followed by radio stations and newspapers with 45% each. Television had only 12% of the respondents perceiving it to be accountable to the public on the contents in its news on PEV. The public perception of the television as a media source with a least decline in public accountability to Kenya public on reporting of PEV and fostering peace in the 2008 is notable with considerable increase in professionalism.

4.5.3: Responsible journalism

4.5.3.1 Development of code of conduct for journalists

The study sought to determine key components of responsible journalism and how different media groups have developed them to foster peace in Kenya after the PEV. The major media groups have developed a code of conduct for its employees with regard to reporting issues of PEV conflict resolution and management. Among these is the requirement that journalists must at all times when carrying out news feature on the PEV shall verify the facts in their features beyond doubt. The journalists are also required to provide reliable information other than an analysis on issues they don't have professional grasp of. The codes of conduct require journalists to report promptly on the emerging scenarios on PEV such as settling of internally displaced persons. This is key in enhancing professionalism in reporting of post election violence issues and therefore fostering and managing attained peace. Table 8 below gives the details.

Table 8: Training on Conflict Reporting and Development of code of conduct for journalists

	Developed a code of conduct	Trained personnel on conflict reporting
Royal Media Services	Yes	68
Nation Media Group	Yes	100
The Standard Group	Yes	121
Radio Africa	Yes	11
Media Max Network Ltd	Yes	7
Kenya Broadcasting Corporation	Yes	150

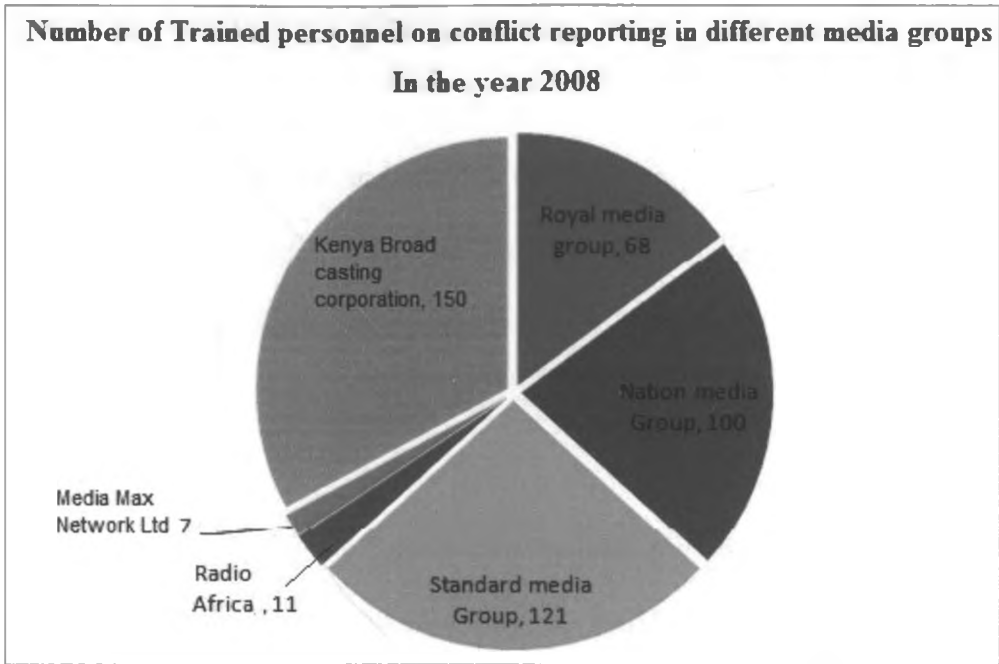


Figure 12: No. of personnel trained on conflict reporting in Different media groups

4.5.4 Trained personnel on conflict reporting

To address the problem of unprofessionalism and improve the media group image, many media groups opted to improve the capacity of the editorial teams and journalists on conflict reporting and peace management. Kenya Broadcasting Corporation was found to be the leading media group in training its staff with 150 personnel having been trained on conflict reporting and peace management in the year 2008. This was followed by the Standard Media Group with 121 personnel trained. This is shown in Figure 12 above.

The Nation Media Group and Royal Media Services had 100 and 68 personnel trained respectively on conflict reporting and peace management. This is a commendable effort by the media groups to equip their personnel with skills that would enable them to foster the role media plays in advancing peaceful conflict management within the Kenyan communities.

CHAPTER FIVE - SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter outlines the general summary of the research project and also the summary of the findings that were obtained from the analysis. The findings were employed to give answers to the research questions, recommendations and conclusions.

5.1 Summary

This study was about the role of effective communication in conflict resolution. The study had examined the role the media played during the 2007/2008 post election violence and if they played any role in the resolution of the violence. Using the PEV in Kenya as a case study, the researcher examined the media as a communication channel that can be used for conflict resolution.

The report is composed of five chapters which are summarized as follows: chapter one is the background of research. This chapter covers the introduction, the statement of the problem, the objectives of the study, the significance of the study, the theoretical frame work, and limitations. Chapter two of this report centres on the review of relevant literature. Chapter three covers methodology which contains the research design, target media content, sampling design, data collection instruments, and data collection techniques. Chapter four presents the findings of the study. The findings are also discussed there in an effort to answer the research questions.

5.2 Summary of findings

5.2.1 The role the media played in the resolution of the post-election violence in Kenya

According to the findings, the study established that the media did run news briefs or programs calling for peaceful co-existence among Kenyans. Around January 2008, the study established that media reporting dealt fairly well with the antagonistic parties who were called to embrace patriotism and dialogue.

The results also indicate that after the post election violence the media started to run interactive programs geared towards letting their listeners talk about the heated issues of concern that contributed to PEV. This was important as the public would freely share their emotions out with the rest of the country to foster healing and peaceful coexistence. Different media groups ran different programs across the country to reach its listeners.

5.2.2 How effectively the media played the role in conflict resolution

The study revealed that the mainstream media fraternity under the leadership of Media Owners Association (MOA) came together to support peace-building initiatives in the country. All media houses dedicated airtime and space to carry messages of peace and healing. They aired special messages from Partners for Peace, a civil society peace building forum, asking ODM and PNU leaders to call upon their supporters to stop the violence; and calling upon Mr. Odinga and Mr. Kibaki to negotiate a settlement. The media also mobilized Kenyans to attend the special prayers for peace for the country, and dedicated a special day for peace programming.

Basing on geographical area and the number of people reached in the peace advocacy, KBC was ranked the highest and K24 of Media Max Group was ranked the least on scores in terms of effectiveness in reporting.

5.2.3 The media (in terms of radio, TV, print) which played a critical role and which ones did not

The print media had reported on the PEV issues in a rather unique manner. This trend indicated the print media setting an agenda for peace and reconciliation while not losing the gains made in peace. In January 2008 the print media gave prominence to articles informing the public on peaceful negotiation and the mediation process.

The study established that Kenya Broadcasting Corporation had the widest reach of listeners. This is because KBC is the oldest and the only public broadcaster which has the largest network of TV and Radio across the country. It also broadcasts in over twenty one (21) ethnic languages. It has the capacity to reach all audiences across the country.

The study established that radio was the dominant source of news to the public. Most respondents relied on radio to get the post election news. The study also established that the news were prompt and listeners were willing to listen to radio despite having a feeling that the news were inaccurate. However, most people relied on the TV for the regional news and considered the news being accurate and non partisan. Internet was the least source of news. This study therefore established that the radio is the number one source of information.

5.2.4. Best practices to ensure effective conflict resolution using the media

From the study, it was apparent that respondents felt that the media did not exercise the best practices in terms of accuracy of news and viewed the media as being biased and one that lacked independence. This is because the media houses before and during the 2007 election period, the majority of the media organizations were being controlled by powerful individuals and organizations.

The study also established that the media was not factual, in covering the PEV and fostering peace. They did not report accurately and the stories carried during the post election period were biased. The study identified key component of responsible journalism and how different media groups have developed them to foster peace after PEV. Major media houses have developed code of conducts for their staff and have trained their staff on conflict reporting. The code of conduct requires journalist to verify the facts in their features at all times. Journalists are also required to provide an analysis of the occurrences other than events.

To address the problem of unprofessionalism and improve the media group image, many media houses opted to build the capacity of its staff in conflict reporting and peace management by training their staff. KBC was the leading media group in training its staff, followed by the Standard Group, then Nation Media, Royal media Services, Radio Africa and Media Max Group. This shows that the media groups have realized the need to equip the media personnel with skills that would foster the role media plays in advancing conflict resolution using media.

5.3. Recommendations

The researcher makes the following recommendations:

The media should guard their profession against individuals pushing their own agenda as the next general elections draws near. From the foregoing, the media can have serious impact on the election process. Journalists should realize that they have an onerous duty of building the nation particularly during electioneering and the electoral process.

Journalists need to be trained in conflict-sensitive practices. The Kenyan media should set up a fund to help train journalists in investigative reporting and self-protection in places where there is violence and fighting. Many Kenyan journalists were reporting conflict for the first time in their careers in 2008. The courses can be offered in-house in the institutions. Similarly, the media training institutions should also have serious courses on conflict reporting and ethics that would prepare the journalists for conflict.

The Kenyan media should continue to review its successes and failures in the post-election crisis in a spirit of cooperation. It should offer the public maximum information and insight into the crisis the media has been through since the election. It should also strengthen its system of self-regulation and consulting.

The government urgently needs a language policy that deals with the use of hate speech in the media and during elections in particular. The proposed Ethnic Relations Community Media, public and private commercial broadcasting principles and regulatory framework should be put in place at least before the next general election. A comprehensive communication policy

that addresses local content, education and training, capacity building for community media among other issues should also be dealt with urgently.

There should be clear rules and regulations governing the actions and utterances of the politicians especially during campaign periods and clear mechanisms, which are seen to be fair to handle election complains should be put in place. This is following the fact that during the mediation process and the time of signing the national accord, the newspaper stories were within the bounds of the journalist's code of conduct, which emphasizes accuracy, fairness, objectivity and neutrality.

All media companies engaged in reporting elections of any type should remain neutral. This would limit biasness and create a sense of trust on what the media reports. Local media houses should work in collaboration with the foreign media in a bid to avoid any negative reporting. Thus the media should act as the medium of balanced reporting aimed at preventing the escalation of any violence even though the media are run for profit especially where catching articles of elections are on demand.

Kenya's political parties should stop using community radio stations to rally and organise their supporters and confront the questions and criticism of the media honestly.

The media should go deep enough in its reporting and look for reasons behind the events. They should not just cover events but should look for the causes. For instance, when the media realized that the election was rigged, they did not try to find out how it was rigged.

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5.4 Further Research

The research focused mainly on the mass media and how it contributed to the resolution of post election violence. It did not focus on other channels/media of communication. Such channels include the SMS through cell phone and the blogs. Further research should be done to ascertain the role SMS and blog messages played and whether they contributed to escalation and resolution of post election violence.

The research was also largely limited to secondary data carried out on previous reports. Further research should be done by interviewing the people who were affected by the post election violence to find out the role played by media as an aspect of communication during the post election violence.

5.5 Conclusion

From the study, it is evident that the media had a role in instigating the post election violence. It is also evident that the media had carried its stories along tribal lines especially on highlighting the post-election violence hotspots being inhabited by particular ethnic communities. The media initially did not provide comprehensive reporting on the unfolding post-election violence and also, knowingly or unknowingly, fuelled it through the promotion of hate speech, partisan management of news, incompetent journalism and dramatization of conflict situations. Fortunately, media set the agenda for healing and peace immediately after the eruption of post-election violence.

The media scored lowly on the conflict sensitive reporting index. Media reliability standards - accuracy, impartiality, fairness, balance and social responsibility - were often compromised especially by the FM stations, which are the ones with the widest reach within the affected

regions. The media coverage according to the study revealed a great influence on escalating violence in a country fuelled by tribal ethnicity yet for many years different tribes had lived together in peace.

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Appendix I

DATA COLLECTION SCHEDULE FOR PRINT MEDIA

NAME OF THE CIRCULATION.....

Name of the Media Group.....

Circulation issue No.....

What segment of a population does the media group target.....

1) Total pages in the issue?

2) What is the total number of articles on PEV in the issue?

3) How many pages does the PEV article cover in the issue?

4) Does the issue contain an Editorial

5) Number of articles on

Peace negotiations and mediation progress []

Peace advocacy []

Conflict hot spots (area) []

Clarification of facts on PEV Conflict []

Highlighting on cause of PEV conflict []

6) Rating of information accuracy on peace negotiations and mediation progress in the issue articles

(Rate the scores from the highest to least ranging from 4 as the highest to 1 as least)

Highly accurate []

Fairly accurate []

Accurate []

Inaccurate []

7) Rating the promptness of the news in relation to time it occurred in the issue articles

(Rate the scores from the highest to least ranging from 4 as the highest to 1 as least)

Highly prompt []

Fairly prompt []

Prompt []

Stale news []

8) Rate the effectiveness of the role played by the media group in PEV conflict resolution

Basing on geographical area covered

Accuracy of the news on PEV communicated

Initiatives or advocacy of peaceful resolution of PEV conflict

Number of people reached

Active population segment involved in PEV conflict

(Rate the scores from the highest to least ranging from 4 as the highest to 1 as least)

Highly effective []

Fairly effective []

Effective []

Least effective [-]

Appendix II

INTERVIEW FOR NEWS JOURNALISTS

This questionnaire is intended to collect data on a research project to be submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Masters of Arts degree in Communication Studies. It is aimed at studying the role of effective communication in conflict resolution. The purpose of the study is to explore the role of effective communication in conflict resolution and management. The study findings are significant to the Kenyan media community as they will inform policy makers on the possible policy interventions to ensure effective communication in the media fraternity in upholding the best practices that foster peace among their clients.

Any information obtained will be treated with utmost confidentiality

This interview schedule is designed to assess how media personnel can help in resolving conflict by upholding best practices.

- 1) While processing your news for a media group do you seek to clarify to your clients the cause of conflict? [a] Yes [b] No

- 2) Did you present facts on the outcome of vote counting after and the PEV?

- 3) Did you clarify to your listeners, what the authorities were doing to achieve a peaceful settlement? If so how frequent did you in a day?
 - i. After every hour
 - ii. After 3 hours
 - iii. After 6 hours
 - iv. Once a day

- 4) How did you foster peaceful resolution of conflict in your media house?
 - i. Started factual interactive session with listeners
 - ii. Rely of factual information as peaceful negotiation where unfolding
.....
.....
.....

- 5) How did your work identify legitimate needs and concerns of your clients?
 - i. Did you get what your listeners needed [a] Yes [b] No
 - ii. Did you establish beyond doubt why it was important to your listeners?
[a] Yes [b] No
 - iii. How did you synthesise the information and concerns and redirected it for the public good? (**Self regulation**)

.....

6) How do you expose the opportunities for positive change that arise out of the existing conflict?

.....
.....

Accuracy and Standards for factual reporting for conflict resolution

1. How do you seek the accuracy and reliable sources of your information and how do you process it before disseminating it to the public?

.....
.....

2. How do you report on controversial facts that are reported with attribution

.....
.....

3. Do you run clarification or corrections over published reports?

.....
.....

4. Do you subject your work to an editorial team before publication for censoring?

5. What mechanisms have you put in place not to adversely advance animosity? (***Harm limitation principle***)

6. In your media group, Is your work channeled to an in-house regulation to keep news organizations honest and accountable to the public (*Guard against internal and external parochial pressures that can fan ethnic animosity?*)

7. Have you run articles or news that advocates for peace and community peaceful coexistence after PEV?

8. If so what, segment of the population did you target in you advocacy program?

9. How many people do you target in your program? (millions)

Thank you for your cooperation

Appendix III

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR MEDIA NEWS EDITORS/PROGRAM PRODUCERS

ROLE OF MEDIA IN PEACE BUILDING AFTER PEV IN KENYA

This questionnaire is intended to collect data on a research project to be submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Masters of Arts degree in Communication Studies. It is aimed at studying the role of effective communication in conflict resolution. The purpose of the study is to explore the role of effective communication in conflict resolution and management. The study findings are significant to the Kenyan media community as they will inform policy makers on the possible policy interventions to ensure effective communication in the media fraternity in upholding the best practices that foster peace among their clients.

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SECTION A

- AGE
- (a) 20-29
 - (b) 30-39
 - (c) 40-49
 - (d) 50 and above

- Gender
- (a) Male
 - (b) Female

RESPONDENTS POSITION IN THE MEDIA GROUP.....

Name of the Media Group.....

Year of inception.....

Current geographical area covered.....

How many channels does the media group run.....

How many people does the media group reach in a day.....

What segment of audience does the media group target.....

- a) *Upper affluent citizens*.....
- b) *Middle class*.....

- c) *Informal residents*.....
- d) *Rural folk*.....
- e) *Youths*.....
- f) *Opinion leaders*.....

SECTION B

1. Type of Media (a) Radio
(b) TV
2. In January 2008 programs did you dedicate airtime or space to carry messages of peace and healing? [a] Yes
[b] No
3. Do you consider your media group as having advocated for dialogue as way of getting a peaceful settlement (PEV) conflict? [a] Yes [b] No
- i. If yes, how did your media group achieve this?
.....
.....
.....
4. How did you mobilize your listeners to foster peace after (PEV)?
 - a) Attend special prayers for peace.
 - b) Dedicated time for live (interactive) session with listeners on peace forums.
 - c) Organized peace events for youths
 - d) Aired peace messages urging people for peaceful co-existence in their areas.
 - e) Supported charity campaign to help the displaced persons
5. How did you develop capacity of journalists to responsibly address peace-building concerns?
.....
.....
.....
6. How does your media group deal with violence incitation, pessimistic presentation of facts of peace situation reporting?
.....
.....
.....
.....

7. How does your media group proactively highlight the emerging conflict and its impact?
8. How has your media group responded to structural constraints in fostering peace and conflict resolution?

i. Media training in conflict management and reporting

If yes, How many people have you trained.....

What was the content of the training

.....

ii. Developed a code of conduct for journalists

If yes, How many people have you reprimanded based on the code of conduct
 flaw in relation to incompetent Journalism.....

iii. Integration of conflict analysis theory in Journalism refresher course curriculum

If yes, How many people have you trained.....

What are the highlights of the curriculum

.....

iv. Use of media as emotional outlets

If yes, How many programs do you run to ventilate on issues that can precipitate
 conflict.....

.....

v. Trained journalists as mediator

If yes, How many people have you trained.....

9. What mechanisms has your media group put in place to engage in reliable reporting on peaceful resolution of 2007/2008 Post Election Violence in Kenya

.....

10. How does your media group achieve reliable presentation, diverse and independent opinions and editorials on conflict resolution in Kenya?

.....
.....
.....

11. How does your media group identify and articulate without prejudice the interests of disputants in a bid to foster amicable resolution of conflicts in Kenya?

.....
.....

12. What programs do you run that offer solutions and building confidence among warring parties in conflict prone areas after (PEV)?

13. How has your media group dealt with explicit imagery of anguish that undermines attained peace in conflict prone areas?

.....

Thank you for your cooperation
