

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

**INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF CONFLICT IN AFRICA  
THROUGH NEW MEDIA: CASE STUDY POST ELECTION VIOLENCE IN  
KENYA 2007-2008**

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& INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI.**

**DECEMBER, 2017**

**DECLARATION**

I declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented to any other university.

.....

.....

Signature

Date

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

.....

.....

Signature

Date

**DR. ROSEMARY ANYONA**

## **DEDICATION**

This study is dedicated to my parents Mr. Joseph. M. Mutemi and Mrs. Joyce. M. Mutemi, for believing in me and to my friends, for giving me a very strong heart to always strive for the best and tackling challenges the world presents.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

An exercise of this nature cannot be the work of an individual. I am therefore indebted to everyone who contributed in one way or the other to the realization of this study.

I am grateful to the Lord for the gift of life and health to the very end of this study.

To Dr. Rosemary Anyona, my supervisor, whose constant intellectual guidance, inspiration, patience, and support were invaluable. She rekindled my dreams and provided me with a fresh drive to read on. The lecturers and staffs of the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, May God reward you for the support you provided. And I am indebted to the University for providing me with resources that have enabled me to complete my work as well in a conducive environment

To my family, I dedicate all the good things that may accrue from this study to my parents Joyce Mutemi and Joseph Mutemi, from whom the river of life originated. I am forever grateful to you for making me who I am. My amazing brothers Moses, Samuel, and Peter thanks for always being there for me, for the guidance and help they offered me. My fiancé Fredrick, I thank him for continuously supporting me in the long hours I spent working on my study. My friends Geoffrey Ochieng, Sasha Githinji and Mwirigi Gatubo for being my rock and encouraging me throughout and always wishing me well.

In acknowledging the many that contributed to this study, I in no way intend to make to make them accountable for any shortcoming herein. This remains my sole responsibility, for which I accept the liability.

God bless you all.

Love, Prisca

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

|               |   |   |
|---------------|---|---|
| <b>PEV</b>    | - | Post Election Violence                            |
| <b>AU</b>     | - | African Union                                     |
| <b>IFIs</b>   | - | International Financial Institutions              |
| <b>CNN</b>    | - | Central News Network                              |
| <b>ECOWAS</b> | - | Economic Community of West Africa                 |
| <b>RTL</b>    | - | Radio Television Libre des Milles Collines        |
| <b>CIPEV</b>  | - | Commission of Inquiry into Post-Election Violence |
| <b>MRG</b>    | - | Minority Rights Groups International              |
| <b>KNHRC</b>  | - | Kenya Human rights commission                     |
| <b>CDA</b>    | - | Critical Discourse Analysis                       |
| <b>ICTs</b>   | - | Information and Communication Technologies        |
| <b>UGC</b>    | - | User Generated Content                            |
| <b>MENA</b>   | - | Middle East and North Africa                      |
| <b>DPA</b>    | - | Department of Political Affairs                   |
| <b>UNDP</b>   | - | United Nations Development Programme              |
| <b>UNON</b>   | - | United Nations Office in Nairobi                  |
| <b>SODNET</b> | - | Social Development Network                        |
| <b>BAKE</b>   | - | Bloggers Association of Kenya                     |

## **ABSTRACT**

Kenya, and by extension African countries, continue to struggle to achieve a stable and more lasting democracy. Unlike many advanced democratic states where there are strong and independent institutions, African political institutions are mostly weak and often at the mercy of political leaders who manipulate them to their advantage. The media cannot be shielded from the cases that are to blame for the spread of countries' rampant political instabilities. This study aims to highlight the internationalization of conflict in Africa through new media during Kenya's post-election violence of 2007/08.

This study uses secondary data for its findings; and the data used in the research is based on the analysis of statistics collected by governments and their various agencies, bureaus, and departments - which reveals that citizen journalists using new media technologies enabled those witnessing or taking part in the conflict to upload content during the period of the conflict and make reports on live occurrences. The study finds that social networking sites were maximally used in the post-election conflict that occurred. It concludes that new media tools and technologies supplement rather than replace traditional media as it offers crucial assessment and unmediated perspectives. The study recommends that in the case of conflict, new media should develop a series of public service announcements reminding fighting communities about their traditional collaboration and advising restraint, informing security officers of the affected areas promptly and educating the fighting communities on the importance of peace in the society. The study also recommends that media reporters or journalists be trained on conflict reporting.

The study took a quantitative approach to the data analysis, as well as utilized a descriptive survey design to compliment the case study research design. Published literature from various reference books, periodicals, scholarly journals, newspaper articles, literature review articles, magazines, technical reports, the internet and any other reliable and credible sources such as Jstor and University of Nairobi Library, form the core basis of this study, and its findings.

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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

### 1.1 Background

African countries continue struggling to achieve a stable and more lasting democracy. Their inconsistent performance at the polls continues to serve as a stumbling block to the deepening of democratic views in a region plagued by civil wars, famine poverty, and drought.<sup>1</sup> Unlike many advanced democratic states where there are strong and independent institutions, African political institutions are mostly weak and often at the mercy of political leaders who manipulate them to their advantage. The path to democratic consolidation has not been a smooth one in Africa. Political instability mainly caused by electoral disputes and conflicts are rampant in many African countries; for instance the crisis in Zimbabwe, DR Congo, Cote'divore, Sudan among other highlights the ongoing struggles that the continent faces in terms of democratic consolidation. Kenya is no exception.<sup>2</sup>

The media cannot be shielded from the cases that are to blame for the spread of countries rampant political instabilities. The conventional media, particularly radio and television have sometimes, unfortunately, serves as platforms for both political actors and ordinary citizens to spew hate and inflammatory speeches, incite violence and stroke tribal tension i.e. the case of Rwandan genocide which was widely believed to have been caused by dangerous irresponsible comments on radio stations inciting ethnic violence. The rise of new media technologies, the web, and the rapid growth of cell phones presents a new challenge for African governments in combating dangerous speech and spread of information especially the kind of information put out there for the world.<sup>3</sup> Social media's distinctiveness is its high level of penetration, affordability, easy access,

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<sup>1</sup> Gleditsch N, Wallensteen P, Eriksson M, Sollenberg M & Strand H. (2012). Armed conflict 1946-2001: Journal of peace research 39(5):615-637.

<sup>2</sup> Laverty, Alex (2011). ICT, Social media and elections in Africa; A perspective story

<sup>3</sup> Hachten, W. A & Hachten, H. (2012). The world news prism: Changing media of international communication.

usability, and convenience. These qualities make it a more dangerous tool in the promotion of conflict. In domestic conflicts, new media introduces new actors giving it a new meaning requiring international attention. The new media technology facilities that continue to change have called into attention the way we have looked at the classical processes of internationalizing the conflict. Kenya satisfies Castells thought that what does not exist in the media does not exist to the general population (public mind).<sup>4</sup> Mainstream media assumes an important part in political the procedures and dispersion of information which in the past did not involve the general public's participation. New media has prompted to new types of political involvement, user-generated content and a worldwide stage for sharing out data. New media is the ever-changing media technological world and its informed content, which can be accessed on any digital device that mostly contains creative participation and interactive user feedback. The different sorts of new media tools include examples such as social media, websites, blogs and online newspapers, websites and applications devoted to discussions, microblogging, person to person communication, social bookmarking and social curation. One of the fundamental qualities of new media is its capacity to encourage exchange. New media permits people to make remarks, share data and examine different points. Not at all like the conventional media, is new media established on the idea of an intelligent group. In Kenya, new media has been embraced as a device for correspondence and above all for political participation lead the way to public participation.<sup>5</sup>

Despite its importance in enhancing communication in a community and promoting peace, new media can also be used to fuel conflict between communities.<sup>6</sup> New media, therefore, poses a great threat to peace in developing countries because it is not regulated. As a result thoughts or opinions published on these new media platforms do not adhere to any strict ethical code of journalism or the core principles of journalism. In the recent years, individuals that use the Internet in Kenya have steadily risen from the 10 million in 2011 to the 17.38 million users at the beginning of 2013 due to the increase

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<sup>4</sup> Maarit Mäkinen and Wangu Kuiru,(2008). Social Media and Post-election Crisis in Kenya, *The International Journal of Press/Politics*: 328-335

<sup>5</sup> Manuel Castells, (2007). *Communication, Power and Counter-power in the Network Society*:241

<sup>6</sup> Walsh, Bryan, and Aryn Baker.(2013). What Should Social-Media Sites Do About Syria's Savage War Videos? *Time* 181, no. 20: 42

of cell phone usage.<sup>7</sup> New Media has no restrictions and information is known to spread and spiral out of control. This is mostly because anyone with access to this information and can freely share the information as well. Kenya is ranked among the top countries in social media interaction by INSEAD business school thus making the post-election violence 2007-2008 an important reference and case study.<sup>8</sup> Relations between the state and the mass media in independent Kenya continues to be uneasy. The state has recurrently accused the press of being unpatriotic and bent on serving the interest of Western nations at the expense of Kenyan interests. The government uses this accusation to justify its harsh response towards the mass media stating that it is protecting the country from potential threats from within and outside its borders. This is mainly because the government has an idea about the power of influence the media has, especially with the developments made in new media technologies.<sup>9</sup>

Media has value to Kenyans and the trust they place in it. Trust of the media is highly comparative to other information sources.<sup>10</sup> This has had a positive effect in making a stage for lawmakers, political gatherings and government to speak with the electorate and promoting democracy and good governance. Even so, it is now more difficult for the government to ensure political stability in the country and to check on the Medias activities because of the speed at which information is spread and the large audience that is captured by new media.<sup>11</sup> The rapid advancement of technology has assumed a key part in expanding the quantity of individuals that are reached by electronic media. For instance, the development of smartphones, as well as tablets and the growth of social networks, have had their influence on the speed at which information spreads.

It is currently more difficult for a government to control damaging information from spreading due to the increased use of new media. This thusly negatively affects political strength since the web is from numerous points of view a perfect field for

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<sup>7</sup> Maarit Mäkinen and Wangu Kuira, Social Media and Post-election Crisis in Kenya, *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, vol. 13, no. 3 (2008): 328-335

<sup>8</sup> Situma, Evelyn, (2015). Kenya ranked sixth most 'Internet-ready' [www.businessdailyafrica.com/](http://www.businessdailyafrica.com/)

<sup>9</sup> Maarit Mäkinen and Wangu Kuira, (2008). Social Media and Post-election Crisis in Kenya', *The International*: 328-335

<sup>10</sup> Ibid

<sup>11</sup> Heitner, David. (2014) *Civilian Social Media Activists In The Arab Spring And Beyond*: 1207-1249.

criminal action. While the new media is effectively open, cheap, enhances anonymity and contacts a conceivably immense group of people spread all over the world, it has practically no direction and its unpredictability is making it hard for governmental control.<sup>12</sup> The changing in Kenyan media and the expanding utilization of new media inspired the subject of this study.<sup>13</sup> A diminished measure of center has been put on the part of online networking in political procedures in Sub-Saharan Africa and in this way this examination tries to reveal insight into how new media devices are utilized as a part of Kenya to demonstrate a nation that has grasped innovation and the way in which these instruments are utilized.

## **1.2 Statement of the Research Problem**

New Media over the years has gradually eroded the monopolistic influence of print media and broadcast media in Kenya. Gone are the days when the radio, daily papers, and TV were known to be the main channels for correspondence. The speed at which news circulates has increased and citizens worldwide have been given the means to participate in their democratic processes through new media tools.<sup>14</sup> The empowerment has lead individuals' capacity to speak with large masses of people at an affordable cost. New media has also enabled people to speak directly to political leaders, start social movements immediately and globally as well as shape news agendas.

Internationalization of conflict in Africa, in the most recent one decade, have come about because of the across the board utilization of new media platforms, for example, YouTube, Facebook, sites, text messaging, and Twitter by groups and additionally people.<sup>15</sup> Once the information has been put out there it captures a larger audience. Therefore a problem that was an Internal one becomes international because it reaches a larger audience globally who can also participate through new media.

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<sup>12</sup>Abdelsalam, Hisham (2013). Social media in Egyptian government websites: Presence, usage, and effectiveness. *Government Information Quarterly* 30, no. 4 (October 2013): 406-416.

<sup>13</sup> Mäkinen and Kuira, (2008). Social Media and Post-election Crisis in Kenya: 328-335.

<sup>14</sup>Abdelsalam, Hisham (2013). Social media in Egyptian government websites: Presence, usage, and effectiveness. *Government Information Quarterly* 30, no. 4: 406-416.

<sup>15</sup> Shirazi, Farid.(2013). Social media and the social movements in the Middle East and North Africa: A critical discourse analysis. *Information Technology & People* 26: 28-49.

New media just goes about as catalyst to a conflict that there are different variables like social and political injustices, authoritarian regimes; corruption, ethnic disdain, and other unresolved issues assume a key part in the sustenance of the conflict.<sup>16</sup> It is in this regard this study tries to examine to what degree web-based social networking has influenced and impacted the internationalization of the conflict. My study focused on Kenya's post-election violence 2007-2008.

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

The main objective of this study was to show how new media internationalized conflict in the 2007-2008 Kenya's post-election violence.

The specific objectives of the study were;

1. To provide an overview of new media's influence on conflicts in Africa
2. Analyze the extent new media internationalized conflict during Kenya's post-election violence 2007-2008
3. To assess the state response to new media in the 2007-2008 post-election violence in Kenya

### **1.4 Literature Review**

This section examined the concept of new media's role in the internationalization of the conflict as discussed by various authors and critically analyses their views to bring out its effects in conflict situations.

#### **1.4.1 Introduction**

In classical realists thought domestic politics were considered to be distinct from international politics. This reflected to requesting of worldwide society and is reflected in the primary reports of universal relations, for example, in the United Nations article 2(7) of the graphed accommodates the non-interference of the internal issues of a state. It is additionally reflected in the sanctions of local associations, for example, in article 3(2) of

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<sup>16</sup>Walsh, Bryan, and Aryn Baker. (2013). What Should Social-Media Sites Do About Syria's Savage War Videos: 42

the contract of associations, for example, African Unity (OAU) which denies impedance in the inside undertakings of state. A comparative view informs the structure of international law particularly in its arrangements against intervention.<sup>17</sup>

However, the strict difference between domestic and international politics is cited in the formation of the modern interstate system in 1648 peace of Westphalia. The state system that was created by Westphalia was one based on sovereign and independent states each perusing its own interests.<sup>18</sup> The international system that gave rise to was anarchic in that system, the task of diplomacy and international law was to manage and contain the conflicts that would inevitably rise as a result of the relationships between sovereign and independent states.<sup>19</sup>

This anarchic international system with all its rules and imperfections is one that the African states joined when they attained independence. Africans were inevitably joined into this system through what Bull and Watson have characterized as the expansion of international society<sup>20</sup> the expansion was realized through the trading and commercial interests of western states, which needed raw materials from Africa in order to maintain their interests internationally. This was achieved through colonialism and imperialism through which western states divided Africa among themselves into spheres of influence which were effected through the Berlin conference of 1884-5 in Berlin where Africans were not represented nor consulted. At the point when African states got to be self-governing, they did as such on the premise of their acquired state systems. From that point forward some Africa has been tormented by various internal clashes. This was on the grounds that they needed political authenticity, politically sensible guests, and political establishments fit for practicing significant control over the domain put under their nominal supervision.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Makumi Mwangi, *Conflicts in Africa. Theories, Processes and Institutions of management*:58

<sup>18</sup> Volkmer I.(2008) Conflict-related media events and cultures of proximity. *Media, War & Conflict*, 1(1), 2008:90-98.

<sup>19</sup> Makumi Mwangi, *Conflicts in Africa. "Theories, Processes and Institutions of management"*:59

<sup>20</sup> H.Bull and Watson, *The expansion of international society* (Oxford:Clarendon press 1985)

<sup>21</sup> Michael E Brown,(1996). *The international Dimensions of internal conflict*: Cambridge:16



### 1.5.2 Internal Conflicts in Africa

Conflicts take place when two or more parties have mismatched goals about something.<sup>22</sup> Political conflicts have increased with the role of state because the state has penetrated all sectors of life; even social conflicts are likely to become politicized. Social conflicts become political because with developments in modern communications. It is easier for parties in conflict to muster support for their cause.<sup>23</sup> There is a thin line between internal and international conflicts.

"Internal conflict" implies brutal or conceivably vicious political disagreements which primarily are as a result of differences that crop up from domestic factors, where armed conflict occurs or threatens to occur within the borders of a solitary state.<sup>24</sup> Illustrations include fierce power battles including regular citizens or military leaders; armed conflicts and secessionist crusades; armed ideological battles and revolutions. The level of violence can go from low-level terrorist movements to supported guerilla rebellions to civil wars or genocide.<sup>25</sup>

Internal conflicts are widespread, as of 1995 major armed conflicts that have seen at least 1000 killed ranged in over 35 locations in the world: they cause a lot of suffering and in most cases affects neighboring states, for instance at the stature of the Rwandan genocide in 1994, 250000 Rwandan's fled into Tanzania In a single day<sup>26</sup> accordingly undermining regional stability; regularly inward clashes draws in light of a legitimate concern of international organizations as well as distant powers; endeavors to manage the problems caused by inner clash are being reassessed by policymakers at the national, regional and international organizations.<sup>27</sup>

External components are often part of internal wars. Some outer impacts are expected, where outside on-screen characters help and abet interior groups and

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<sup>22</sup> C.R Mitchell, (1998).The structure of International conflict (London Macmillan):15-25

<sup>23</sup> Makumi Mwangiru, Conflicts in Africa. "Theories, Processes and Institutions of management": 3

<sup>24</sup>Of course conflict is a way of life in everyday society and political system,Our concern however is with violent conflict.

<sup>25</sup>Brown, Michael E.(1996). The international Dimensions of internal conflict: Cambridge:1

<sup>26</sup>Peterson, Julia, (1994). Boston globe, April 30:1

<sup>27</sup> Brown. The international Dimensions of internal conflict:3

governments. Some outer impacts are not deliberate. As indicated by Smith,<sup>28</sup> this class incorporates actions by international financial institutions (IFIs), humanitarian agencies as well as intentioned mediators. Nonetheless, there are instances of purposive worldwide activity than anticipated, relieved, determined, or oversaw inner clashes. It is critical to comprehend the genuine idea of the contribution of external component in an internal conflict that internationalize the conflict and impact it in one way or another.

### **1.5.3 Internationalization of Internal Conflict in Africa**

Internationalization is the procedure through which an express cognizant choice is made to include global performers in any period of the contention in internal strife.<sup>29</sup> The choice to internationalize (or not to) can be made by various agents; it can be incited and sometimes imposed by an external actor (such as the hegemonic state) or it can be made by local parties to the conflict. In other words, the concept on internationalization moves along a scale in which on one external actor such as influential or neighboring state, international organizational and non-governmental organizations can choose to participate in a unilateral way. In this scenario of Kenya's post-election conflict 2007/2008, internationalization takes the form of new media and as a result, intervention.

These other actors affect significantly the relations between states themselves.<sup>30</sup> In practice, there are many elements of domestic politics that spill over and even influence the international sphere. This happens not just in the political sphere, but also in diplomacy and economic relations.

#### **1.5.3.1 Agents of the Internationalization of Conflict**

Connelly stated that among the different internationalizing agents, media has been an important one in the spread of internal conflicts.<sup>31</sup> The development of media over the past three decades or so has become an important transnational actor in its own right. The

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<sup>28</sup>Smith, Dan, (1996).Towards Understanding the Causes of War, Idegruppen and Peace Research Institute of Oslo: 6

<sup>29</sup> Zwiwer Paul J. (2015). Social Media and conflict mapping in Syria: Implications for peacemaking, International criminal persecution and for Trc Process:169-212

<sup>30</sup> R.O Keohane and J.S Nye,(1981) Transnational relations and world politics (Cambridge, University Press)

<sup>31</sup> Connelly, M. A, (2010). Diplomatic revolution: Algeria's fight for independence and the origins of the post-cold war era.Oxford University Press.

evolution and development of electronic media especially, has had profound effects on the development of the internationalization of the conflict.<sup>32</sup> What has come to be known as the “CNN factor” essentially means that events happening in one part of the world are transmitted instantaneously to other parts of the world.<sup>33</sup>

At the point on December 27, 2007, when Kenyans went for elections, to choose another head of state, they never expected the process would rather prompt to strife. The contention was touched off when Mwai Kibaki from the Kikuyu ethnic community gathering unexpectedly pulled in front of contender Raila Odinga from the Luo ethnic community. Therefore conflict erupted once Kibaki had been sworn in as president while there were claims of rigging of votes. No sooner did voting end as Kenyans went via web-based networking (new media) to report what was occurring in the areas they were in. US media immediately referred to a natural hold back: "African tribes are brutally shredding each other."<sup>34</sup> The Los Angeles Times depicted the contention as, "savage tribal killings."<sup>35</sup> "This is a tribal circumstance," and that, "is startling that the lacquer of this nation is so thin, and there's so much strain and contempt that has been here from the beginning" Reported the CBS Early Show.<sup>36</sup> NBC Nightly News upgraded that, "The decision emergency has removed the top off tribal scorn,"<sup>37</sup> while CNN noted, "Charges of vote extortion lighted tribal disdain."<sup>38</sup>

In South Sudan, as conflict arose a large number of civilians ran for safety to the United Nation bases. Occasions occurred quickly as individuals scattered to safety. Numerous South Sudanese with Internet empowered cell phones took to the New Media, significantly Facebook and Twitter writing about the occurrence around them, which was quickly picked by both the nearby and universal media.<sup>39</sup> The main alternatives that mass groups of onlookers had were a limited choice and had no control over content. New

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<sup>32</sup>Mwagiru. Conflict in Africa, Theory, Processes and institutions of management: 67

<sup>33</sup> D.R Gergen,(1990). Diplomacy in a television age (London Macmillan): 47

<sup>34</sup> Global media Journal, 2013 Vol 2:Media coverage of Conflict in Africa:  
<http://globalmedia.journals.ac.za/:215>

<sup>35</sup> Los Angeles Times (January 1, 2008)

<sup>36</sup> CBS Early Show (January 1, 2008)

<sup>37</sup> NBC Nightly News (January 3, 2008)

<sup>38</sup> Hollar, J, Tribal” Label Distorts African Conflicts.2008. [www.fair.org](http://www.fair.org).

<sup>39</sup> Duffield, M. War as a network enterprise:2012. pp 153-165.

Media platform such as the social media has also created a shift from how the media access information and news. The news audiences and the consumers were no longer passive. They are actively involved in the news production process.<sup>40</sup>

The crisis in the Niger Delta took a dreadful dimension in the 1990s after the emergence of the organized pressure groups, militant youth groups, and social movements began to challenge the Nigerian government and the multinational oil companies' policies, activities and attitudes in the region. The Niger Delta conflict can be attributed to the Niger Delta's environmental destruction by both oil companies and state negligence.<sup>41</sup> The internationalization of the Niger Delta crisis can be traced back to the effort and efficient publicity by the environmentalists who drew the international community's attention to the Niger Delta dilemma. The internationalization of this conflict paved way for international nongovernmental organizations in the region to participate. These organizations included the Rainforest Action Group, the Commonwealth of Nations, and Friends of the Earth, the Green Peace Movement, Amnesty International, Body shop and the United Nations. The participation of these international environmental and human rights groups clearly indicated that the multinational oil companies and the Nigerian state could not contain the situation. As a result of the internationalization, the Nigerian government deployed its military against nongovernmental organizations as well as activists. This made the United Nations censure the legislatures' encroachment of human rights and urged its part states to force authorizes on the Nigerian government<sup>42</sup>

In any case, in the later past in Nigeria, there has been an expansion conflicts in the region caused by the desire to spread Islamism in East, North and West Africa. Islamic groups responsible for this include AQIM in the Mali, Al-Qaeda in North Africa and Boko Haram in Nigeria. The activities of Boko Haram cover the Northern Cameroon, Southern Niger, Southern Chad and the Central African Republic. Even though the government of Nigeria has been in the forefront of dealing the Boko Haram,

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<sup>40</sup> Livingstone, S. & Bovill, M. Young people, (1999) New Media: Report of the London School of Economics and Political Science, London.

<sup>41</sup> Young, C. (2006). The heart of the African conflict zone: Democratization, ethnicity, civil conflict, and the Great Lakes crisis. 2006:301-328.

<sup>42</sup>Victor Ojatorotu. (2008). Turkish Journal of International Relations:92-120

the instability threatens, international players such as Lake Chad Basin Commission, France, China, United States and Economic Community of West Africa (ECOWAS) have been making in keeping the insurgency in check, through with little success.<sup>43</sup>

At the point when Kenya walked into Somalia in October 2011 to remove Al Shabaab extremist's components there, the international community paid limited attention. What was considered more newsworthy was the "Tweet-off" a few months after the fact between the Kenya armed force's representative Emmanuel Chirchir and representative for Al Shabaab that addressed issues as ordinary as goat killings.<sup>44</sup> This picked up a great deal of worldwide attention.<sup>45</sup>

These studies demonstrate that both internal and external actors (international non-governmental organizations, international organizations as well as individual states) have played a momentous role in African conflicts. Some of these players have acted as mediators whereas others have participated in these conflicts to serve their own self-interest.<sup>46</sup> Despite the fact that there are studies in Africa to demonstrate internationalization of the conflict, there is insufficient writing to demonstrate the part of new media in the internationalization of conflict in Africa.

#### **1.5.4 Evolution of the New Media**

It is presently simple for people or associations to get their data appropriated all through the world by means of the data expressway. News and data can now be exhibited through words, as well as in sound, pictures, and animations. This is different from the one-dimensional method of the data stream in news organizations and its single medium method of dissemination.<sup>47</sup> New media innovations encourage formal political cooperation (alleged "e-administration"), they additionally give the way to social developments, lobbyist groupings or minority gatherings to draw in with these procedures

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<sup>43</sup>Nkwi, Walter Gam, Putting Nigeria Together: (2014). The Internationalization of Boko Haram Conflict: 13

<sup>44</sup>Jason Miks, CNN "Four Ways social media could transform conflicts in Africa" [www.globalpublicsquare.blogs.cnn.com](http://www.globalpublicsquare.blogs.cnn.com)

<sup>45</sup>Thörn, H. (2006). Solidarity across borders: The transnational anti-apartheid movement:285-301.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid

<sup>47</sup> Jensen, IT in Africa: A Status Report. This is his latest ICT status report for Africa.2003

on a worldwide level realize intelligent, "numerous to-numerous" correspondence that have given open door (and issues) for activists in three key regions: spread of option news; making virtual open circles; and sorting out aggregate political activity<sup>48</sup>

Conflict, warfare and conflict resolution have essentially changed in how they are handled due to the progressive advancements used in communication today. Contrasted with individuals in the past, individuals around the globe today are updated with international relation issues. Worldwide news organizes that communicate live from all sides of the world and through the New Media give immediate access to events as they unfold and in this situation influence how those events develop and end. Developments of the New Media in correspondence innovations have changed the significance of force in global relations, the number and nature of people taking part in universal political procedures, and the techniques these on-screen characters utilize to accomplish their objectives.<sup>49</sup>

Governments no longer have a monopoly over information. Non-state actors and individuals have become much more active and significant participants in world affairs both in conflict resolution and warfare. Nonstate and state actors are increasingly employing new media technologies.<sup>50</sup>

### **1.5.5 The Role of New Media in Africa's conflicts**

There is immense literature on new media's role including social media on conflicts in the world but little in Africa. Yet the advancements and spread of mobile technology and social media in sub-Saharan Africa is growing fast.<sup>51</sup> Africa has a very young population with about 60% less than 35 years old. Governments in Africa have not shown a long history of democracy but more a part of dictatorships and oppression. The youth are starting to express themselves as they become more informed about world news and events in the region and all around the world.

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<sup>48</sup> Burnett & Marshal, (2003). Covering communication, colliding cultures: 47

<sup>49</sup> Rodney C, (2005). Modern Communication Technologies and the New world Information order. International Journal of Communication: 145.

<sup>50</sup> Rodney C, Modern Communication Technologies and the new world Information order: 147.

<sup>51</sup> Keller, E. J. (2010). African Conflict Management and the New World Order. 2010

Keller asserts that in the year 2010, social and political conflicts occurred in Kyrgyzstan. In April 2010, the Kyrgyzstan president, Kurmanbek Bakiyev, was ousted after a brutal clash with the opposition group. The viciousness left more than 86 individuals dead and numerous more harmed. Two months after the president of Kyrgyzstan was ousted an ethnic clash followed in the southern city of Osh amongst Uzbek and Kyrgyz bunches.<sup>52</sup> The contention later spread toward the southern part of the nation and left 470 individuals dead, several thousand uprooted and thousands harmed. Other than drawing in far-reaching provincial and global consideration the occasions taking after the contention were subjected to phenomenal reporting levels as they unfurled.<sup>53</sup>

As indicated by Gun, reporting of this contention was done through new and online networking advice of social networking, cell phone content informing, video facilitating, photograph sharing and messages.<sup>54</sup> The utilization of web journals and informal organization destinations like Facebook and Twitter and in addition versatile and interactive media stages amid the change has driven a few onlookers to connection improvements in Kyrgyzstan to other late instances of social challenge where new media has been conspicuous. The intricate and moving part of new media as a consider the occasions in Kyrgyzstan outlines that the two clashes were distinctive in vital ways and that new media was utilized diversely as a part of each. While new media made noteworthy commitments to these occasions, it didn't drive them and its significance must be seen close by the more routine activation methods and the part of conventional global media which was frequently the wellspring of online networking reporting. The occasions in Kyrgyzstan highlight the utilization of new media as political apparatuses, yet in the meantime, indicate the significance of an arrangement of empowering conditions specialized, financial, social and political as characterizing the courses in which these instruments can be utilized.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid

<sup>53</sup> Neil Melvin, (2011). *New Social Media and Conflict in Kyrgyzstan. (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute)*

<sup>54</sup> Gun, T. R.(2014). *The Internationalization of Communal Strife (Routledge Revivals):3*

<sup>55</sup> Gullette David, and John Heathershaw.(2015) *The affective politics of sovereignty: reflecting on the 2010 conflict in Kyrgyzstan:122-139.*

The same is seen in Kenya, it being a multiethnic province has seen clashes erupt amid the presidential decisions in 1992, 1997, 2002 and the most exceedingly bad being 2007/2008 debated presidential races. New media was said in an assortment of post-decision viciousness reports by the administration and non-legislative bodies, for example, Commission of investigation into post-race savagery (CIPEV) otherwise called the Waki commission, Minority rights benches universal (MRG) and Kenya Human rights commission (KNHRC) all reported that new media powered enmity and contempt through new media. Carefully organized advances, particularly cell phones and the Internet were an impetus to both "ruthless conduct", where conduct is driven by critical, shrewd and frequently brutal standards, for example, ethnic-based swarm savagery.<sup>56</sup>

It is unrealistic to comprehend the part of online networking in an aggregate move without first taking into the record the political environment in which they work. Online networking assumed a critical part in the Arab struggle. On Twitter alone, a huge number of tweets with the hashtags #Libya and or #Egypt were created in 2011, by both straightforwardly influenced by citizens and by expatriates.<sup>57</sup> A study on the part and the effect of the online networking in the Arab spring additionally found that uprisings were made by the general population of the Arab nations, yet the web-based social networking encouraged the occasions in ways that were critical. Frangonikolopoulos and Chapso demonstrate that when individuals sign into the web-based social networking stages, the prospect of making and beginning a transformation is quite a long way from their psyches. Be that as it may, in the Arab world, the online networking has turned into an imperative stage for difference and outlet for political and financial dissatisfaction.<sup>58</sup>

In North Africa and the Middle East, the study on the informal organization's hypothesis and basic talk examination (CDA) was connected to research the part of online networking in the late rushes of prominent distress in the both North Africa and

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<sup>56</sup>Joshua G and Juliana R, Digitally Networked Technology in Kenya's 2007–2008 Post-Election Crisis: 2008

<sup>57</sup> Wolfsfeld G, Elad S, and Tamir S.(2013). Social Media and the Arab Spring: 115-137.

<sup>58</sup> Christos Frangonikolopoulos & Ioannis Chapso, (2012). Explaining the Role and the Impact of the Social Media in the Arab Spring: 10-23.



the Middle East.<sup>59</sup> The study found web-based social networking not just assumed an imperative part in the support of the subjects in preparation and correspondence talk, added that these media exercises increased to some degree as a result of the powers' falling flat justifications against dissenters. Online networking stages have given web clients everywhere throughout the world with compelling apparatuses and administrations to share and circulate data by intuitively working together with each other in computerized groups by utilization of web journals, person to person communication and video sharing locales. The escalated utilization of web-based social networking systems among nationals' of the MENA district show that the web can possibly be a multi-vocal stage through which quieted and minimized gatherings can have their voices listened.<sup>60</sup>

The uprising in Egypt was the enthusiasm and the capacity of the general population and not only a consequence of a particular correspondence innovation yet utilization of web-based social networking apparatuses. Individuals utilized online networking stages like Twitter, Facebook, and other condition of-workmanship advancements to understand their fantasies to battle for social equity and flexibility.<sup>61</sup> Online networking assumed a part of boosting the longing of the general population to battle for a superior future, social monetary advancement and majority rule government. Online networking went about as a specialized instrument in the societal change. Web-based social networking assumed the part of a specialized device in dissent assembly in Tunisia upheaval. In Tunisia, online networking stages the computerized tip top to break the national media power outage by expediting data for the predominant press.<sup>62</sup>

Albeit a few studies contend that web-based social networking did not actually bring about different clashes experienced in different parts of the world as well as Africa, the general agreement that it assumed is part of a specialized apparatus in the activation

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<sup>59</sup> Cho, S. K. (2013). Conflict and Construction. Reading Rodney King/reading urban uprising: 196-214.

<sup>60</sup> Shirazi. (2013). Social media and the social movements in the Middle East and North Africa: A critical discourse analysis: 28-49.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid

<sup>62</sup> Kamel & Sherif H. *Egypt's Ongoing Uprising and the Role of Social Media*: January 2014: 78-91.

of dissenters and arranging of challenges. Also, in nations, for example, Libya, Tunisia and Egypt there was cooperation of worldwide performers in the contentions. In any case, there are no exact studies demonstrating the pretended by online networking in the internationalization of the contentions.

## **1.6 Justification**

### **1.6.1 Academic Justification**

The study's aim is to fill a gap in the literature in providing a systematic analysis of new media in Kenya's post-election conflict, based on theory and a detailed case study. The limited existing literature on intractability of conflict also makes this study distinctive.

Studies conducted on social media and conflict show conflicting results. Some studies show that social media influence conflict while others show that social media does not significantly influence conflict and only act as a communication tool. In addition, studies on internationalization of conflict do not outline new media's role. This study, therefore, seeks to fill these gaps by establishing the role of new media in the internationalization of Kenya's 2007-2008 post-election violence.

### **1.6.2 Policy Justification**

Policy and legal frameworks in Africa should be evidence-based and hence for Africa nations to formulate policies on new media and conflict internationalization there must be empirical evidence that there is a relationship between new media and internationalization of the conflict. Therefore, to the policymakers in the African countries including Kenya, the study will provide information on the role played by new media in the internationalization of conflict that can be used to formulate policies to prevent conflict in the future. In addition, governments in Africa can use the findings of this study to come up with policies to regulate and govern the distribution and use of new media.

## 1.7 Theoretical framework

This study will use resource mobilization theory to address the dimensions of social movements and new media's capabilities to internationalization conflict in Kenya's post-election violence. Social movements are informal interaction networks that are characterized by solidarity in supporting a social goal or shared beliefs. Goals in a society may comprise of either a prevention or implementation of a change in the values or structures of a society.<sup>63</sup>

Social movements can be considered as aggregations comprising of different organizations, less formal groups, and non-affiliated people. Individuals, as well as groups of people, come together around a specific issue or grievance with an aim of presenting their demands and making their force known to state representatives or to people with different ideologies from theirs.<sup>64</sup> Social developments can be considered as totals including distinctive associations, less formal gatherings, and non-partnered individuals. People and gatherings of individuals meet up around a particular issue or grievance with a point of exhibiting their requests and making their constraint known to state agents or to individuals with various philosophies from theirs.<sup>65</sup>

Resource mobilization is the act of gathering resources from the resource provider by using different instruments to achieve an organization's pre-determined goal<sup>66</sup>. The theory emerged in the 1970's and is a major component in the study of social movements<sup>67</sup>. Resource mobilization theory views individuals as rational actors that revolves around the central notion of how messages on social change are distributed from individual to individual or group to group. The proponents needed for a social movement are a common problem that is shared by multiple individuals and or organizations, ideologies about social cause and how to fix the problem.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Masquelier, Charles. (2013). Critical theory and contemporary social movements: *European Journal of Social Theory*: 395-412.

<sup>64</sup> Turner, Eric, (2013). *New Movements, Digital Revolution, and Social Movement Theory*: 376-383

<sup>65</sup> Turner, (2013). *New Movements, Digital Revolution, and Social Movement Theory*: 376-383

<sup>66</sup> [www.Wikipedia-Resouce](http://www.Wikipedia-Resouce) mobilization theory

<sup>67</sup> Morris Aldond,(1992). *Frontiers in social movement theory*. Yale University:3

<sup>68</sup> McCarthy& Zald, *Resource Mobilization and Social movements: A practical theory*. *The American journal of sociology*, 1997: 82

The advocates of Resource mobilization theory: Freeman, Gamson, McCarthy&Zald, Tilly, Mc Adams and Morris view social and political movements as goal-oriented extensions. They argued that resources are a central defining concept in social movements and are the required link between desire and change and ability to mobilize around that desire.<sup>69</sup> Klandrmas contends that social developments ought to be sorted out before setting off. These associations ought to obtain and after that make utilization of assets to meet their goals.<sup>70</sup> The traditional proponents of resource mobilization emphasize on three key resource types-money, people, and formal organization. However more recently there have broader developments in social science that have theorized forms of capital. This has enabled the specification of differentiation of five distinct resource types-Material, human, social organizations, cultural and moral.<sup>71</sup>This is likewise upheld by Compbell who contends that the five key assets in social developments incorporate HR (volunteers and pioneers), social assets (know how on aggregate activity), social authoritative assets (informal organizations), moral assets (solidarity) and material assets (cash)<sup>72</sup>. Gahan and Andreas also incorporated in the social development hypothesis contend that social media platforms are important in the collective actions developments in resource mobilization in various types of conflict.<sup>73</sup>

The fundamentals key for social movements to be fruitful incorporates collective action, supporters' value, the unity of purpose, number of individuals and strong commitment. In relation to new media, social movements mobilize both nonmaterial and material resources through new media platforms. According to the resource mobilization theory, the material resource component cannot be overlooked, during the organization of any movement some costs will be incurred which includes manpower, money as well as a means of communication. On the other hand, nonmaterial resources comprise of social relationships, moral commitment, solidarity, public attention, networks, and loyalty.

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<sup>69</sup> Zald, Mayer N and John McCarthy, The Resource mobilization Program: Progress, challenges and Transformation:2002: 147-171

<sup>70</sup> Klandermans,Bert (2002). Mobilizing and Participation. American Sociological Review: 583-600

<sup>71</sup> Edwards, Bob and John McCarthy, Resource mobilization and social movements: Blackwell publishers 2002:116-152

<sup>72</sup> Campbell, Catherine, (2014). Community Mobilisation in the 21st Century: 46-59.

<sup>73</sup> Gahan Peter, and Andreas Pekarek.(2013). Social Movement Theory, Collective Action Frames and Union. December: 754-776.

The new media offers a noteworthy asset for social moments executed by "resource-poor" providing a mass media communication means that may have previously been limited by sequential and financial constraints. Social movement groups have social power which is subject to communication, relationships, institutions, and interactions. In addition, social power depends on social knowledge, political and economic interaction as well as communication.<sup>74</sup>

Social movements have various forms and types.<sup>75</sup> They range from revolutionary opposition groups to environmental movements. Often, social movements are non-violent in order to increase public support and enhance their cause legitimacy, but in case they fail to get enough support, they at times choose to use violent strategies to demonstrate their dedication to their cause. An example of such a case is the Kyrgyzstan case where a social movement group used force to reach its goals due to lack of enough support. Lack of enough support can also be used to explain the civil war eruption in Libya and Syria where even now a big percentage of the population supports the Syrian President, Bashar al-Assad.<sup>76</sup>

During the 2007 election in Kenya, new media platforms were used as a resource by political parties as well as individuals to communicate. The social media platforms acted as channels for communication in a specific tribe while excluding other tribes. After some groups felt dissatisfied with the outcome of the elections claiming rigging, social media platforms were used for resource mobilization, communication and in developing of tribal hatred. This subsequently led to conflicts between various ethnic communities in Kenya leading to the 2007/2008 general post-election violence and the internationalization of the internal conflict.

## **1.8: Hypotheses**

### **1.8.1: Accessibility to new media provides motivation for public action;**

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<sup>74</sup> Leenders Reinoud. (2013). Social Movement Theory And The Onset Of The Popular Uprising In Syria: 273-289.

<sup>75</sup> Mthuli Ncube and John Anyanwu,(2012). Inequality And Arab Spring Revolutions In North Africa And The Middle East: 1–24.

<sup>76</sup> Buechler Steven M.(1993) Beyond Resource Mobilization Theory.Sociological: 217-235.

**1.8.2:** The increased technological penetration significantly influences the conflict internationalization

## **1.9 Methodology**

### **1.9.1 Study Design**

This study used secondary data. In its data collection, the research engaged in a desk review by collecting and analyzing statistics collected by the governments and their various bureaus, agencies, and departments. Published literature from books (References books), periodicals, scholarly journals, newspaper articles, Literature review articles, magazines, technical reports, the internet and any other reliable and credible sources such as Jstor and University of Nairobi Library.

The research utilized descriptive survey design alongside case study research design.<sup>77</sup> The descriptive design involved the collection of data and answer research questions, or offer solutions to the impending problem that is being studied. The researcher collected, and critically analyzed data comparing and interpreting in on a social movement framework. The case study assessed is the post-election conflict and new media's role in Kenya's urban regions. Information collected helped in establishing the reality of the social movement theory by bringing out the effects of internationalization of the internal conflict using social media and ICT.

The study took both quantitative approaches in analyzing the data. Though the data was collected from the written literature. From each thematic area, key issues and interpretations were highlighted coming up with the findings that are hereby presented. It is, however, to note that was not easy as the topic is relatively new considering that not much research has been done on the concept of new media and its internationalization of internal conflicts.

## **1.10 Chapter Outline**

The study was divided into five sections.

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<sup>77</sup> Mugenda, O. & Mugenda, (1999). A Research Methods: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches

Part one is the prologue to the thesis. The chapter contains the foundation of the study, the issue proclamation, destinations of the study, writing survey, and legitimization of the exploration, hypothetical structure, speculation, and research system.

Chapter Two provides the background of the situation of conflict and its internationalization through new media.

Chapter Three intends to look at the New Media role in Kenya post-election violence mainly in urban areas of Nairobi, Kibera and Kisumu, and how the use of new media escalated the conflict by collecting Secondary data.

Chapter four presents the critical examination new media's role in the internationalization of conflict in Kenya. This chapter will provide an evaluation of the extent to which new media catalyzes online ethnic wars; examine the effect of new media on internationalization of the conflict as well as determine the role of government policies in new media's use in Kenya.

Section five provides the findings of the study, an audit of the examination addresses, the suggestions concerning government arrangements and their suggestion

## CHAPTER TWO

### NEW MEDIA IN INTERNATIONALIZATION OF CONFLICT

#### 2.1 Introduction

There is a developing assortment of literature and practice on Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) in counteracting and reacting to violence.<sup>78</sup> There is a considerable measure of fervour and comparative writing on the role of the web in the democratization process.<sup>79</sup> The utilization of cell phones, social networks, for example, Facebook and Twitter, and user-generated content (UGC), i.e., YouTube and blogs in the Tunisia and Egypt protests, and all through the middle east and North Africa (MENA) have indicated how ICTs can supplement and expand the forum in which individuals express their right to, freedom of peaceful assembly, freedom, and association.<sup>80</sup> The Arab spring showed how protestors and the government used ICT for democratic transformation and societal conflict.

The range and scope of social networks has greatly improved due to the development in access to affordable mobile phones, internet access and the wide variety of social networking sites.<sup>81</sup> In a population of 40 million Kenyans in 2010, there are over 22 million cell phone subscribers, with a 9.5% versatile membership development. With the development of the fiber optic cables, 8.69 million Internet users at more than 22% of the populace is expected to grow. Over 98% of internet access in Kenya is through mobile phones, each year 3.2 million Kenyans have access to the internet. In 2010, 6.63

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<sup>78</sup>Joseph G Bock, (2012). *The Technology of Nonviolence* Cambridge,  
[http://cyber.law.harvard.edu/newsroom/peacebuilding\\_information\\_age](http://cyber.law.harvard.edu/newsroom/peacebuilding_information_age)

<sup>79</sup> Diamond, Larry and Plantter Marc F. (2012). *Liberation Technology*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press.

<sup>80</sup> Comminos Alex, (2011). *Evolutions and cyber crackdowns: User generated content and social networking in protests in MENA and beyond.* <http://giswatch.org/en/2011>

<sup>81</sup> Fourie, P. J. (2012). *Rethinking the role of the media in South Africa.* *Journal for Communication Sciences in Southern Africa*



billion minutes of local calls were through mobile phone networks and short messages sent were 740 million. Radio and daily papers only have a countrywide reach.<sup>82</sup>

Amid post-election crisis in Kenya 2007 to early January 2008, the web 2.0 instruments and applications were the most used by local journalists and activists this included applications such as (web journals, wikis, flicker, Facebook, Twitter, and mashups). They were used to compose and share updates on the post-election violence, to raise money for the needy through the web, share photographs and record the ongoing violence.<sup>83</sup> At the peak of this conflict, blogs were fundamental sources of data on the defective election process and the brutality that broke out.

### **2.1.1 A brief history of the African press**

Colonial powers were responsible for the growth and development of journalism in the continent of Africa by setting up a rather strict press concept that limited the growth of indigenous press.<sup>84</sup> This accounted to the nationalistic revilement that contributed in molding the growing African press.<sup>85</sup> West Africa, indigenous news first got to be recognized and has been existence over for 175 years, while in East Africa the press is not more than a century old.<sup>86</sup>

The British were known for having polished libertarian thoughts in regards to the press while French were known for their domestic traditions, very little was done to develop African press in regions occupied by the French. The French regions focused on development of the French-speaking local first class open to French culture. Journalists and newspaper audiences were to originate from this group. The European press in French Africa added to the absorption process. Kenya, Ghana and Nigeria (former British provinces) with the establishment of long customs have among the best press systems in Africa.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Karangi, Monicah. Social Media in Kenya.

<http://www.urbanophil.net/urbanophil/urbanointernational/urbanointernational-4-social-media-in-kenya/>

<sup>83</sup> Ibid

<sup>84</sup> Faringer, L. (1991). Press Freedom in Africa. New York: Praeger.:2

<sup>85</sup> Wilcox, D. (1975). Mass Media in Black Africa: Philosophy and Control. New York: Praeger.:342

<sup>86</sup> Faringer, L. (1991). Press Freedom in Africa.:2

<sup>87</sup> Faringer, L. (1991). Press Freedom in Africa. New York:3

The most important of Britain's former provinces was Kenya, which has had over 400 daily papers documented. Most of them were small papers often printed in local languages. The main publication in East Africa (EA) the Ugandan Mail and the East African established in 1899 in Mombasa. Later came the African Standard which was later renamed the East African Standard (currently the Standard), the publication was established in 1902 by A.M. Jeevanjee. The daily paper was later sold, moved to Nairobi and changed into a day by day publication. For a long time, the East African Standard was the primary publication. Today, the Nation daily paper, Nation Television, Nation FM (KE) The Citizen daily paper (TZ) Nation Television, The Monitor (UG) and The East African are the greatest media houses in the three East African nations.<sup>88</sup>

African in the recent decade has seen notable changes in the media, with advancements indicative of the opening of political spaces in various nations as gatherings and military control decreased and multi party frameworks presented.<sup>89</sup> The broad communications in Africa have experienced considerable and for the most part good changes in the last 10 years. As a result of the decision-making system (Majority rules) development of the mid-1990s, the government no longer controls the media. In almost every African country, privately owned daily papers are flourishing. The overall transformation in ICTs focused Africa in ways which have affected the media territory on how information is produced, distributed and consumed to the local population.<sup>90</sup>

Today, governments no longer have exclusive control on both print and electronic media. Privately owned dailies, radio stations and TV stations have emerged. Internet enabled mobile phones are easily accessible and are used to spread information, with networked applications the information can be shared rapidly on multiple sites reaching a wider audience.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>88</sup>Faringer, L. (1991). Press Freedom in Africa. New York:11

<sup>89</sup>Fatoyinbo, A. (2000). The Evolution of Mass Media in Africa: 2: <http://www.adeanet.org/newsletter:6>

<sup>90</sup>Fatoyinbo, A. (2000). The evolution of mass media in Africa

<sup>91</sup>The Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), (2005). [www.codesria.org](http://www.codesria.org) :1

### 2.1.2 General Role of Media in Africa's Conflict

Media immediately internationalizes an internal conflict. During the conflicts in Burundi and Rwanda information was broadcasted as the conflicts unfolded. Africa is plagued by conflict spread through ethnic lines and this was as a result of the partition of Africa. Colonialists partitioned Africa without the consideration of the different cultures and social economic development. Since then, Africa has been the hot bed of conflict for both political and economic interests.<sup>92</sup> Western media (US and British Media) has been at the forefront of reporting news to suit western audiences and other economic interests. African countries have instituted peace journalism to stop tribal connotations, undercut the Cable News Network factor (popularly known as the “CNN factor”) and ensure information reported is fair and accurate. This has been done in collaboration with sympathetic media organization whose focus is on conflict resolution.<sup>93</sup>

Studies have shown that media has been used as a tool for perpetuating conflict by failing to highlight emerging conflicts and delaying to report conflicts. Radio Television Libre des Milles Collines (RTL) a Rwandese station through their broadcasts propagated hate, referring to the Tutsi as cockroaches that must be eliminated by the Hutus. This resulted in the massacre of almost 1,000,000 Tutsis and the displacement of many others.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>92</sup>Wasserman H. Towards a global journalism ethics via local narratives: Southern African perspectives. 2011: 791-803.

<sup>93</sup> Global media Journal- African Edition :Media coverage of Conflict in Africa: 2013  
<http://globalmedia.journals.ac.za/>: 201

<sup>94</sup>Mutua A. N. (2001) A study of Propaganda and the Press in Africa.2001:  
[www.genocides.com/a\\_mutua/propaganda.html#references](http://www.genocides.com/a_mutua/propaganda.html#references)

## **2.2 Social Media and User- Generated Content**

### **2.2.1 Web 2.0**

Social media and User-generated content are examples of “participative web” or Web 2.0. Since the discovery of the internet, web2.0 elements have been in existence.<sup>95</sup> In today’s web, it is easier for web users who have little computer know-how to use participative web compared to earlier years. Online blogs, podcasts, comments on a news article, YouTube videos are everywhere and an important characteristic of existing web. In earlier years, such web content could only be created by small online communities who were interested in the technical issues by corporations.<sup>96</sup> Virtual communities, online discussions and web participation only happened on arbitrary internet areas. Multi-user domains, online games, web forums and Internet Relay Chat (chat rooms) are examples of contemporary web content.<sup>97</sup> Today’s web content is participatory in nature. Web users read the news on the web they can make comments, see others comments and even rate such comments. The interaction online is done on digital networks such as Facebook whereby interactions is between online and offline communities.

### **2.2.2 User-generated Content**

UGC is the online content which has been made by the online clients. It can be made through stages, for example, YouTube, Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, BlogSpot and Wikipedia. It incorporates announcements, online recordings, tweets, blog spots and podcasts.<sup>98</sup> UGC is characterized as information that is made promptly accessible over the web that includes a given imaginative exertion and made outside expert practices and schedules. This content is often created by amateurs and created without the expectation of any payment or profits. Some of the factors that motivate the creation of such content

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<sup>95</sup>Pathak, Juhi, (2012). Role of social media in reference to North-East ethnic violence. *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science (IOSR-JHSS)* no 4: 59-66

<sup>96</sup> Axel, Bruns, Highfield, Tim, and Burgess , Jean. (2013). *The Arab Spring and Social Media Audiences: English and Arabic Twitter Users and Their Networks*: 871-898.

<sup>97</sup> Brett Van Niekerk & Manoj Maharaj, (2013). *Social Media and Information Conflict*, *International Journal of Communication*: 1162–1184.

<sup>98</sup>Carment, David & Taydas , Zeynep. (2009). *The Internationalization of Ethnic Conflict: State, Society, and Synthesis*. *International Studies Review*: 63–86

include; self-expression, achieving a connection with peers, to gain fame and for prestige or notoriety.<sup>99</sup>

The development and distribution of UGC is not as expensive as compared to other traditional forms of media. The quality of the content is also not guaranteed by gatekeepers as is that of traditional media content. Selection of the content to be disseminated or published also referred to as content curation is not centralized as is often done in case of traditional media. Although the supply of information provided to the traditional media is large, only a few of the works are distributed. In case of UGC one only needs a computer, internet access and computer literacy to distribute the media. UGC is also characterized by numerous users or creators who have a larger supply of content which can keep the users engaged although this content is usually of diverse or low quality compared to traditional media quality. Existing work just like in the traditional media inspires and is used to build more information by the UGC creators. The creators of UGC media select their work based on the online ratings or recommendations from other users which leads to their content being recognized by users which would not happen in traditional media platforms.

### **2.2.3 Social Media**

Social media is characterized by the coming together of user-generated content and social networks. It is the platform where online content is generated and consumed. Examples of social media platforms include YouTube, Twitter, and Facebook.<sup>100</sup> The content is disseminated from person to person compared to the single direction as is the characteristic of the content disseminated on radio, newspapers, television and other news sites. A user can create, share and further participate in discussion done online. For instance, a creator can come up with a blog share the content of the blog on social networks and invite discussions on the content of the blog from other online users. Thus, this media can be said to be social since it can be easily shared, its content disseminated and discussed by those who see it on the web. Social media is not the content but the

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<sup>99</sup>Walter Barbara. (2004). Explaining Recurrent Civil War. *Journal of Peace Research*:371–388

<sup>100</sup> Abdelsalam, Hisham (2013). Social media in Egyptian government websites: Presence, usage, and effectiveness. *Government Information Quarterly*: 406-416.

channels/platforms that the information is used to share and receive content. One such content shared and distributed through social media is UGC. Thus UGC is just one type of content shared and consumed over social media others include; corporate and organization based media, mainstream based media among others. Social media can be viewed as a broadcaster for the media channels that exist. Other mainstream media channels also use social media channels such as Facebook or Tweeter to amplify the dissemination of their content.<sup>101</sup>

Twitter is an online based social platform and microblogging site which is used to broadcast daily short messages to a larger audience, consist 140 characters referred to as Tweets.<sup>102</sup> Members that are registered with this site post and read tweets but the unregistered ones can only read. Access to the site can be done through SMS mobile devices app and web interfaces. Twitter users can subscribe or follow other user's updates. The hashtag in twitter enables different topics to trend. For instance, during the Kenyan general election of 2013, the trending hashtag was #KenyaElections2013 and #Decision2013.

YouTube was the very first website that was solely created for uploading and sharing personal videos by online means. Each day users of YouTube view more than 3 billion videos the playbacks had reached 700 billion by 2010. Users can view, upload and leave video comments. YouTube is the third most frequented online website. Facebook was launched in 2004 for Harvard University students but today this social media site has over 1.23 billion active users across the world.<sup>103</sup> The users on Facebook interact by writing on friends' wall, updating their status or by sending messages to their friends' inbox. Users can join or create groups, join other groups, like pages on the site, search and import contacts as well as upload videos and photos. Most of the users are connected to more than 80 community groups, pages, and events. According to an IT survey of 10 African countries on Facebook, Kenya has been ranked 7<sup>th</sup>.

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<sup>101</sup>Bruns , Highfield, and Burgess. (2013). The Arab Spring and Social Media Audiences: 871-898.

<sup>102</sup>Heribert, Adam , & Kogila, Moodley. (2013). The opening of the Apartheid mind: options for the new South Africa. Univ of California Press

<sup>103</sup> Schweizer Rodger. (2012). The internationalization process of SMEs: A muddling-through process. Journal of Business Research: 745-751.

### 2.3 The Role of Social Media in Conflict

There has been a growing debate on the role internet plays in contemporary, conflicting and social movements. Social media tools which include YouTube, Twitter and Facebook that support and enable user-generated content have been used as communication tools, that are used to mobilize and coordinate social movements in recent past such as the 2001 protests in Philippines, the Britain students protest in 2010, the Arab Spring and incidents that happened in Moldova in the year 2009.<sup>104</sup>

The characteristics of the internet such as the fact that it is decentralized and open have enabled scholars to encourage democracy rejuvenation by putting more focus on the democratic character of the evolving media in terms of being interactive which can motivate its users to actively participate in the political process. However, those who do not support the internet argue that the internet will not bring any changes to the traditional form of politics. Dahlgren (2001), suggests that that the internet leads to a very fragmented public sphere whose main focus is in private discussions, the internet is also characterized by large volumes of information and an abundance of offered entertainment and the fact that people are expected to socialize at a personal level can result to people restraining from public life.<sup>105</sup>

Social media allows for the creation of social movements. Web 2.0 enables protesters in different locations to organize protests and spread the protest messages worldwide which enable others to quickly and easily learn about the protests, the tactics, ideas, and strategies used in the protests. The use of social networks and media allow social movements historic problems that are related to collective mobilization to be easily overcome.<sup>106</sup> Additionally, politicians are able to directly communicate with citizens through social media and thus this has enabled them to bypass communication constraints that are common with the traditional form of journalism.<sup>107</sup> In the past years, more focus

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<sup>104</sup> Frangonikolopoulos, Christos & Chapso, Ioannis, (2012), Explaining the Role and the Impact of the Social Media in the Arab Spring: 10-23.

<sup>105</sup> Goran Dahlgren, (2001). Concept of Tackling social inequalities in health

<sup>106</sup>Hisham, Abdelsalam, (2013). Social media in Egyptian government websites: Presence, usage, and effectiveness: 406-416.

<sup>107</sup>Smangs, Mattias (2010). Delinquency, Social Skills and the Structure of Peer Relations: Assessing Criminological Theories by Social Network Theory: 609–31

has been put on Middle East countries rather than the western countries which have been known to information-rich and technologically literate. The focus on the Middle East countries was largely witnessed after 2009 social media has been used as an instrument in these countries in advocating, engaging, liberating as well as empowering protests. In Iran during such protests, Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, and Flickr were used by protesters to spread information, organize protests and attract support from others after the country's elections held on June 2009.

In more recent times, more revolutionary demonstrations have been observed in the Middle East countries which are also referred to as the Arab Spring whereby interactive media has been used as a platform that has raised awareness on these protests, this platform has also been used as a communication and organizing tool despite the strong censorship put up by the countries governments.<sup>108</sup> However, of importance is to approach social media impact in societies that are networked in a broader sociopolitical manner while also considering that the transformations brought about by social media in these societies are complex. Political transformation observed during the Arab uprising was due to other traditional issues that were concerned with the Arab countries government oppression on the people, the miserable life lived by most Arab countries citizens due to regimes that were autocratic and lack of economic welfare in these countries.

More scholars have today started researching on whether interactive media as a tool can be said to be an instrument that leads to democratization in societies in the Arab countries that are conflict-ridden.<sup>109</sup> Interactive media tools, for instance, Twitter and Facebook and mobile phones as communication tools did make a difference in championing democracy in countries such as Egypt and Tunisia in 2011 and 2010 for both countries. By use of social media, Arab citizens could organize protests which would be successful at a very fast scale. However, Howard and Hussain suggest that it is still early to consider these protests in Egypt and Tunisia as democratization waves but

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<sup>108</sup> Bruns, Highfield, and Burgess. (2013): The Arab Spring and Social Media Audiences: 871-898.

<sup>109</sup> Melvin, Neil & Umaraliev, Tolkun, (2011). New Social Media and Conflict in Kyrgyzstan: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute,



they do agree that these protests organized by social movement leaders played a catalytic role in discouraging authoritarian rule in these countries.<sup>110</sup>

Interactive media for the time during of the Arab spring played an important role as there were no free traditional media and thus social media was used to coordinate, schedule and communicate protests which led to the removal from power of authoritarian leaders.<sup>111</sup> On the other hand, Christian<sup>112</sup> in his study concentrated more on the fragmented nature of the Middle East and Northern Africa region and purports that cyber-activism did not happen in Saudi Arabia as it did in Egypt and Tunisia. Melvin and Umaraliev argue that the lessons learned because of the use of interactive media in Arabian countries should not be transferred to other different geopolitical regions.<sup>113</sup>

US Institute for Peace has done more research on social media during the Syrian civil war. The research documented the war as the most socially mediated war in history.<sup>114</sup> Social media was used to circulate information on developments in the country which led to other world citizens and the international community to intervene. However social media impact in regard to democratization is beyond activists and citizens participation in social networks. Social media has also contributed to helping set up dependable establishments such as the Syrian Electronic Army. Social media has been used by foreign fighters to gain information. Western and European fighters were highlighted as depending on interactive media platforms, for instance, Twitter to get information.<sup>115</sup>

Understanding the dynamics of social media require more focus on the fact that movements discussed did not belong to the media but to the people. Furthermore importance should be put on the fact that there are important social network functions that should be focused on; first, the information function in that social networks allows information to travel easily and instantly, second, the communication function that allows

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<sup>110</sup> Melvin & Umaraliev, (2011). *New Social Media and Conflict in Kyrgyzstan*

<sup>111</sup> Christos & Chapso, (2012). *Explaining the Role and the Impact of the Social Media in the Arab Spring*: 10-23.

<sup>112</sup> Fuchs, Christian.(2012) *Social media, riots, and revolutions*: 383-391.

<sup>113</sup> Melvin & Umaraliev, (2011). *New Social Media and Conflict in Kyrgyzstan*

<sup>114</sup>Walter, Barbara.(2004). *Explaining Recurrent Civil War*. *Journal of Peace Research*:371–388

<sup>115</sup>Shirazi, Farid, (2013): *Social media and the social movements in the Middle East and North Africa: A critical discourse analysis*: 28-49.

interactions to be established, thirdly, the monitoring function which leads to instant action and reaction to information and lastly, the mobilization and organization function. Social movement function of networking is multimodal in nature including social networks both offline and online, networks formed during movements actions and the pre-existing networks.<sup>116</sup>

## **2.4 Social Media in Ethnic Conflict**

Assam state in India went through ethnic-based violence in 2012, different communities fought against each other which resulted in multiple deaths.<sup>117</sup> This resulted in a mass exodus as more than 500,000 residents joined refugee camps since their homes were no longer safe enough for them. Even the presence of military officers sent by the government has not changed the situation. These ethnic-based killing around Assam state has had an effect on the general welfare of the whole country. According to report there have been 80 deaths while about 400,000 people have been left homeless due to fighting between the Muslim believers in the Assam state and the Bodo people who are mostly followers of Hindu religion. The cause of these fighting apparently was due to unconfirmed report going around that minority Muslim people in the area were planning retaliatory attacks against the bigger Hindu community because of the earlier attacks in the state. It all started with the killing of two people in Mumbai when a peaceful demonstration by the Muslim faithful got out of hand. Within no time multiple thousands of city residents who came from the Assam state relocated back to the North, this was due to the constant threat they received in the social media in relation to the fighting going back in their home. Diplomatic issues arose as the Indian government pointed an accusing finger to the Pakistan neighbors for their involvement in the ongoing violence. The government also shut down all internet communication in a bid to weaken the social media communication was being used to spread propaganda. This caused a lot of anxiety in the country and censorship debate began all over.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Bruns, Highfield & Burgess. (2013): *The Arab Spring and Social Media Audiences*: 871-898.

<sup>117</sup>Pathak, Juhi, (2012). Role of social media in reference to North-East ethnic violence. *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science*: 59-66

<sup>118</sup> Van Niekerk & Maharaj, (2013). *Social Media and Information Conflict*: 1162–1184.

Impression management is a sensitive issue when being analyzed on the basis of social media and more so facebook communication. The situation in Israel is an instance where social media escalated the conflict. In this case, Jewish versus Israel has set up a social media war as each group takes a different stand in the conflict between Israel and Palestine.<sup>119</sup> When social media is used for political reasons it becomes very hard to introduce impression management in it since contradictory issues are bound to arise. In recent years a lot of studies have been done in an attempt to analyze the role of interactive media in political matters. Scholars are of the opinion that Facebook communication ought to be closely investigated in its role in heightening political agendas.<sup>120</sup>

Due to the nature of Facebook communication, it has become an ideal place for political discussions. Owing to the fact that this media of communication can be afforded by most people and majority of the people are actively involved in it, it is, therefore, an ideal place for users to spread information to many people all over the world thus enhancing awareness. And with a wide variety of people who use Facebook any message that may be shared through this media is bound to raise different reactions as the opinion of one user may vary greatly from the other. With such an audience receiving political messages and discussions then impression management challenges are bound to arise. It is therefore normal to find political messages posted on Facebook promoting hated debate some of which may get out of hand and lead to violence. The need to belong may also discourage users to honestly express their political stands and view especially when those views do not correspond to the majority of users. Van Niekerk and Maharaj<sup>121</sup> discovered people tend to censor information in Facebook as a way of reducing discussions and arguments. During heated conflict based on politics it becomes challenging to carry out meaningful and peaceful political discussions since the level of tolerance and acceptance is very low.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>119</sup>NetaKligler, YifatMor & Ifat Maoz, (2015): Political Expression on Facebook in a Context of Conflict: Dilemmas and Coping Strategies of Jewish-Israeli Youth: Sage Journals: 34-56.

<sup>120</sup>Pathak, (2012). Role of social media in reference to North-East ethnic violence: 59-66

<sup>121</sup>Van Niekerk & Maharaj, (2013). Social Media and Information Conflict: 1162–1184.

<sup>122</sup> Pathak, Role of social media in reference to North-East ethnic violence: 59-66

Contrary to what the Kenyan media made people believe- that violence was only political there has been evidence to show that its source was all about ethnic and tribal issues. At first, the violence was related to the disputed elections but with time it became clear that it simply an ethnic-based issue.<sup>123</sup> This led to multiple comparisons of the Kenyan case to the Rwandan genocide. The international media had a field day describing the Kenyan issue to the worst case scenario. What was once a very peaceful country was now described as a war tone landscape with very little of hope in it. Words such genocide, savagery and many others were now a common description of the Kenyan situation. Even after the 2007 election two months down the line, the western media did not show any sign of changing its stand on how it viewed Kenya.

The local media had a hard time on deciding whether to side with the international media which it had come to rely and copy heavily or make a genuine case of what was really going down on the ground. In The East African Editors Forum, top heads in the Kenyan made an embarrassing but true admission that indeed they had played a part in helping the international media paint a bad picture on Kenya since they never stood up for the truth. However international media groups such as the BBC still maintained innocence claiming that they never actually compared the Kenyan case to the Rwandan genocide.<sup>124</sup> According to Adam Mynott, the official BBC reporter on the Kenyan case, the comparison of the Kenyan case to Rwandan Violence was completely out of condensing since Rwanda lost 800,000 lives while Kenya reported a maximum of 1000 casualties.

Pictures of burning houses, injured people, inaccessible roads, police harassment of protestors and many other undesired occurrences were put up on the media for everyone to see. Even with the freedom of the media this coverage still had to be done in a controlled manner to avoid escalating the violence further.<sup>125</sup> However the Western media showed no such remorse, their coverage and daily reporting described the Kenyan

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<sup>123</sup> Anastario, Michael, (2014). Time Series Analysis of Sexual Assault Case Characteristics and the 2007–2008 Period of Post-Election Violence in Kenya:1-6.

<sup>124</sup>Hickman John. (2011). Explaining Post-Election Violence In Kenya And Zimbabwe.Journal Of Third World Studies: 29-46.

<sup>125</sup>Melvin &Umaraliev,(2011). New Social Media and Conflict in Kyrgyzstan

as one which was completely out of hand. The video and pictures they supplied to the viewers suggested that the whole country was now tone in violence.

Bloggers made the most of the situation especially after Kibaki was sworn in as the new president in Kenya. Every article they wrote was tribalism related, they now lay naked what Kenya and the whole Africa as a whole had been trying to hide all along.<sup>126</sup> The issue of tribes has always been a sensitive issue in Africa but that had never escalated out of hand until 2007 election. A blog by Mashada described the Kenyan situation as a tribal battle between the Luo tribe and the Kikuyu. This was followed by footage of a gang of rival groups butchering their ‘enemies’ to death in a primitive manner. Such documentation escalated the tribal issue that had been counseled all along but which had the sparks to create a flame if the wrong buttons were touched.

Political differences tend to escalate into violence and ethnic hatred if they are not properly discussed in the media.<sup>127</sup> The 2007 post-election violence cannot be associated with tribal motivation since the tribal line is an identification line and therefore has nothing to do with spreading hatred. Kenya is a country which identifies itself along tribal lines. The people tend to associate themselves on tribal grounds more than they do so as Kenyans. That explains why the 2007 elections were viewed as elections based on tribes which later to violence ethnicity grounds.<sup>128</sup>

Short Message Services has become the most applied way of digital communication all over Africa. During that period of 2007 national elections, electronic media of communications such as emails, SMS, blogs among others became extremely important channels of communication. Politicians found these media channels as an ideal way to reach out to voters since they were cheaper and widely used by the majority of Kenyans. Mobile network especially SMS became very common among the people. A politician would use this media to market themselves prior to the elections and sadly it

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<sup>126</sup>Sandra Porda. (2009). The Internationalization of Domestic Conflicts: A Comparative Study of Colombia, El Salvador and Guatemala. [www.umn.edu/handle/51912](http://www.umn.edu/handle/51912)

<sup>127</sup> Kanyinga Karuti. (2009). The legacy of the white highlands: Land rights, ethnicity and the post-2007 election violence in Kenya. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*: 325-344.

<sup>128</sup> Kyris George. (2015). Europeanization and 'Internalized' Conflicts: The Case of Cyprus. *European Foreign Affairs*: 83-96

was the same media used after the elections to ignite tribal wars and hatred. Different people raging from common citizens to politicians and bloggers used their mobile gadgets to spread and generate hatred messages.<sup>129</sup>

Apparently, local vernaculars were used as the preferred language of communication during 2007 election period. This was due to the fact that messages written in native language tend to have a lot of weight as compared to when they are translated to a second language.<sup>130</sup> Using the vernacular language was the best way to identify with voters who majorly chose their candidate on tribal line. Thus most media was sent using vernacular language while the rest would be communicated using the Swahili language. Any political message that was not communicated using the native language lost its weight among voters, vernacular message, therefore, would make a mark on voters and thus increase the popularity of that candidate. The fact that the top parties; Party of National Unity (PNU) and Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) and were also divided into tribal lines made communication of such messages vital since they would help provide a level platform whereby people who be able to democratically gather support for their candidate. However, these media communications channels lost their positivity after the election they became the official media of spreading deep-rooted hatred messages.<sup>131</sup>

Mobile phone communication turned out to be a very effective tool for spreading hatred and violence related messages. Kenyan would constantly receive messages on their phones urging them to drive neighbors who did not belong to the same ethnic group as them. “If you have a Luo neighbor eject her from her/his homestead. You will not be punished by anyone.” Warning attacks messages and hatred between ethnic groups were the common messages which were sent constantly.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> Okia, Opolot. (2011). The Role of the Police in the Post Election Violence In Kenya 2007/08. *Journal of Third World*: 259-275.

<sup>130</sup> Kyris, George. *Europeanization and Internalized Conflicts*: 83-96.

<sup>131</sup> Hickman, John. 2011, *Explaining Post-Election Violence In Kenya And Zimbabwe*. *Journal Of Third World Studies*: 29-46.

<sup>132</sup> Kanyinga, Karuti (2009). The legacy of the white highlands: Land rights, ethnicity and the post-2007 election violence in Kenya. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*: 325-344.

Sympathizers of the opposition would take these messages and translate them into vernacular language and then spread them to their personalized contacts claiming that they had actually been sent by political activists. Such people were very instrumental in what transpired before and after the 2007 elections, they helped change the people initial stand on the election process replacing them with evil and malicious thoughts which would later fuel the ethnicity hatred.<sup>133</sup> Mobile subscribers would come up with rumors aimed at PNU candidates owing to the fact that government-owned media institutions were very biased providing coverage to opposition candidates.<sup>134</sup> These messages would reach even people with no mobile gadgets since their appealing and malicious nature provided the need or one to share them with as many people as possible.

## **2.5 Internationalization of Conflict**

A new milestone has been reached as research on causes of ethnic war.<sup>135</sup> From the studies done in the years, the 1970s and 1980s which mainly focused on inequality and ethnic mobilization scholars are using that information to come with new dimensions of the topic. Therefore it's now easier to come up with the cause of ethnic-based violence, how they start and also different ways on how they can be contained.<sup>136</sup>

To start with model development, testing and measurement have been very successful. This is due to improvement in research mechanism which has focused more on the people who are risks of these evils. Methods such as quantitative data collection and case studies have come hardy. Also focusing more on existing cases as compared to the thought of ideas make the research more realistic and thus easier to understand.<sup>137</sup> Factors such underdevelopment which was thought to be instrumental in causing ethnic violence is no longer considered owing to high level of research attained today.

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<sup>133</sup>Hickman, Explaining Post-Election Violence In Kenya And Zimbabwe: 29-46.

<sup>134</sup>Anastario Michael P. (2014), Time Series Analysis of Sexual Assault Case Characteristics and the 2007–2008 Period of Post-Election Violence in Kenya: 1-6.

<sup>135</sup>Woodmansey A C. 2004, The internalization of external conflict. *The International Journal Of Psycho-Analysis*: 349-355.

<sup>136</sup>Carment, David & Taydas , Zeynep. (2009). *The Internationalization of Ethnic Conflict: State, Society, and Synthesis*. *International Studies Review*: 63–86

<sup>137</sup>Walter, (2004). *Explaining Recurrent Civil War*: 371–388

Politics both international and local have also been put into focus as a possible cause of ethnic violence.

Conflict causes a lot of suffering both in economic and political aspects; it is therefore understandable that this issue has been given very close attention. Indeed conflicts/ethnic conflicts tend to affect the stability of the whole region whereby issues of security, stability, and regional growth are now put at risk. Regional heads, therefore, feel the need to focus on this issue rather than wait for it happen and ruin the development of states. It is for this reason that nowadays ethnic conflict has been elevated to the same level as social and political evils such interstate conflict and International crisis.<sup>138</sup> With the high prioritization of this issue is important that a framework is put into place to try and understand the issue of ethnic conflict. The general approach is that internationalization can be achieved by influencing capabilities of group leaders. To conclude we learn that internationalization can be prevented by risky strategies brought about by ethnic diversity.<sup>139</sup>

Although this topic is generally wide, the review will only focus on cases such conflict involving interstates whereby geographical issues such as focusing shared borders is key to the achievement of a long-term solution.<sup>140</sup> Nationally ethnic communities tend to push the government to come with policies which favor their side. Such policies may include a call for more focus on the minority groups. Internationally the government seeks to come with ways which would reduce pressure domestically and at the same time make sure that foreign states are also appeased. This can only be achieved by coming up with a policy that balances between local and international policies. Ethnic beliefs and ideologies are the basis which determination of foreign policy is done. They also set up the plan through which to tackle arising issues.

It is therefore correct to say that ethnic conflict between states and Ethnic nationalist mobilization together with aspiration domestically are interrelated. This is because states which try to solve ethnic differences normally find themselves on the

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<sup>138</sup>Van Niekerk & Maharaj, (2013) Social Media and Information Conflict: 1162–1184.

<sup>139</sup>Walter. (2004). Explaining Recurrent Civil War: 371–388

<sup>140</sup>Njorogr, Martin, Kimani, Purity & Kikech, Benard. New Media in Kenya: Putting Ethnicity in Perspective, 2011. [www.igi-global.com/chapter/new-media-kenya/53766](http://www.igi-global.com/chapter/new-media-kenya/53766)



receiving end. This is because the government sometime may be obliged to side with the minority community in a neighboring state something that may cause a political storm. Sometimes a political leader may not advocate or violence but they may lack the power to stop their subjects from acting in that manner.<sup>141</sup>

Similarly, lack of a strong political unit may present an opportunity or a malicious ethnic group starts an ethnic conflict or its own selfish gain. A state may also decide to back an ethnic group against another state and in so doing lead to a weaker government formation. Bargaining strategies often taken by minority groups especially when they have external support may lead to war which may cause a lot of casualties.<sup>142</sup> We at times experience a state which chooses to get involved in other states conflict simply because they have their own selfish motives. For instance, when the Soviet Union was divided it led about 25 million people who were ethnically based in Russia being pushed to a new state.<sup>143</sup> This issue brought about instability in early 1990, in a country such as Georgia and Ukraine. The situation has continued to present day whereby Russia still gives mass support to Serbia a state with Russian natives. In the same case, political leader in Russia forces the government to act on behalf of these Diaspora states something that causes conflict with other nations.

In other cases, parties terming themselves as friends of the state feel obliged to support a weaker state or a certain minority group often citing the reason as purely humanitarian. This may lead to undesirable circumstances whereby introduction of religious beliefs and other linkages are introduced to that state.<sup>144</sup> It is not possible to control nation's room intervening in another state political or social matters Geostrategic and effective reason limit a state to how much it can do. States which choose to intervene in other state matters are governed by policies which have been developed domestically in ethic and political background. The dimension of the ethnic group in terms of size and the level of conflict between the fighting groups may be some of the factors to consider

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<sup>141</sup> Axel, Highfield, and Burgess. (2013). The Arab Spring and Social Media Audiences: 871-898.

<sup>142</sup>Kanchan , Chandra, (2004). Why Ethnic Parties Su (Cambridge University Press)

<sup>143</sup>Carment , David,& Taydas, Zeynep. (2009) The Internationalization of Ethnic Conflict: State, Society, and Synthesis. *International Studies Review*: 63–86

<sup>144</sup>Abdelsalam, Hisham, (2013). Social media in Egyptian government websites: Presence, usage, and effectiveness: 406-416.

before deciding to intervene.<sup>145</sup> Behavior can sometimes be influenced by preferences when it comes to institutionalized political order forms. In the same case preference by those who make decisions may influence but not determine the plan of leaders to either back or alienate ethnic groups. It is only after careful evaluation of the facts and weighed against each other than a final conclusion on why ethnic warfare is common in other states more than others.

## **2.6 Conclusion**

This chapter has looked into new media in the internationalization of the conflict. It can be concluded that with the present development in access to cheap mobile phones, access to the web and different types of social networking platforms, range, and scope of social networks has enormously improved. Amid Post race emergency in Kenyan, local writers and activists progressively turned to the use of social media instruments and applications (Facebook, wikis, online journals, Flickr and Twitter) to record and share news on the post-election violence through photographs and video recordings. These tools also used to put together resources to help the victims.

Web-based social networking is portrayed by the meeting up of user-generated content and social networks. Twitter is an online based informal community and small-scale blogging web page that permits clients to make, send and read short instant messages of around 140 characters which are known as Tweets. The hashtag in twitter enables different topics to trend. For instance, during the Kenyan general election of 2013, the trending hashtag was #KenyaElections2013 and #Decision2013.

It can be concluded that social media allows for the creation of social movements. Web 2.0 enables protesters in different locations to organize protests and spread the protest messages worldwide which enable others to quickly and easily learn about the protests, the tactics, ideas, and strategies used in the protests. Mobile network especially SMS became very common among the people. During 2007/2008 elections, politicians would use this media to market themselves prior to the elections and sadly it was the same media used after the elections to ignite tribal wars and hatred.

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<sup>145</sup>Walter, (2004) Does Conflict Beget Conflict: 371–388

**CHAPTER THREE**  
**NEW MEDIA'S ROLE IN INTERNATIONALIZING KENYA'S POST**  
**ELECTION VIOLENCE MAINLY IN URBAN AREAS (NAIROBI, KISUMU,**  
**KIBERA)**

**3.1 Introduction**

In the modern world mobile phones are everywhere and have become an important tool. In Kenya over 18 million Kenyans depend on mobile devices in their day to day lives other than simply staying connected with family and friends, mobile phone and internet are influential tools of what experts call many-to-many communications in crisis and emergency situations.<sup>146</sup> This is because they offer a viral means of communication back and forth. Therefore information flow is faster and multidimensional.

With the development of the networked lives, the new media is presently gradually being utilized to shape individual and professional lives, as observed in the case of Kenya's 2007 general elections where through new media devices the crisis was internationalized. Information was shared at a much faster rate capturing audiences all over the world. The information was uncensored, the data was uncensored, political examinations took an ethnic angle and political views to a new level. New media technologies operated in a freer environment and it was open and very critical.

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<sup>146</sup> Dictor, Media's Role in 2007 post-election violence, September 9<sup>th</sup>, 2010. [www.dictorwordpress.com/2010/09/09](http://www.dictorwordpress.com/2010/09/09)

Kenyan bloggers turned into a noteworthy part of the data stream in the nation, beginning from the three-day restriction on live broadcasting web activity from inside Kenya shot through the rooftop. More than 600 online journals were created just before the 2007 elections. Web journals talked about governmental issues in a path intended to challenge the prevailing press. Some were utilized for online crusades to create awareness on human rights infringement in the light of post-election violence. During this period, new media made citizen journalism possible and key in sharing information. The Internet was used to send pictures that stirred outrage in nationals and common society, excessively assumed a momentous part in putting weight on the political elite in achieving a political resolution.<sup>147</sup>

This chapter looks into new media's role during Kenya's 2007-2008 post-election crisis as it offered an alternative medium for citizen participation. This section will analyze Kenya's history with the media while highlighting especially online networking sites contribution to the internationalization of Kenya's post election conflict from secondary data findings and the perspectives of different researchers.

### **3.2 Kenya at a glimpse**

To better understand the 2007 post-election violence it is important to understand Kenya history from the period of colonialism and the countries tribal set up. Kenya as a multi-ethnic country has experienced conflicts in 1992, 1997, 2002 after every election the worst one being in 2007/2008 after the disputed presidential election. Kenya has a mosaic of 42 ethnic groups and is often referred to as a model for financial advancement in Africa and political strength. The degree of savagery experienced after the decisions in 2007 was unanticipated. 1,300 Kenyans died during the post-election and around 500,000 individuals displaced from their homes.<sup>148</sup>

The Kikuyu community is the largest with 17 percent of the country's population. The second largest tribe is the Luhya community (14%) followed by the

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<sup>147</sup> Karangi , Monicah. [Social Media in Kenya:](#)

[www.urbanophil.net/urbanophil/urbanointernational/urbanointernational-4-social-media-in-kenya/](http://www.urbanophil.net/urbanophil/urbanointernational/urbanointernational-4-social-media-in-kenya/)

<sup>148</sup> Munyua , Alice. (2007) Kenya ICT Action Network: Perceptions and misconceptions: The role of new and traditional media in kenya's post-election violence

Kalenjin (13%) and the Luo (10%). Among these tribes, the Luo, Kikuyu, and the Kalenjin have been the key actors in governmental issues. After independence, Kenya had to build one nation out of these tribes.<sup>149</sup>

During the colonial era, Tribal tensions were escalated. The assumption among the British colonialist was that Kenya would always be under their rule. They operated under the policy of divide and rule which would ensure that there was no opposition by the Kenyan communities. In 1963, at the period of Kenya's independence the first president Jomo Kenyatta was from the Kikuyu tribe, his deputy Jaramogi Oginga Odinga came from the Luo community, this paved way for what we now know as ethnic driven politics. In view of doubt and grievances Kenyatta and Odinga were at odds which further divided the Kikuyu and Luo people. Dictatorship in Kenya evolved further under the second president, President Daniel Arap Moi. Moi originated from the Kalenjin community and utilized his administration as a chance to advance the riches and influence of his tribe as well as himself.<sup>150</sup>

Elections in Kenya have been connected with brutality for right around 20 years; however, in 2007 the pressures raised as cell phones and the web turned into extra means utilized for political examinations that went up against an ethnic measurement and a political inclination on a scale never seen before which took Kenya's democratic system since the introduction of multiparty politics in 1991.<sup>151</sup> In 2000 vernacular stations were established, Kameme FM of Kikuyu dialect was the most popular breaking the monopoly on local language broadcasting. A new law in 2004 brought about change in the media which saw a large number of vernacular radio stations established (Luos in West, Kikuyus in Central Province, Kambas in Southeast, Kalenjins in Northwest, and Kisiis in Southeast).<sup>152</sup>

Today, a generous extent of the number of inhabitants in Kenya normally the poorest, the most politically minimized, the individuals who feel the most bothered and

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<sup>149</sup> McGregor Sarah. (2013). Kenyan Ethnic Loyalties Trump Economic Policies in Vote:202

<sup>150</sup> Ochieng William R. (1989). Independent Kenya, 1963-1986: In A Modern History of Kenya :203

<sup>151</sup> Munyua. Kenya ICT Action Network

<sup>152</sup> Abdi & Deane, The Kenya 2007 Elections and their aftermath:322

barred from Kenya's monetary achievement have for the greater part of the nation's history had admittance just to a media controlled by an administration they doubt however this is no-longer the case.<sup>153</sup>

### 3.3 Media coverage in Kenya

The Kenyan media remained inactive until 1990,s when pluralistic politics was restored. During the 24-year reign of President Moi, freedom of the press was limited. Prior to 1992 when pluralism was re-embraced the news media in Kenya worked within an extremely harsh political and legal environment<sup>154</sup> During this time the media experienced direct censorship, intimidation, physical threats and attacks, media closures, prosecution and detention of journalists, and confiscation of media materials.<sup>155</sup> This explains why the media remained so docile for many years, thus, inhibiting its ability to play its cardinal role in society, to inform, educate members of the public, promote the growth of democracy in Africa, and act as a public watchdog. Indeed before 1992, the media's right to operate and function freely and independently was circumscribed by limitations and restrictions imposed on its ability to criticize actions or inactions by the government, political parties, and individuals, and therefore to operate independently.<sup>156</sup>

The cutting-edge media in Kenya was rooted by the Missionaries and the British pilgrims. The early illustrations incorporated the Taveta Chronicle which was distributed in 1895 by Rev. Robert Stegal of the Church Missionary Society. It was circulated in England among those that were interested. In 1899 by the *Leader* of the British East Africa Company and *Uganda Mail* published in Mombasa. The essential goal of these papers was to give data to the ministers and pioneers of news that originated from England. To legitimize the rights of the colonial masters to rule Kenya the media was used as a tool maintaining the status quo.<sup>157</sup> Similar patterns of media ownership and development continued after independence in 1963 while under the colonial. The media

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<sup>153</sup> Abdi & Deane, (2008) The Kenyan 2007 Elections and their aftermath: 321

<sup>154</sup> Aling'o P. (2007), Media and Democratic Governance in Kenya, Nairobi:110

<sup>155</sup> Schweizer R. (2012). The internationalization process of SME's; Journal of Business Research: 745-751.

<sup>156</sup> Schweizer R. (2012). The internationalization process of SME's:745-751

<sup>157</sup> Ochilo Polycarp, (1993). Africa Media Review, Vol 7 No 3, Press Freedom and role of media in Kenya:24

run under the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting headed by a Minister appointed by the President, therefore, governments had control of the electronic media.<sup>158</sup>

Media's role in this monolithic political system has been confounding and its development and assorted qualities genuinely traded off through political controls and the state and gathering responsibility for basic channels of correspondence. This sort of political obstruction has had a tendency to decrease the powerful practical parts of the media as a fourth bequest in the interest of the dominant part who don't have a place with the ruling class.<sup>159</sup> Exclusive dailies, for example, the Nation Group of Newspapers and the Standard later came up. These exclusive dailies had a strong financial base established before and after independence as well a strong editorial policy which was fairly sovereign. They conveyed a level of self-sufficiency to the Kenyan media, be that as it may, the Kenyan media was not insusceptible from government control which appears as political representations to the proprietors and dangers to sue through official courtrooms<sup>160</sup>

Unreasonable political, lawful and additional legitimate requirements on the media in Africa have a crippling effect to the degree that these measures undermine the limit of the media to suitably and viably satisfy their capacities in building popularity based social orders and ensuring and protecting essential human privileges of the general population. The case in Kenya has been where the government has tended to respond to the media by interfering and censoring their stories an example is where the government banned live broadcasts during 2007 even before the elections this repressive approach was taken by the government.<sup>161</sup>

### **3.3.1 The Emergence on New Media Technologies**

Kenya has one of the largest levels of internet penetrations of 7.9% in sub-Saharan Africa with an estimated number of 3 million users.<sup>162</sup> Over 12 million (30%) of

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<sup>158</sup> Ibid

<sup>159</sup> Ibid

<sup>160</sup> Ibid

<sup>161</sup> Ochilo, Press Freedom and Role of Media in Kenya

<sup>162</sup> Ibid

the population) Kenyans have mobile phones, as compared to a 20% continent-wide infiltration. Kenyan organizations have been early adopters of portable cash exchange frameworks like M-PESA and complex frameworks like Kazi560 that are SMS based which matches job seekers to bosses by means of their phones.<sup>163</sup> Against this background, Kenyans has been among the early adopters in citizen media contacting vast audiences globally.<sup>164</sup>

Amid the post-decision brutality found in Kenya 2007-2008, the new innovation were utilized to manage action: SMS campaigns to advance hostility and challenge information shared by mainstream media blogs were used as well as online crusades to advance attention to human rights infringements.<sup>165</sup> Just like International broadcasters i.e. France 24, Al Jazeera, and CNN, Nation TV took the opportunity to broadcast to the diaspora group, by keeping up their own particular YouTube channel. The development of the electronic media added another element to the 2007 general elections. Television viewers, readers, and listeners had a variety of sources of information to choose from in English, Kiswahili and even local languages.<sup>166</sup>

The emergence of new media enhanced communication networks in Kenya since the new media innovations don't restrict the Medias capacity to disperse information the government has less control over the spread of information within its borders. For instance, government officials or individuals with self-centered interests to prompt Kenyans and spread information that designed to mislead the public may abuse it. Politicians have come to realize that they need their agendas pushed online; it is not enough to have huge numbers on the ground during their rallies.<sup>167</sup> Kenyans can be unsuspecting on occasion, without much examination read posts online loaded with misleading statements and rumors and cheerfully impart them to their companions who pass it on to their groups via web-based networking media. Everyone on social media can

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<sup>163</sup> Ibid

<sup>164</sup> Ibid

<sup>165</sup>Goldstein& Rotich. Digitally Networked Technology in Kenya's 2007-2008 Post election crisis:4

<sup>166</sup> Jérôme Lafargue, Rambaud Brice, (2008). The General Elections in Kenya:63

<sup>167</sup>Kinyamu Muthuri, (2012) Growth of Social Media in Kenya: [www.ihub.co.ke/blog/2012/10/growth of social media in kenya opportunities and threats/](http://www.ihub.co.ke/blog/2012/10/growth-of-social-media-in-kenya-opportunities-and-threats/)



share information as it happens anytime reaching out to local and global masses, communicating and informing people on what is happening, when, where and how.<sup>168</sup>

The communication system has been transformed into an interactive space due to the widespread distribution of digital media, Internet and mobile communication that connects both the global and local communities. New types of web-based social networking (SMS, blogs, social networking sites, podcasts, and wikis) supply information to a larger audience paving way for participatory journalism and citizen communication.<sup>169</sup>

The twitter community #KOT (Kenya on Twitter) is known for using social media as a platform for activism online. They used the #PeremendeMovement to praise and call out cooperate brands# TwitterThumbsUp and #TwitterBigStick. These communities have even been used to gather people to help in situations of disaster #Kenya4Kenya and #FeedKePlatforms. Social media is assuming a bigger part out in sharing information that was only accessible to a few in the past. New media technologies have made it affordable/ easier to bring people together so as to facilitate, discuss and implement new policies. In the past, it would have been costly and time-consuming to involve most citizens in decisions regarding public policy issues or debates.<sup>170</sup> New media technologies contributed to exposing issues ongoing internally in Kenya and making it an international problem where anyone from all over the world who had access to this application could view, comment and share information.

### **3.4 The Influence of Technology, Social Media and Social Apps in Kenya's Post Election in Urban Areas**

Kenya's post-election violence exhibited the impacts that new innovation can have. Regardless of elections in the past associated with violence, this was the first time

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<sup>168</sup>Kinyamu, (2012) Growth of Social Media in Kenya: [http://www.ihub.co.ke/blog/2012/10/growth\\_of\\_social\\_media\\_in\\_kenya\\_opportunities\\_and\\_threats/](http://www.ihub.co.ke/blog/2012/10/growth_of_social_media_in_kenya_opportunities_and_threats/)

<sup>169</sup> Kaigwa Mark W. (2013) Kenya at 50: How social media has increased the pace of change

<sup>170</sup> Kinyamu, (2012) Growth of Social Media in Kenya: [www.ihub.co.ke/blog/2012/10/growth\\_of\\_social\\_media\\_in\\_kenya\\_opportunities\\_and\\_threats/](http://www.ihub.co.ke/blog/2012/10/growth_of_social_media_in_kenya_opportunities_and_threats/)

where cell phones and access to vernacular radio stations were broadly accessible.<sup>171</sup> As word spread throughout Kenya on January 1, 2008, that incumbent presidential applicant Mwai Kibaki had fixed the presidential race, instant messages asking brutality spread the nation over and tribal and politically spurred assaults were executed all through Kenya. In the Kibera slums in Nairobi, Kisumu, Eldoret, Kakamega, and Naivasha violence had escalated by 9, January.<sup>172</sup> Conflicts amongst protestors and police were most exceedingly worse in ODM-ruled towns of Kisumu, Kibera slums and later in Naivasha. As a result of the post-election one thousand people were left 1,000 dead and 500,000 uprooted from their homes<sup>173</sup>

Nairobi, Kenya's capital city has a multi-ethnic population and numerous urban cities in African, unemployment is high and a large number of the populous engages in informal activity. Nairobi has always been the focal point in Kenya for political activity.<sup>174</sup> During 1992 and 1997 multi-party elections, it was the stronghold of the opposition politicians and voted for its councilors and members of parliament. In the 1992 and 1997 elections in Nairobi, elections have always been associated with violence and organized groups such as Jeshi la Mwenje, Mungiki, Bukhungu, Siafu, Jeshi la Darajani, and Taliban. In Nairobi, over 4 million of the population lives in informal settlements.<sup>175</sup> Out of every five people living in Nairobi 1 lives in Kibera (Largest slum in Africa with a population of 3000 people per hectare).<sup>176</sup> Different settlements in Nairobi with vast populaces are Kawangware, Mathare, Dandora, Huruma, Emmabkasi, Kangemi, Mukuruin and Korogocho.

These areas are of great significance in Nairobi politics. Populations in the informal settlements in Nairobi are largely divided along ethnic lines where specific

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<sup>171</sup> Oyewole, O. (2009). Internationalization and its implications for the quality of higher education in Africa. *Higher Education Policy*: 319-329.

<sup>172</sup> Goldstein and Rotich, *Digitally Networked Technology in Kenya's 2007-2008 Post election crisis* : 9.

<sup>173</sup> Human Rights Watch "Ballots to Bullets: Organized Political Violence and Kenya's Crisis of Government", (March 2008), <http://hrw.org/reports/2008/kenya0308/kenya0308web.pdf>.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid

<sup>175</sup> Ibid

<sup>176</sup> [www.kibera.org.uk/facts-info](http://www.kibera.org.uk/facts-info)

communities have dominance.<sup>177</sup> In Kibera, the Luo community is the majority populating: Kianda, Raila village, Gatwikira, and Kisumu Ndogo. Makina populated by Nubians while the Kikuyu community populates Soweto Laini Saba areas in Kibera. Mashimoni and Lindi's areas are dominated by the Luyah community. During electoral and political mobilization, these ethnic divisions are utilized.

Registered voters during the 2007 general elections:<sup>178</sup>

| <b>Region</b>    | <b>Male</b> | <b>Female</b> | <b>Total</b> |
|------------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|
| <b>Madaraka</b>  | 80329       | 52301         | 132630       |
| <b>Kamukunji</b> | 79380       | 42635         | 119015       |
| <b>Starehe</b>   | 97922       | 60164         | 158086       |
| <b>Langata</b>   | 100396      | 57207         | 157603       |
| <b>Dagoretti</b> | 68166       | 52661         | 120827       |
| <b>Westlands</b> | 96065       | 57955         | 154020       |
| <b>Kasarani</b>  | 106408      | 76621         | 183029       |
| <b>Kasarani</b>  | 143554      | 106257        | 249811       |
| <b>TOTAL</b>     | 769220      | 505801        | 1275021      |

In Nyanza Province, with a rich history within the political context in Kenya is mainly inhabited by the Luo community. Of the 31 constituencies in the province, 21 are under ODM and parliamentarians from the Luo community represent the party. A total of

<sup>177</sup> Chalaby, J. K. (2005). *Global media and communication*: 1

<sup>178</sup> [www.hrw.org/reports/2008/kenya0308/kenya0308web.pdf](http://www.hrw.org/reports/2008/kenya0308/kenya0308web.pdf).

2,041,680 persons mostly from the urban area of Kisumu In Nov 2007 had been registered to vote by the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK).<sup>179</sup>

Since the mid-2000s, with a large percentage of the population being in urban areas, a huge audience participation known as citizen journalism became popular in Africa. Citizen journalism is used to describe amateur publication of news item which played an important role during the post-election violence in crisis reporting. Which resulted from a digitally networked population with access to technologies-Internet and mobile phones.<sup>180</sup> During the post-election violence period, this offered platform for citizens in Kenya to post and share their opinion before, during and after the elections to audiences globally.

### **3.5 Emergence of Citizen Journal**

Citizen journalists are independent civilian reporters. They are not obliged by customary journalistic procedures or techniques and work without editorial oversight and they use new media technology to investigate, collect and process and circulate news.<sup>181</sup>

Citizen reporting is both non-institutional and institutional. Non-institutional sets the person at the center of the practice.<sup>182</sup> This seems, by all accounts, to be the idea of native news-casting that promptly fits diverse types of long-range informal communication, where private nationals utilize a blend of stages to produce content and scatter it as generally as could be allowed. Non-institutional subject news coverage in this way implies the kind of national reporting which rotates around the person. It looks for no plan of action to any hierarchical system of requirements. The non-institutional native writer appreciates boundless opportunity particularly since they don't reply to any power subsequently being very individuated and consequently self-managed. Institutional national news coverage, then again, alludes to that sort of

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<sup>179</sup> Kaldor-Robinson, J. (2012). The virtual and the imaginary: The role of diasporic new media in the construction of a national identity during the break-up of Yugoslavia. *Oxford Development Studies*, 30(2), 177-187.

<sup>180</sup> Mutsvairo, Bruce, and Simon Columbus, (2012). Emerging Patterns and Trends in Citizen Journalism in Africa: The Case of Zimbabwe.

<sup>181</sup> Banda Fackson, (2010) Citizen Journalism & democracy in Africa:26

<sup>182</sup> Williams Jr, R. M. (2009). The sociology of ethnic conflicts: comparative international perspectives. *Annual review of sociology*, 49-79.

subject reporting which has a type of hierarchical structure or obliging capacity, finish with outside imperatives, however negligible. The individual is an important part of Non-institutional writing that is clear today in media foundations where you there are more citizen journalists emerging.<sup>183</sup>

After the elections in 2007, clashes erupted in Kenya prompting to the death of more than 1000 individuals and the dislodging of around 500000. The conflict erupted after Mwai Kibaki was pronounced by the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK) followed by a live media ban put by Michuki, the internal security minister.<sup>184</sup> The ban on media was enforced under the observation that it failed in its duty to take charge on news items being broadcasted in the hours before the post-election violence erupted. This was offered as a solution to stop hate speech by politicians being spread through vernacular FM stations.<sup>185</sup> The data vacuum that was made combined with strive after the news, prompt to the making of a few option wellsprings of news. The media outage touched off the utilization of new media forms, numerous Kenyans started to utilize digital media to voice their worries, Kenyan bloggers Ory Okollah (of the Kenyan Pundit), Juliana Rotich (of Afromusing) and Daudi Were (of Mental Acrobatics) got to be dynamic and known citizen journalists.<sup>186</sup> Virtual systems such as Skunkworks, The Kenya ICT Action Network (KICTANet), KE-clients, and Ihavenotribe, among others, following the ban on live communication, became an important source of information in the nation. They took up the obligations of reporting what was occurring, welcoming individuals to send in remarks, photos, and SMEs. The different web journals got to be storehouses where Kenyans could drop in data about what was going on.<sup>187</sup> This was open to anyone that had access to the internet. Similarly as human rights activists utilized computerized devices to intensify their voice and lower their cost of operations, so too did citizen journalists, who utilized web journals (Blogs) to challenge the information

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<sup>183</sup>Fackson, Citizen Journalism & democracy in Africa:29

<sup>184</sup> Anderson, Peter J, Williams, Michael and Ogola, George, The future of quality news journalism :257

<sup>185</sup>Munyua, Kenya ICT Action Network: 171

<sup>186</sup>Ethan Zuckerman, Citizen Media and the 2007 Kenyan Election Crisis, Harvard University Draft – 6/20/2008

<sup>187</sup>Anderson,Williams and Ogola, The future of quality news journalism:257

broadcasted by the government as well as mainstream media channels.<sup>188</sup> The online channels during the post-election violence gave citizens the democratic space and freedom to share their point of view.<sup>189</sup> The blogger behind Mental Acrobatics Daudi Were and an advocate of online journals on his posts documented the disputes between protestors and the police on January 3<sup>rd</sup> 2008.<sup>190</sup>

The government was able to shut down the mass circulation of SMSes for public safety, thus the internet became a key location for discussion, exchange of information and heated arguments. Bloggers such as Okelloh were particularly active information of a website that drew together a Kenyan community in search of a middle ground in the aftermath of the crisis.<sup>191</sup> Despite the fact that there were reports, the data was not opportune. Combined with the live communicate boycott, a large number of the population was not able to stay updated with current happenings. With online journals, there was a free stream of data, with a few bloggers being timely compared to mainstream media. A case of bloggers driving news scope was Joseph Karoki's blog on January 2 where he reported on Ugandan military forces infiltrating Kenya's western territory of Nyanza which was not broadcasted by mainstream media on January 7.<sup>192</sup>

Kenyans were seen getting involved as citizen journalists in the public sphere. Those who were dissatisfied with the lack of news reporting by mainstream media became digital activists and shared content through digital technologies. Sites were used to challenge the standard story. This broadened the perspectives of the Kenyan citizens.<sup>193</sup> Citizen journalists joined online discussion platforms such as Umati, Ushahidi, and Uchaguzi.<sup>194</sup>

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<sup>188</sup>Ibid

<sup>189</sup>Fackson,(2010) Citizen Journalism & democracy in Africa:44

<sup>190</sup> Mäkinen and Kuira, (2008) Social media and post election crisis in Kenya: 331

<sup>191</sup> Kariuki, J. (2005). An internationalization model: Responding to new realities and challenges. Higher education in Latin America: The international dimension, 1-39.

<sup>192</sup> Goldstein and Rotich, Digitally Networked Technology in Kenya's 2007-2008 Post election crisis: 8

<sup>193</sup>Ibid

<sup>194</sup>Ibid

Amid the onset of the Kenyan 2007 election, the media was seen to perform twofold obligations of reproaching the wrongs by the politically influential and keeping general society educated on the political events. The media focused on factual reporting during meetings and rallies while print media provided an avenue for the civil society and political activists to engage in issues political agent discussions. Kenyans could share their opinions through the remark segments through web-based technologies giving their assessments and perspectives in connection with articles distributed.<sup>195</sup>

Due to the success of the media houses in engaging the general public creating forums for debate and free expression of thought saw the increase of blogs in Kenya. Towards the end on 2007, there was more spam email from political activists spreading ethnic attacks, hate speech, and political suspicions. Short messaging services were used in discrediting political opponents and spreading false information. The Black propaganda SMS/Black SMS disseminated through cell phones, turned out to be the subject of numerous articles in the press<sup>196</sup>

During this SMS period, counter-control became possibly the most important factor when the media utilized SMS to cooperate with the general public. The Nation Media Group shared real-time information through short messaging service. Other tabloids opened forums on the web-SMS chat that opened forums for public participation.<sup>197</sup> Some electronic media syndicated programs urged the general population to give their perspectives about points of dialog using their cell phone.

During the 2007/8 elections, President Mwai Kibaki as the sitting president was getting more exposure from the media compared to his challenger<sup>198</sup> The European Union election observers greatly disapproved of the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) for being partial in their news coverage favoring the ruling party.<sup>199</sup> The use of internet meant that audiences all over the world could participate virtually. The information that

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<sup>195</sup> Lafargue Jerome, Brice Rambaud, Ann Cussac and Musambayi Katumanga. (2008) *The General Elections in 2007*: 57

<sup>196</sup> Jerome, Rambaud, Cussac and Katumanga. *The General Elections in 2007*: 69

<sup>197</sup> Jerome, Rambaud, Cussac and Katumanga. *The General Elections in 2007*: 69

<sup>198</sup> Jerome, Rambaud, Cussac and Katumanga. *The General Elections in 2007*: 57

<sup>199</sup> Somerville.P. (2011) *Understanding Politics, Policy and Practice*. Bristol, Policy press:15

was posted/shared using the new technologies internationalized a conflict that was internal. Audiences could share information and opinions freely, take pictures, add comments on photographs with a wide reach.

On January 3, Okollah a Kenyan blogger that lives in Johannesburg, three days after arriving in South Africa added a new feature on her online blog *diary entries* written by guest bloggers where she posted articles sent to her through email . In the four weeks, the online journal was active 26 items written by different Kenyans looking for an opportunity to reach a larger group of people were put up. The posts shared were reflections of how the post-election violence was affecting the Kenyan people. The reactions to her blogs helped demonstrate her influence and reach to the blogger community worldwide using new media. Technorati listed Okolloh's (@KenyanPundit) blog as the 2<sup>nd</sup> most popular blog for an African centered blog considered a high ranking. During the post-election violence, 0.004% or blog posts on the internet linked to Kenyan Pundit making it among the 200 most viewed blogs globally<sup>200</sup>

### **3.5.1 SMSes-Mobile phones Twitter and Flickr**

In Africa, Short message services (SMS) is the most popular digital application used by its citizens, and Kenya is no exception.<sup>201</sup> Before and after the 2007 post elections new media tools i.e. blogs, mobile phones, and emails were the most popular mediums of communication. Mobile phones made communication of real-time occurrences affordable and easier to transmit information on the ongoing violence to a wider audience. Kenyans started to receive frightening text messages On January 1, 2008, that spread hate speech and encouraged ethnic clashes.<sup>202</sup>

As the spread of hate speech through SMS services became worse, the government asked the CEO of Kenya's largest cell phone service provider to consider shutting down the service. However, instead of shutting down the service it was instead used as a tool to spread peace among the Kenyan citizens and apprehending perpetrators

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<sup>200</sup> Ethan Zuckenberg

<sup>201</sup> Bayne, S. (2008). Post-election violence in Kenya: An assessment for the UK government. London: DFID Kenya-UK Government:

<sup>202</sup> [www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=19188853](http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=19188853).



of violence. 1700 mobile user information of such perpetrators was turned over to the government by the service provider. This prompted the beginning of a debate in the Kenyan parliament to propose a law that allows for the persecution of SMS based hate speech.<sup>203</sup>

Mashada, a well-known forum online launched an SMS platform to help share information on the ongoing post-election violence in Kenya after violence erupted. During this period some Kenyan bloggers were accepting commentary through SMS services. After requests for updates from Kenyans by BBC Africa's *Have Your Say* platform published over 1300 out of the 3800 of the comments received.<sup>204</sup> Anyone in the world could vote up messages they deemed relevant. Cell phones were popular among citizens of Kenya in sharing photographs of violent attacks during the post-election period. These pictures circulated on the mainstream media. The pictures shared were of family's ramming away from violence flashpoints, they became the talking points of social media. The audiences captured were global internationalizing the conflict through new technologies.

Social applications such as Flickr (an image and video hosting site) is easily accessible on mobile phones, In 2005 it was acquired by Yahoo (a popular site in the United States and the most visited site worldwide with a total of over 7 billion views).<sup>205</sup> Flickr was popular during the post-election period in Kenya, It was used by citizen journalists to share real-time photographs as well as videos with online audiences. Bloggers, as well as researchers online, used this online platforms to share information on their social media sites. In 2007 flicker had over 8 million registered users<sup>206</sup> and in 2013, the verge, an American technology news, and media network reported that flicker has a total of 87million registered members.<sup>207</sup>

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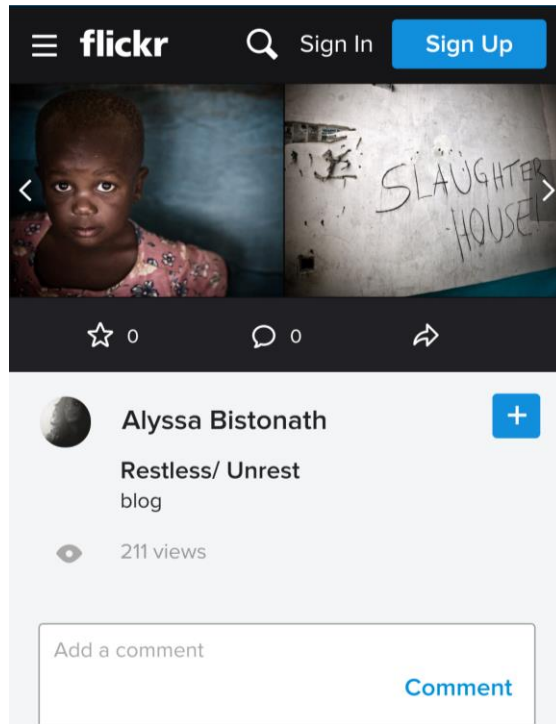
<sup>203</sup> Wanjiku, Rebecca, (2006). Kenya Moves to Thwart Mobile Phone Crimes. [www.thestandard.com/news/2008/05/16/kenyamoves-thwart-mobile-phone-crimes](http://www.thestandard.com/news/2008/05/16/kenyamoves-thwart-mobile-phone-crimes).

<sup>204</sup> Ibid

<sup>205</sup> [www.Alexa.com](http://www.Alexa.com).

<sup>206</sup> [www.sramanamitra.com/2007/05/22/web3.0-and-fliker](http://www.sramanamitra.com/2007/05/22/web3.0-and-fliker)

<sup>207</sup> The Verge.2013-03-20.Retrieved 2013-08-29



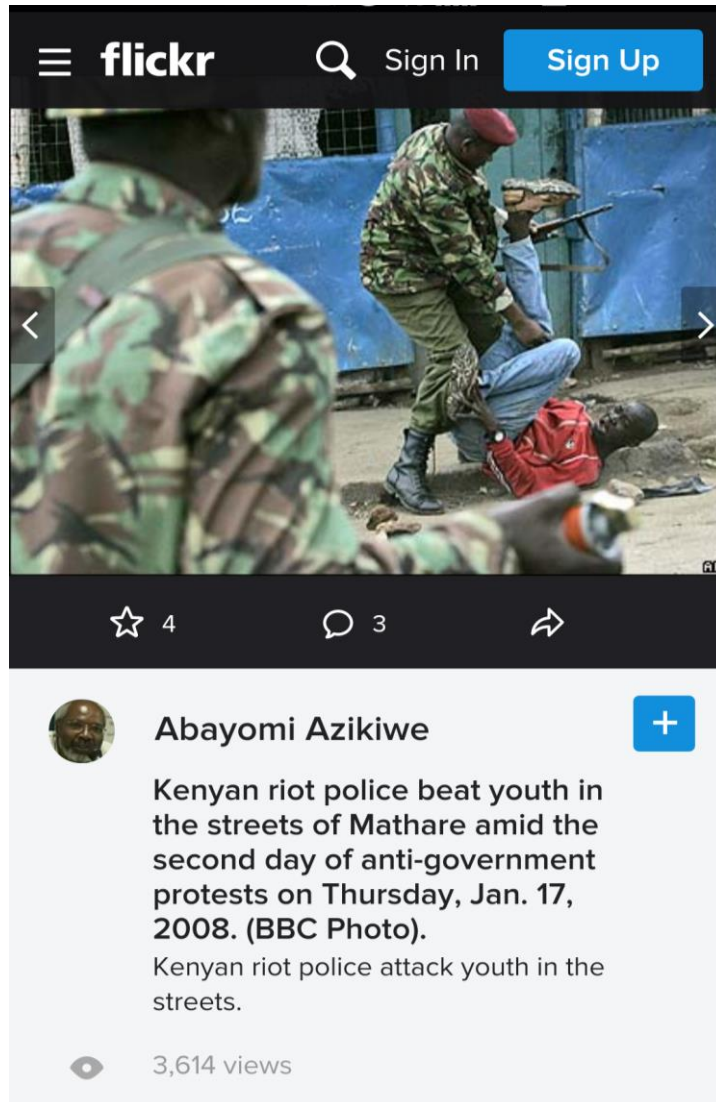
Source: Flickr posted July 14, 2008<sup>208</sup>

Photos on flicker were shared by individuals and often didn't have captions. Others were posted by international media that had bureaus in the country. These photos were viewed by anyone in the world who had access to the internet whether they had registered accounts on flicker or not. The photographs were posted on a group *Kenya Post-Election Violence 2008* by Joshua Wanyama on the 10 January 2008. He invited anyone to add their pictures. Individuals were urged to share both good and bad of the post-election violence.<sup>209</sup>

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<sup>208</sup> Wanyama, Joshua. Post-Election Violence 2008, January 10 2008. Flickr, July 14.2008. [www.flickr.com/photos/wa-j/](http://www.flickr.com/photos/wa-j/)

<sup>209</sup> Wanyama, [www.flickr.com/photos/wa-j/](http://www.flickr.com/photos/wa-j/)



Source: Flickr posted January 17, 2008<sup>210</sup>

### 3.5.2 Ushahidi

Ushahidi from the Swahili word meaning testimony was created by Ory Okollah who teamed up with David Kibia and Erik Hersman, two technologists that have roots in Kenya to give a comprehensive report on what was happening on the ground with direct information from those localities where riots, rape, looting and other acts of violence

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<sup>210</sup> Flickr posted January 17, 2008. [www.flickr.com](http://www.flickr.com)

were taking place.<sup>211</sup> Ushahidi was a combination of internet applications used to pass on information. Google maps, which allowed users globally to zoom into Kenya using the internet and their mobile phones and view satellite images.<sup>212</sup> This meant that the conflict which was taking place was no longer internal, the world was watching.

Anyone with access to internet all over the world could view videos and images posted on the conflict taking place in Kenya on with internet on their mobile phones individuals could browse report or add written content on where violent incidents are occurring on to the application.<sup>213</sup> This online platform documented incidents of violence occurring all over Kenya which got over thousands of visits from onlookers globally.<sup>214</sup> The online platform drew the attention of foreign media on what was going on in Kenya during the post-election crisis as well as helped to inform Kenyans during the live media ban. Social media during this period bridged the gap between the global and local audiences for a collective outcome.

### **3.5.3 Kenyan's in Diaspora**

Over 2% (\$ 1 billion a year) of Kenya's GDP is remittance from Diaspora Kenyans, they are a powerful political and economic force.<sup>215</sup> During post-election crisis, Diaspora Kenyans through online groups such as Kenyan Community Abroad remained deeply involved in national politics. They held rallies while in Minnesota as well Washington DC and photos were shared through social media platforms

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<sup>211</sup> Dictor, (2010) Media's Role in 2007 post-election violence. [www.dictorwordpress.com/2010/09/09](http://www.dictorwordpress.com/2010/09/09)

<sup>212</sup> Weiner, M. (2009). Peoples and states in a new ethnic order?. *Third World Quarterly*, 13(2), 317-333.

<sup>213</sup> Goldstein and Rotich, Digitally Networked Technology in Kenya's 2007-2008 Post election crisis: 6



Source: Flickr taken January 2, 2008<sup>216</sup>

Diaspora Kenyans also used the new media to access online businesses such as Mama Mikes to purchase relief goods and deliver to displaced persons in Kenya's during the post-election crisis. The materials purchased and the regions they were delivered and posted on the online business blog.<sup>217</sup> Diaspora Kenyan's in the United States (US) and Europe were flooding websites that sell mobile phone credit to send back home to their friends and family who were in conflict areas, E-commerce founder Sigeni Ngethe said in an interview with IRIN news agency.

### **3.5.4 International News Coverage of the Post-election Violence in Kenya**

Global news networks were immediately captured by the post-election violence taking place in Kenya in 2007-2008. News of the crisis was broadcasted as front page news by radio and television news bulleting globally and continued to make headlines all though to February 2008.<sup>218</sup> Video images from Kibera were broadcasted on CNN frequently and could be accessed on platforms. The global media broadcasters aired

<sup>216</sup> [www.flicker.com](http://www.flicker.com) [www.flicker.com/photos/wa-j/](http://www.flicker.com/photos/wa-j/)

<sup>217</sup> Dictor, Media's Role in 2007 post-election violence.

<sup>218</sup> Bunce, M. (2010). Reporting Dynamics and Cultural Clash at an International News Bureau in Nairobi: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs: 515-528.

images presented without explanations of frightened people, burning houses and people brutally killed.<sup>219</sup> Giving the image that Kenya was in a state of mayhem. The BBC, Reuters, Al Jazeera, AFP, AP were some of the major international media that offered coverage of Kenya's post-election conflict that could be accessed online through their online channels as well including YouTube.

### **3.5.5 Covering the Post-election Crisis at Reuters**

Reuters, one of the largest global news agencies in the world covers both breaking and latest news items. It has a twitter account, linked in and Facebook accounts with millions of followers.<sup>220</sup> It is the largest newswire in Nairobi, during 2007 election period had four television journalists, six text journalists, two full-time photographers, and a fluctuating number of part-time reporters covering the post-election crisis at the time.<sup>221</sup> Reuters occupies an unclear space between local and international agency in Nairobi. They not only captured the Kenyan audience during the post-election period but also an international audience seeing as it streamed live and was viewed by audiences all over the world internationalizing Kenya's post-election conflict.

### **3.6 Conclusion**

This chapter has reviewed the role of new media in internationalizing post-election violence in Kenya focusing mainly in urban areas. From the literature, it can be concluded that with the emergence of the networked lives, the new media is now increasingly being used to shape not only personal and professional lives, but, as seen in the case of Kenya's 2007 general elections new media internationalized the conflict. The role of traditional media channels has been confusing its diversity and growth stunted through political control and government ownership of significant communication channels.

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<sup>219</sup> Ogloa G.(2008): Kenya :Parachute journalists and crisis, Business daily,18 January, <http://allafrica.com/stories/200801170990.html>, accessed 3 January 2010

<sup>220</sup> Cottle, S (2011). Media and the Arab uprisings of 2011: 647-659.

<sup>221</sup> Bunce, (2010). Reporting Dynamics and Cultural Clash at an International News Bureau in Nairobi:515-528.

New media has helped to improve communication networks in Kenya since the new media technologies do not limit the Medias ability to disseminate information the government has less control over the spread of information within its borders. During the 2007-2008 post-election violence in Kenya, new media was to mobilize people. Blogs were used to challenge mainstream media broadcasts, SMS were used to promote violence and online campaigns to create awareness on human rights infringement. New media technologies added a new component to the general elections in 2007. Audiences had a variety of channels they could share information as well as their opinion in Kiswahili, English and even their local language on the post-election crisis.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF KENYA'S POST ELECTION VIOLENCE 2007/2008 THROUGH NEW MEDIA: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS

#### 4.1 Introduction

In the past so as to meet particular agendas new media tools have been utilized. The purpose of this chapter analyzes how new media were utilized in the internationalization of Kenya's post-election violence and the impact these new media technologies had in influencing both positive and negative agendas.

In the recent past, new media tools have become an important resource in group action mobilization in group action mobilization and subsequent social movement's formation, management and implementation internationally.<sup>222</sup> From the discussion, there is a range of platforms of social media that are commonly used in the conflict. It is evident that social networking sites were maximally used in the post-election conflict that occurred in Kenya 2007-2008. Regularly citizens used the internet to create awareness, share, initiate and organize extensive contention tasks which include; social protests.<sup>223</sup> Additionally, current communication technologies predominantly social media such as social networking sites, short messaging services (SMS), and blogs are major new resources for social engagements effective planning and executing communal events, upholding a sensation of community and communal distinctiveness among groups that feel threatened.

New media internet-based applications use the web 2.0 technological basis, social media is a tool used to organize and provide avenues where user-generated content is disseminated Half a decade ago 22% of the time spent online internationally was spent on social media and blog sites. The international average spent per individual and social

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<sup>222</sup>Makungu, B. (2008). Neo-colonialism through measurement: a critique of the corruption perception index. *Critical perspectives on international business*:184-202.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid



media site is now roughly five and a half hours per month.<sup>224</sup> To manage social media, the government of Kenya tried to our restrictions to curb usage. Although this was the case, SMS, Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, and blogs were particularly used to share original videos and photos internationally thereby engaging the Diaspora opinion on the happenings.

In Kenya's post-election conflict, citizen journalists had a role in the internationalization of the conflict.<sup>225</sup> They enabled those witnessing or taking part in the conflict to upload content during the period of the conflict and make reports on live occurrences. In addition, Kimani stated that it was also clear that mobile phones were used by individuals to commune with protestors and spread their information. For instance, International media such as CNN, BBC, and Returners used image hosting applications such as flicker and video hosting sites such as YouTube for their reporting, these applications disseminated information at a much faster rate capturing both regional and international community.<sup>226</sup> Blogs run by citizen journalists were used to publicize and broadcast conflict in the different regions where conflict was taking place. Ushahidi was used by individuals to document incidents as they took place on the ground and could be accessed globally.

New media played an important role in shaping the democracy of Kenya as it provided forums for public debate and sharing of individual opinion.<sup>227</sup> The recent record of the new media is that new media has undermined as well as invigorated that democracy. Therefore actors in development should be supportive of new media technologies. It is noted that the problem facing Kenya's new media (citizen media) is not how technically sophisticated and globally connected it is but rather how neutral the technology itself was and how the new media was utilized positively or negatively in Kenya during the 2007 general elections.<sup>228</sup>

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<sup>224</sup> Khoury, Mochool. (2007). Palestinian youth and political activism: 17

<sup>225</sup> Kimani, T, & Nyaboke, S. (2010). Globalization and the structure of new media industries. The handbook of new media: 287-306.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid

<sup>227</sup> Ibid

<sup>228</sup> Rotich and Goldstein. (2008) Digitally networked technologies.

## **4.2 The influence of new media internationalizing Kenya's post-election violence 2007-2008**

### **4.2.1 Emerging issues**

During 2007 elections, Kenya experienced its worst electoral violence since the return to multiparty politics in 1992 as a result of the 2007 disputed race. During this period Kenya was no longer viewed as one of the most stable countries in Africa. The violence contributed to the views such as those of Collier and Rohner that 'through instances of violence countries like Kenya increase the levels of civil wars in the region.'<sup>229</sup>

During the post-election crisis, new media technologies were not only used for peacemaking and reporting but also spreading of hate speech and spreading stories of uncertain truth.<sup>230</sup> SMS messages were sent through cell phones urging citizens to remove neighbors from their homes, these messages were shared on online platforms such as Mashada which captured global attention.<sup>231</sup> It became increasingly difficult to moderate and the site was pulled down and a new platform I Have no Tribe was created by Koba. The application centered on the google maps application through comments gained a lot of supporters and vice versa encouraging constructive speech as Kenyans from different parts struggled with the statement.<sup>232</sup>

### **4.2.2 Publicized opinions**

In the new media environment, digital technologies have empowered ordinary citizens to generate news and to access diverse sources of news and information beyond the limited space offered by government-owned media.<sup>233</sup> Through social media, emails and SMS communities online are able to get up to date information. Online platforms such as Ushahidi was used to broadcast the views of Kenyans on social media (Twitter,

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229 Collier, P & Dominic R. (2008). Democracy, Development, and Conflict: Journal of the European Economic Association: 531-40.

230 Zuckerman, Citizen Media and the 2007 Kenyan Election Crisis

231 Zuckerman, Citizen Media and the 2007 Kenyan Election Crisis

232 Zuckerman, Citizen Media and the 2007 Kenyan Election Crisis

233 Ibid:46

Facebook, and Blogs) providing the people with an opportunity to individually share their opinions on the ongoing 2007-2008 post-election crisis. It was a way for the public to share their opinions on the general post-election violence of 2007/2008. The online community in Kenya came together to share content both locally and internationally.

Broadcasted information is what enables citizens in forming opinions on their political leaders. Ordinary citizens no longer have to wait for the media to perform that role. If the media fails to serve the society, ordinary citizens take over the responsibility to open pipelines of news and public discussions.<sup>234</sup> This was seen during the 2007-2008 post-election conflict in Kenya, it is through new media platforms that the crisis gained global attention and opened doors to intervention by outside parties to mediate the conflict and see it resolved as quickly as possible.

#### **4.2.3 The Kenyan Economy**

In a growing investment political stability of a country is imperative. Since 2003, Kenya made remarkable improvements in infrastructure and policy institutionalization due to the NARC initiative. The oil and natural gas discoveries put Kenya at an advantage for attracting Foreign Direct Investments (FDI). In the projected 2011 economic survey Kenya stood to make approximately \$1.3 billion in 2018-2018.<sup>235</sup>

Due to the 2007-2008 election crisis in Kenya, both domestic and foreign investments were greatly affected.<sup>236</sup> The tourism industry, One of Kenya's main earner suffered as foreign countries advised their citizens against coming to Kenya. Horticulture second most affected foreign exchange earner, this was mainly because the post-election crisis occurred during the countries peak season.<sup>237</sup>

Amid post-race in Kenya, total FDI was at \$729million in fear of recurrence of violence in 2008 the total FDI dropped to \$183 million. The 7.1% decline in 2007 to

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<sup>234</sup> Judith Clarke & Michael Bromley: International news in the digital age: East West perceptions of the new world order:52

<sup>235</sup> Dr Kiti Reginah & M.K Kitiba: African Research and Resource forum: The impact of Elections 2007/2008 violence on Kenya's:1

<sup>236</sup> Njeri ,Frachah: The Kenya 2008-2009 Post-Election Conflict: 10. [www.worldmediation.org/paper-1.pdf](http://www.worldmediation.org/paper-1.pdf)

<sup>237</sup> Dercon S. & Gutiérrez-Romero Roxana: Triggers and Characteristics of the 2007 Kenyan Electoral Violence: [www.csae.ox.ac.uk/workingpapers/pdfs/2010-12text.pdf](http://www.csae.ox.ac.uk/workingpapers/pdfs/2010-12text.pdf)

1.7% decline in 2008 became intensified in 2009 Kenya was not able to make up for the declined 456 billion losses in revenues despite the high inflation rate which rose above 5%. It will take years for Kenya to recover from the losses in 2007 FDI and reach same economic growth. Civil conflicts have a huge impact on the economic growth of developing countries in Africa as witnessed in cases such as Kenya.<sup>238</sup>

#### **4.2.4 Trade**

In 2003-2008 exports were growing in Kenya in 2006 growth was estimated at 31%. In 2007 there was an 8.6% growth in 2008 declined to 8.7% due to the 2007-2008 post-election crisis in Kenya. The 2008 import bill was financed by 45.4% of the income in comparison to 48.1% in 2005.<sup>239</sup> Kenya over the years has consistently been the main exporter of agricultural foods, beverages, and lubricants. Exports of coffee, tea, and cereals all depend on air, road, and transport by the sea which was all affected by the post-election crisis experienced in Kenya. Landlocked countries such as Uganda (UG), South Sudan, Rwanda, Congo, and Burundi were greatly affected by the crisis in Kenya.<sup>240</sup>

#### **4.2.5 Tourism in Kenya**

Kenya was ranked down from 98-101 because of the poor infrastructure, legal and policy weaknesses and a limited budget for marketing in the tourism sector due to Kenya's post-election period 2007.<sup>241</sup> Transportation suffered for the travel advisories issued by foreign countries such as the US and the UK due to the internationalization of the post-election violence in Kenya. 126,000 job losses were documented in the in tourism and 40000 jobs in the Kenya Association of Manufacturers (KAM) manufacturing and agriculture sector.<sup>242</sup> In 2006 the tourism sector in Kenya was still dealing with global financial crisis moving into Europe also had to in a 2007-2008 deal with the post-election conflict that ensued in Kenya.

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<sup>238</sup> Chauvin & Rohner, (2009). The effects of conflict on the structure of the economy

<sup>239</sup> Government of Kenya, (2008): Economic Survey 2008, Nairobi, Ministry of planning, Central Bureau of statistics Nairobi.

<sup>240</sup> Dr Kiti Reginah & M.K Kitiba: African Research and Resource forum: The impact of Elections 2007/2008 violence on Kenya's Economy:3

<sup>241</sup> Pfetsch, F. R., & Rohloff, C. (2013). National and international conflicts, 1945-1995

<sup>242</sup> Kenya Association of manufacturers report 2010

### 4.3 The Kenya Post-election Mediation Process 2008

Both formal and informal forms of diplomacy took place during the internationalization of Kenya's post-election conflict in 2007. Politically influential people from around the world including former presidents visited Kenya hoping to be possible mediators in the ongoing post-election violence. There was an unsuccessful effort by diplomats to have the conflicting party members hold a debate and even tried having third parties to mediate dialogue between the principals.<sup>243</sup> The EU was given statements by ambassadors that advised them to find a quick resolution of the post-election conflict in Kenya.

In January 2008 after the post-election conflict ensued across Kenya a mediation process commenced. This process included the former president of Tanzania (TZ) Benjamin Mpaka, Graca Machel former first lady of South Africa (SA) and Kofi Annan former United Nations Secretary-General who was the chairperson during the mediation process. The responsibility of this team was to have a conclusion that ended the post-election conflict and brought peace back to Kenya. The mediation team was mandated by the African Union (AU) where they heavily relied on worldwide diplomatic support as well as technical support of the Geneva-based Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (HD Centre) and United Nations: Department of Political Affairs (DPA), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and United Nations Office in Nairobi (UNON).<sup>244</sup>

Agreements reached during the mediation process included promotion of reconciliation by the principal members and healing of the Nation as they laid down action steps towards resolving the killings taking place in that period.<sup>245</sup> Other resolutions included: Forming a truth and justice reconciliation commission, the formation of a coalition government, improvement of the electoral process and investigations of the circumstances that surrounded the violence witnessed during the post-election period.<sup>246</sup>

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<sup>243</sup>Fracia Njeri Ngamau, The Kenya 2008-2009 Post-Election Conflict: *www.worldmediation.org/paper-1.pdf*:16

<sup>244</sup>Lindenmayer E and Kaye J.L, A Choice for Peace? The Story of Forty-One Days of Mediation in Kenya, (New York: International Peace Institute, August 2009).

<sup>245</sup>Kofi Annan Back from the brink: the 2008 mediation process and reforms in Kenya.

<sup>246</sup>Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation "Commission of Inquiry on Post-Election Violence" (2008)

#### 4.4 Social media for change

Social media in Kenya has provided an ideal platform for common people to opine on global issues and exchange of views and ideas.<sup>247</sup> It functions concurrently with the mainstream media. Since it escapes the direct control of current regimes, it has broadened public interactions. Assessments are always not interfered with thus enriching their authenticity. Nevertheless, much more needs to be done on the influence of these discussions on the power of state and democratic processes<sup>248</sup>

Human rights groups in Kenya have hugely been transformed on how they interact and network as a result of the emergence of digital media.<sup>249</sup> The online organization has been made with reduced risks of being undermined by security agents and other state apparatus. This has seen a great deal of mobilization with minimal employment of the conventional strategies, including mainstream media. Bunge la Mwananchi Movement *Peoples Parliament* with a following of over 50,000 people on their 3 Facebook pages, has been able to get their opinion on matters governance. *Ugatuji*- founded by the Social Development Network (SODNET) is a Swahili word for devolution is one of those initiatives that have since developed. It seeks to provide information, for common people on budgetary matters and have them take part in the management of public resources. This online tool has made citizens demand accountability from members of Parliament and the executive.

New media has also immensely influenced the how new information is broadcast. Traditional media are also increasingly employing the use of social media to look for information and/or spread information. FB and Twitter are excellent examples of

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<sup>247</sup>Okollah, Ory (2007) Kenya 2007 election review with Ory Mzalendo. [www.africanpath.com/p-blogEntryID-2650](http://www.africanpath.com/p-blogEntryID-2650). Accessed March, 2008

<sup>248</sup>Maarit Makein and Mary Kuria, (2008) Information and communication technology in Africa, University of Pennsylvania "Social media and post election crisis in Kenya.":12

<sup>249</sup> Diamond, L. (2008): In The Spirit of Democracy: New York, Henry Holt and Company LLC.

social media sites use as political campaigns platforms. Online activism has become popular that the state is becoming involved in content regulation.<sup>250</sup>

Much of the news and advertisement disseminated by most television stations in Kenya to consumers are increasingly through social media. Access to new information has become even easier. User-generated journalism (citizen journalism) has increased as a result of social media, media houses gaining hugely from the pro-activeness of these audiences. This has created a reversed-role kind of a situation.<sup>251</sup>

Duffield notes that Kenyans on Twitter popularly referred to as *KOT* have gone beyond reacting to issues within to dealing with regional and international matters. For instance, media powerhouse CNN was on the receiving end for incorrect reporting on local happenings, in what is now known as twitter wars or ‘Tweets’ that began a year ago, by means of the hashtag #SomeoneTellCNN, The report which was publicly condemned had indicated that a group of people from Rift Valley were being trained homemade guns and machetes in preparation to cause chaos.<sup>252</sup>

#### **4.5 ICT and human rights**

Civil society organizations (CSO) began to use mobile phones in their work. Digital media has had both a positive and negative impact on civil, social and economic human rights.<sup>253</sup> It is agreed by commentators and writers that social media has brought about social change. During the post-election period, CSOs largely used digital media and considered it a very important mode of communicating information resulting to violence. Most importantly CSOs found the use of digital technology used in protecting

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<sup>250</sup>Cho, S. K. (2013). Korean Americans vs. African Americans: Conflict and Construction. Reading Rodney King/reading urban uprising, 196-214.

<sup>251</sup>Dr. Erneo Nyakundi Nyamboga: Social Media in Kenyan Journalism: Benefits, Opportunities and Challenges: [www.iosrjournals.org](http://www.iosrjournals.org):91

<sup>252</sup> Duffield, M. (2012). War as a network enterprise: the new security terrain and its implications. *Cultural Values*, 6(1-2), 153-165.

<sup>253</sup> Hachten, W. A., & Hachten, H. (2012). *The world news prism: Changing media of international communication*. Wiley-Blackwell.

human rights defenders (HRDs) as effective lines of communication were established between themselves and excising protection agencies during the post-election conflict.<sup>254</sup>

#### **4.5.1 Ushahidi**

During the post-election period, Ushahidi was used to facilitate sharing of information and to report instances of violence in the country on the platform. Since its conception during the post-election crisis in Kenya Ushahidi has developed. In 2008, the application had been used in South Africa to keep watch of anti-immigrant violence similarly in Congo the application has been used to track violence and in 2008-2009 Gaza war Ushahidi was used to gather reports of violence in the region.<sup>255</sup> The idea has now been adopted by Haiti and Chile where it is being used to assist in rescue efforts in earthquake-devastated areas.<sup>256</sup> Forest fires in Russia and popular upheavals in the Arab world.<sup>257</sup> In August 2010 the original Ushahidi organization launched a new conflict map to track the referendum of the new constitution. In this Ushahidi instance, a number of reports at its highpoint reached a thousand a day.<sup>258</sup>

During the 2014 Westgate mall attack in Nairobi, the Ushahidi application became a key source of communication. The digital application mobilized citizens to donate blood by providing them with a record of all the locations and centers that required particular blood types.<sup>259</sup>

Patrick Meier In 2010 as a result of the earthquake in Haiti created the Haiti Implementation by connecting new media applications: Ushahidi with The Fletcher School of Law & Diplomacy, UN OCHA/Columbia and the International Network of Crisis Mappers (CM\*Net). This spread information globally and many humanitarian workers joined the initiative.<sup>260</sup> In 2011 the application was used in the Middle East by pro-democracy demonstrators to share their views on what was happening in the country.

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<sup>254</sup> Technological advancements new frontiers:13

<sup>255</sup> <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ushahidi>

<sup>256</sup> Ibid:46

<sup>257</sup> Ibid

<sup>258</sup> Ibid

<sup>259</sup> "Software Company Ushahidi uses open source skills to help during Kenya mall siege". Opensource.com. 24 September 2013.

<sup>260</sup> Monica Hesse (2010). "Crisis mapping brings online tool to Haitian disaster relief effort"



In Libya, OCHA the UN office for the humanitarian affairs asked the standby task force to be set in motion where the technical team put up a Ushahidi platform and later launched a public version allowing users to contribute to the situation on the ground as it happened real time.<sup>261</sup>

#### **4.6 The Role of Social Media in Kenya Today**

Blogs, Twitter and Facebook continuously made available a wide range of online content. Ever since the promulgation of the new constitution in 2010, Kenyans have continued to exercise their freedom of speech and have gone ahead to publish their topics of interest. This diversity is observed in the areas covered, e.g. technology, fashion, food, health, human rights, environment and devolved governments. Additionally, Bloggers Association of Kenya (BAKE) has included Kenyans in into space through training nationwide.<sup>262</sup> The availability of internet in most major towns and cities, Nairobi included, has perpetuated the rise of blogs as complementary sources for information. Communities that relied on traditional media now have internet as an option.<sup>263</sup>

The fall in sales of the newspaper, mainly The Standard and Daily Nation are a confirmation of the changing trends in reading. New adaptation methods such as the use of mobile applications are being put in place by the media houses to supplement the print production. Other media houses have had to do away with print media as was the case of Nairobi News, a nation Media Publication that targeted the Nairobi populace. This publication totally embarked on web production.<sup>264</sup>

In governance, social media has resulted in the following:

It has increased political contribution by citizens who can now comment on policy through online channels, report on crime, lobby for change. Unfortunately, this kind of contribution is restrictive and elitist in nature. It only allows those who can and know

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<sup>261</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ushahidi#cite\\_note-26](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ushahidi#cite_note-26)

<sup>262</sup> The State of Blogging & Social Media in Kenya 2015. [www.monitor.co.ke/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/The-State-of-Blogging-Social-Media-in-Kenya-2015-Report-.pdf](http://www.monitor.co.ke/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/The-State-of-Blogging-Social-Media-in-Kenya-2015-Report-.pdf)

<sup>263</sup> The State of Blogging & Social Media in Kenya. [www.monitor.co.ke](http://www.monitor.co.ke)

<sup>264</sup> <http://www.techweez.com/2014/11/21/nairobi-news-isback/>

how to access the Internet. Additionally, government websites are shunned. Social media has also been used to call for protests and activism.<sup>265</sup>

Through social media, citizens have been able to put pressure on the government in the call for accountability and transparency. They have been able to draw issues and report concerns. Peacebuilding initiatives have also been started through social media, which has helped monitor violence. However, in some instances, it has been used to propagate violence. Social media in private sector has aided business to increase transparency, inform consumers and innovation. Social media has also brought about certain phenomena in internal governance. Criminal activities such as hate speech have been witnessed leading to the formulation of new rules and laws. In other cases, the government has intervened by pulling down social websites as a control measure.<sup>266</sup>

#### **4.7 Kenyan Politicians on Social Networks**

In 2013, politicians who were contesting in the presidential election in Kenya used different strategies to get in touch without to the masses. The contenders joined social media. Since new media has become a critical part of the lives of the Kenyan community since the 2007 post-election period, Kenyan politicians have since then made attempts to cultivate meaningful relationships with significant citizen journalists (Social media opinion makers as well as bloggers). During the 2013 elections, Politicians such as Raphael Tuju declared his presidential candidacy through YouTube online digital platform,<sup>267</sup> Martha Karua created a facebook page where she announced her candidature as well as used it as a platform to gain support from the Kenyan youth.<sup>268</sup> In recent times, new media technologies such as social media have been considered key drumming up support from the diaspora Kenyans.

#### **4.8 Crowd-sourcing comments for Kenyan Budget**

In 2011/2012, The Kenyan minister of finance at the time Uhuru Kenyatta requested Kenyan citizens to share their opinions on what changes they would like to see

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<sup>265</sup> The State of Blogging & Social Media in Kenya 2015 Report

<sup>266</sup> [www.monitor.co.ke](http://www.monitor.co.ke)

<sup>267</sup> [www.youtube.com/watch?v=emLCQ9GJ0O0&feature=related](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=emLCQ9GJ0O0&feature=related)

<sup>268</sup> [www.facebook.com/MarthaKarua](http://www.facebook.com/MarthaKarua)

implemented in that financial year/s budget. The post received over 3000 responses through social media networks such as Facebook, Twitter and through blogs.<sup>269</sup>

#### **4.9 The Kenyans for Kenya Campaign**

In 2011, Kenya was hit by one of the worst droughts leaving many people in the grim situation. The government had projected that 5 million Kenyans were at risk of starvation. Impatient with the slow response from the government and NGOs, an initiative dubbed Kenyans for Kenyans was formed. This campaign, which brought together Red Cross and heads of different corporate entities in Kenya rallied Kenyans to contribute funds for those affected by the drought. An online movement through Facebook and Twitter called upon Kenyans to help fellow Kenyans starving. Contributions were mainly channeled through Safaricom, arguably Kenya's largest mobile telephone company and managed by the Red Cross with the target being one billion shillings. Funds were raised through Mobile Money Ksh 6 million was raised by both individuals and corporations including SMEs with over one million households receiving food relief.<sup>270</sup>

“Mobile technology is So many people in Kenya have access to mobile phones, which are used during natural disasters such as floods and droughts. According to the Red Cross East African food advisor Stephen Mc Dowell, Digital media will continue to play a key role in the trade industry. He is quoted as saying “This is the internet generation in East Africa, so we'll have to speak with them differently than we spoke to their parents.”<sup>271</sup>

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<sup>269</sup> Ibid

<sup>270</sup> Kachwaya, (2009), Will social media use in Kenya bring change to Kenyans. [www.futurechallenges.org/local/will-kenyan-youth-through-social-media-bring-change-in-kenya/](http://www.futurechallenges.org/local/will-kenyan-youth-through-social-media-bring-change-in-kenya/)

<sup>271</sup> Ibid

#### **4.10 Conclusion**

In conclusion, new media in Kenya is encountering quick development. New media is starting to challenge customary media (radio, TV and print) as the only way of accessing news and data. Presently the information society has embraced new media technologies that allow individuals to be involved communication.<sup>272</sup> In Kenya, there are 22.3 million people with access to mobile phones and 8.69 million internet users estimated. Settled broadband memberships expanded from 18,626 subscribers of 84,726 in the years 2010/2011. Through 3G, Edge and GPRS Kenyans are able to access internet through their mobile phones.<sup>273</sup> Kenya's ICT Cabinet Secretary Fred Matiang'i initiated the state blogging and social media report in 2015 that reflected the new direction bloggers in Kenya are being perceived and their importance in the growth of new media technologies in Kenya. Kenyans today can embrace citizen journalism, write and publish articles freely.

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<sup>272</sup> Nyabuga G, (2011) New media and its effectiveness. School of journalism: University of Nairobi.

<sup>273</sup> [www.whiteafrican.com](http://www.whiteafrican.com)

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

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

#### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents a summary of the findings and conclusions there-to on the internalization of conflict in Africa through new media during the 2007-2008 post-election conflict in Kenya. The chapter also presents recommendations for further studies.

#### **5.2 Summary of Findings**

The study aims at assessing the internalization of conflict in Africa through new media during Kenya's 2007/2008 post-election violence. The study established that social networking sites were maximally used in the post-election conflict that occurred in Kenya 2007-2008. Citizen journalists using new media technologies enabled those witnessing or taking part in the conflict to upload content during the period of the conflict and make reports on live occurrences. Blogs run by citizen journalists were used to publicize and broadcast conflict in the different regions where conflict was taking place.

The study found that in the new media environment, digital technologies have empowered ordinary citizens to generate news and to access diverse sources of news and information beyond the limited space offered by government-owned media. The study established that new media tools such as social media does not replace traditional media but enhance it. Social media tools serve as a platform for free expression and are not controlled by the government, therefore, widening public participation through discussions through these forums.

#### **5.3 Discussions of the Findings**

The study established there is a range of platforms of social media that were used in the conflict. It found that social networking sites were maximally used in the post-election conflict that occurred in Kenya 2007-2008. Regularly, citizens used the internet to create awareness, share, initiate and organize extensive contention tasks which include social protests. The study found that citizen journalists using new media

technologies enabled those witnessing or taking part in the conflict to upload content during the period of the conflict and make reports on live occurrences. Mobile phones were used by individuals to communicate with protestors and spread their information.

The findings indicated that international media such as CNN, BBC, and Reuters used image hosting applications such as flicker and video hosting sites such as YouTube for their reporting. These applications disseminated information at a much faster rate capturing both regional and international community. Blogs run by citizen journalists were used to publicize and broadcast conflict in the different regions where conflict was taking place. Ushahidi was used by individuals to document incidents as they took place on the ground and could be accessed globally.

The study found that in the new media environment, digital technologies have empowered ordinary citizens to generate news and to access diverse sources of news and information beyond the limited space offered by government-owned media. It provides platforms where individuals can get updated information easily through social network sites, SMSes-Text messaging and emails. The key value of online discussions such as Ushahidi is that it encouraged and sustained active citizen involvement.

The findings in this study indicate the new dimensions through which citizens on social media contribute to public discussions and how they share their views both national and around the world.<sup>274</sup> The new media act as a supplementary entity rather than a permanent replacement to the traditional media. New media attracts minimal control from the regimes in power making them ideal platforms for a wide range of public discussion. It gives a crucial assessment and uncompromised viewpoints. These findings indicated that through new media, human rights activism, information sharing has greatly changed.

The findings indicated that new media platforms, e.g. blogs, Twitter and Facebook have, since their uptake in Kenya, continued to offer diversity in the variety of content available online. Social media has also become an effective tool through which

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<sup>274</sup>Okollah, Kenya 2007 election review with Ory Mzalendo.

Kenyans can write on topics of interest to them as well as exercise their freedom to free speech as guaranteed in the Kenyan Constitution that was promulgated in 2010.

During the post-election period, Ushahidi was used to facilitate sharing of information and to report instances of violence in the country on the platform. Ushahidi has grown from its point of origin aim of tracking reports of political unrest in Kenya. Since the post-election conflict in Kenya, the application has been used as a platform to create similar software to observe xenophobia in South Africa in 2008. The software has also been used to map violence in eastern Congo. The study findings indicated that certainly the changing reading trends can be confirmed by the dip in sales of the print newspaper by two of the leading Kenyan newspapers the Nation and the Standard. The traditional media houses are finding themselves having to adapt to these changing trends by introducing alternatives such as mobile applications (mobile apps) for their publications to complement the print version. In some instances, doing away with the print version all together as was the case recently with Nairobi news. The Nation Media Group publication was targeted at the Nairobi County.

#### **5.4 Conclusion**

In conclusion, the study notes that social networking sites were maximally used in the post-election conflict that occurred in Kenya 2007-2008. Citizen journalists using new media technologies enabled those witnessing or taking part in the conflict to upload content during the period of the conflict and make reports on live occurrences.

It can also be concluded that the new media environment, digital technologies have empowered ordinary citizens to generate news and to access diverse sources of news and information beyond the limited space offered by traditional forms of media and allows individuals to share up to date information through new media technologies.

Additionally, new media technologies do not replace traditional media but instead enhance it. Through these tools, citizens have been able to freely express their opinions as well as get updated information much faster. It can also be concluded that digital media technologies have transformed how human rights groups network and share information in Kenya and generally Africa.

## **5.5 Recommendations**

The study makes the following recommendations:-

### **5.5.1 Recommendation for Further Studies**

The study has been conducted on internalization of conflict in Africa through new media during the 2007/2008 post-election violence in Kenya. The basis of this study was one type of media which is new media. The study suggests a research on traditional media tools to be undertaken as they also had an effect on Kenya's post-election violence in 2007-2008. Further analysis of the research topic should be done using questionnaires so as to rate the responses. Lastly, the study suggests further study to be carried out to determine why the study area has always been the PEV electoral conflicts.

### **5.5.2 Policy Recommendations**

In case of conflicts, the new media should develop a series of public service announcements reminding fighting communities about their traditional collaboration and advising restraint, informing security officers of the affected areas promptly and educating the fighting communities on the importance of peace in the society. Also, the regulatory authorities should design a tailored regulatory mechanism for the new media from the traditional ones.

The study also recommends that media reporters or journalists be trained on conflict reporting. Since conflict reporting is more challenging, most journalists were very unethical in the manner they handled the PEV reports as per the findings and therefore media training institutions should design study units on conflict reporting. The Media Society of Kenya should organize workshops and training on conflict reporting and management for its practitioners.



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