University of Nairobi

Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies

Role of Media Coverage in International Conflict Management: The Case Study of 2007-08 Post-Election Violence in Kenya

BELINDAH OLISA MASHETI

R50/70138/2013

Dr. Patrick Maluki

A Research Project Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of The Degree of Masters of Arts in International Studies

2017

DECLARATION

Signed…………………………………. Date………………………

Belindah Olisa

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

Signed……………………………………………Date………………………………….

 Dr. Patrick Maluki

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I acknowledge my supervisor Dr. Patrick Maluki for his dedicated guidance and intellect support. Family and friends, for their invaluable support during this project. May God bless you. I also salute all scholars who had published their research work in International Conflict Management with their findings, policymakers and other independent organizations and individuals that will contribute to conflict management in Kenya and other parts of the world.

DEDICATION

This project report is dedicated to the Almighty to whom I owe all that I am. To my parents John and Julie who have supported me materially and emotionally during this time. To my husband to be Peter who has always given me the encouragement and courage to shoulder on during those trying moments. To you all, I say thank you and may the Lord bless you abundantly.

ABSTRACT

Around the world the major role of media in conflict has been an issue. Media has a lot of influence around the world and has a tremendous role in conflicts and conflict management. The main aim of this study was to analyze the role of media in mediating conflict management, with reference to 2007/08 Post-Election Violence in Kenya. The specific objectives were to develop the media availability level as well as the distinctive sorts of media coverage; to establish how much media elevated or conceivably deescalated brutality amid the 2007/2008 Post Election Violence; to regulate how media could impact chose human elements towards strife in the Country. Social responsibility theory of media reportage was analyzed to explain media roles and to develop the conceptual framework. An unmistakable research plan and arbitrary stratified inspecting strategy with a specimen size of 100 respondents was utilized. Essential information was acquired by means of polls and inside and out meetings broke down and exhibited in tables, diagrams and charts with a concise portrayal from there on. The investigation discovered that media played both clash heightening and de-acceleration parts amid 2007/08 Post-Election Violence. A share of the undesirable media portions incorporates empowering abhor discourse, running parallel counting focuses, deception of data, and instigation. Some positive parts incorporate metro training, addressing peace, the sensible extent of political campaigns, and sensible extent of unpalatable issues amid peace exchanges. The investigation found that media altogether affected individuals in view of age factor; very impacted individuals considering sexual orientation factor; and modestly affected individuals in view of status and home elements. In any case, media has a low impact on individuals considering religious factor. The investigation prescribes stringent measures for negative news-casting while at the same time featuring the benefits of peace news-casting. A portion of the stringent measures suggested by the examination incorporate the appropriation of a typical approach in strife announcing, the planning and requirement of stringent directions towards the control of vernacular FM stations, journalists to undergo training on conflict reporting, the developing a standard reporting procedure, encourage media to report accurate and verified official electoral body results, and conflict reports to cut across all listeners without targeting groups.

ABBREVIATIONS

ASK-Agricultural Society of Kenya

BBC- British Broadcasting Corporation

CNN- Cable News Network

ECK-Electoral Commission of Kenya

IDP-Internally Displaced Persons

KBC-Kenya Broadcasting Corporation

KNCHR-Kenya National Commission of Human Rights

KRCS-Kenya Red Cross Society

KTN- Kenya Television Network

LRA-Lord Resistance Army

MCK- Media Council of Kenya

MOA-Media's Owners Association

NTV- Nation Television

ODM-Orange Democratic Movement

ODM-K-Orange Democratic Movement of Kenya

PEV-Post-Election Violence

PNU-Party of National Unity

RTLM-Radio Television Libra des Milles

UN-United Nations

UNDP-United Nations Development Program

LIST OFFIGURES

Fig 1.1: Conceptual Model

TABLE OF CONTENT

Contents

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION OF THE STUDY

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Conflicts arise when there is misunderstanding or loss of trust between two nations or two individuals looking to gain power. Where there is conflict security is paramount. Challenges in security are becoming increasingly diverse and fragmented posing more threat to world peace. To better understanding of the major causes of conflicts and the interrelation between security and conflict management from a global perspective has increasingly become dynamic.[1] This has also been intensified by unhealthy regional dynamics arising from struggles of power within a country and between states as having been witnessed in several developing countries particularly in Africa.

1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

In the modern world conflict is one of the defining features. After Cold War, there have been many conflicts that have involved the deaths, suffering and displacement of millions of people. Thus, it is impossible to quantify human suffering; reason being that conflict has taken place over many years before. For example – it has been suggested that children have been the most affected in the last ten years of conflict.

A number of these conflicts/wars have raised serious concerns from the international community; although for those major conflicts that have attracted international community attention have played a significant impact in the world. Media plays a significant role in airing such conflicts and

---

[1] Morgenthau, H & Thompson, K. *Politics among Nations. New York: McGraw Hill* (1985)

their major impact because no one knows what is exactly going on in another part of the country or in another country without the transmission by the media.

It is important to know that politics play a major role in conflicts in that it affects the response of the most powerful governments in the world and this in turn tends to affect how the media covers conflict news report. In other major instances, the media gives priority to covering one conflict rather than another and this, in turn, shapes the way the international community responds in tackling the conflict.

However, role played by the media is quite varied and with a close look at the 2007-2008 PEV in Kenya, we can learn the effect of media coverage in conflict management.

1.2 OBJECTIVES

The general purpose of the study is to analyze the role played by the media in conflict management.

Specific Objectives

I. To establish the role played by the media before, during and after the 2007 general elections in Kenya.

II. To establish the media accessibility and the various types of media coverage in Kenya during the 2007 general election.

III. To establish the extent to which media deescalated violence during the 2007/2008 PEV in Kenya.

1.3 LITERATURE REVIEW

1.3.1 The General Role of Media in Conflict

To better comprehend the nature and specific role of media in conflict management, we need to recognize the different ways through which media influences violence/war and conflict management. Newbold points out that many scholars and researchers have focused on the role of media in economic, social and political issues touching on states with less consideration being given to conflicts.[2] To top that media impact on conflict management has been few studies done, this is owing to lack of multidisciplinary representations and thoughts that would assess media's role from peace and conflict realm.

Different academics have insisted on globalization in which has directed to vital changes in the purposes of violence. Some, such as Kaldor argues that for a globalization to take effect it was because of the revolution of Information technology.[3] Globalization has redefined what media and conflict management is. Media role is that it tends to give us the intensity of violence, for instance where the conflict is, why, how and who does the fighting and above all the impact of the conflict. Media's biggest problem would be the influence it has on people which ultimately determines conflict direction that has not been determined.

Political decision-makers take media for granted yet the media has a very challenging role to play. For instance, media as to take both sides when it comes to conflict management. It will pick sides on who to support and it will take charge in peace-building projects after conflict. Role of media is extensive and Political practitioners, researchers and analysts assume the effect of media in

---

[2] Newbold *'Somalia Enforcing Restraint: Collective Intervention in Internal Conflicts (1995)*
[3] Kaldor.S. *Canada and International Peacekeeping Washington DC: Center for strategic and International Studies (2001)*

peace and political scuffles. An instance of the scope is perceived in a survey in America where 64% of American military officers still thought that media had major duty for ruining the war effort in Vietnam.[4] Still, there is less investigation and resources has been assigned to expand the comprehension of the media's part in armed conflicts and democratizing states (ibid).

1.3.2 Perceived Role of Media in Kenya.

Media acts as the 4th state in Kenya. Kenya being a democratic country it has a massive role to play in economic, social, political and educational issues affecting the nation thus contributing immensely towards development. However, this has come with disgust especially in political issues resulting from violent conflicts [5]. The role of media in Kenya cannot be assumed given its influential power. For instance, mainstream media could have played a positive role during the 2007 general elections by supporting the efforts of the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK) towards promotion of free and fair elections. Moreover, media could have also played as a tool for education to the voters by supporting the civic education programs conducted by society organizations [6]. Indeed, media shaped national and public sphere opinion on elections, attitudes on political parties, presidential candidates and critical issues during election campaigns in Kenya through their extensive coverage and broadcasts.[7]

Apart from the positive roles, media could have also played negative roles towards the cause and escalation of election violence. During 2007 general election coverage, the Kenyan media portrayed a volatile political environment marred with mistrust, violence, and a stiff race between

---

[4] Taylor.P. *Global Communication, International Affairs and the Media since 1945*

[5] Ibrahim & Jenner, *The rise of a mediated state in Northern Kenya: The Wajir Story and its implications for state-building.* (1997).

[6] Mbeke, P. *The role of media in conflict and peace building in Kenya*. InterNews Network. (2009).

[7] UNDP (2008)

two candidates through biased coverage. Furthermore, major media houses predicted a flawed and highly manipulated election to favour the ruling party. Therefore, the attempt to the vote count role by ECK only aided to ascertain the prediction of the media. [8] This certainly could have prompted the PEV.

1.3.3 Gap analysis

Based on the above discussion, it is true to some extent that media plays a major role in inciting conflict all over the world, including Kenya. Other notable countries, particularly in Africa, include Rwanda, in the 1994 Rwanda genocide Radio- Television Libre des Milles Collines (RTLM) urged Hutus to kill Tutsis. Equally, other radio stations played a key role in de-escalation of conflict thus promoting reconciliation and peace among conflicting parties. For example, the Somalia radio station – Radio Galkayo in the 90's encouraged conflicting clans to negotiate peace while at the same time promoted sporting activities that brought together rival clans. Mega FM Radio station in Northern Uganda also encouraged members of the LRA to hold talks with the government and civil society representatives through the radio.

Despite this role of media, minimal studies have been done to establish the extent to which it influences categories of people based on age, gender, religion and social status towards conflict. Therefore, the study attempts to fill this gap.

---

[8]See KNCHR, On the Brink of the Precipice: *A Human Rights Account of the Kenya's Post-Election Violence. Kenya National Commission of Human Right.* Nairobi: HRW. (2008b).

There also exists a geographical gap in conflict studies in Kenya. Most studies have concentrated on armed and cross-border conflicts in northern and eastern part of Kenya with little attention being given to other parts of the country.

1.4 JUSTIFICATION

After legislature, executive and judiciary media is the 4th pillar of the society as it has a mandate on shaping people's perceptions and lifestyles. Indeed, media influences every part of our lives thoughts, attitudes, choices, lifestyles and decision-making, through education, information and entertainment. Media could also be used as a tool for conflict transformation and peacebuilding through objective reporting and education of peace journalism. However, media could also be used to promote conflicts. For instance, subjective reporting could trigger a few negative things in a nation hence promoting or escalating conflicts. This study, therefore, focused on the fundamental understanding of how media escalate conflicts and/or promote peace by focusing on specific human variables with reference to the 2007/8 PEV in Kenya.

The investigation additionally enhances to the assortment of information identifying with media operations and refereeing and additionally advancing parts of peace news coverage amid contention. It additionally gives data that would empower security approach creators, law implementation and political administration to settle on better choices about how to counteract clashes through early cautioning and sharpening the media on how their activities can bring about clash. As an apparatus for upgrading peace, the examination may urge media experts to grasp set strategies and moral benchmarks which direct the lead of the media clique.

1.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The examination concentrated on social duty hypothesis to build up the conceptual framework. This hypothesis proposes that a free and capable media has the duty of detailing precisely, advancing the open level-headed discussion, speaking to various perspectives, and ensuring singular rights against manhandling by government apparatus. With the investigation of two factors; media revealing as a free factor and refereeing (peace advancement or struggle de-heightening) as a needy variable, the examination built up the applied structure appeared in the model 1.1.

1.5.1 Theoretical framework

This section discusses theories of media reporting with reference to libertarian and social responsibility theory.

1.5.2 The Social Responsibility Theory

The social responsibility theory states the position that the media is required to undertake both moral and authorized tasks for all that they circulate for the overall good of the society.[9] This theory forms a platform to make media reportage open, precise and fair. Acceptability is the establishment of this hypothesis, and to be trustworthy, media specialists attempt however much as could be expected to be socially mindful, straightforward, reasonable and adjusted in revealing while at the same time regarding the nobility, security and privileges of all[10]. Under this theory, media reporting tends to highpoint inequalities in the community and educate people on their rights. The downside with this hypothesis stands that as individuals turn out to be more illuminated,

---

[9] For more reading Siebet et al (1972)
[10] See Schudson, (2001).

the further they push for their human rights through means accessible, including the use of violence. Along these lines, the ramifications of this hypothesis are broad in impacting individuals to join and ascend against shameful acts[11].

The Social Responsibility theory binds the practitioners to report objectively, truthfully and transparently as an obligation. The highlighted humanitarian crisis following the 2007/2008 PEV by media made the international bodies to intervene. As a result, this led to ending the violence. For example, several world personalities, including African eminent personalities, headed by Kofi Annan, the former UN Secretary-General, were among prominent personalities who intervened to bring peace back in Kenya. Additionally, organizations put out advertisements calling on Kenyans to shun violence and keep the peace as well as calling fellow journalists to adhere to ethical reporting standards[12]. Similarly, MCK also encouraged diplomatic co-existence among rival ethnic groups and mobilized individuals, churches and private sector to provide relief assistance to IDPs in parts affected by violence. These are some of the media initiatives that could be seen to promote peace under social responsibility theory.

Social responsibility theory is equally attached to corporate social responsibility. The idea that corporations have a moral obligation towards the societal well-being has its roots embodied in social responsibility theory. Major media houses, for instance, Nation Media, The Standard Group and Royal Media organized for relief projects to assist the internally displaced persons in the affected regions. Media houses in collaboration with Kenya Red Cross (KRC) appealed to

---

[11] See Schudson, (2001). ibid

[12] See Mbeke, P. *The role of media in conflict and peace building in Kenya*. InterNews Network. (2009).

Kenyans to donate food, clothes and shelter to IDPs. This was a positive role played by the media towards promotion of peace.

1.5.3 Conceptual Model

The investigation concentrated on social obligation hypothesis to build up the conceptual framework. This hypothesis assumes that a free and mindful media has the duty of revealing precisely, advancing the open level-headed discussion, speaking to various perspectives, and securing singular rights against mishandling by government hardware. With the examination of two factors; media detailing as a free factor and refereeing (peace advancement or struggle de-acceleration) as a reliant variable, the investigation built up the applied model demonstrated as follows.

Figure 1.1: Conceptual Model
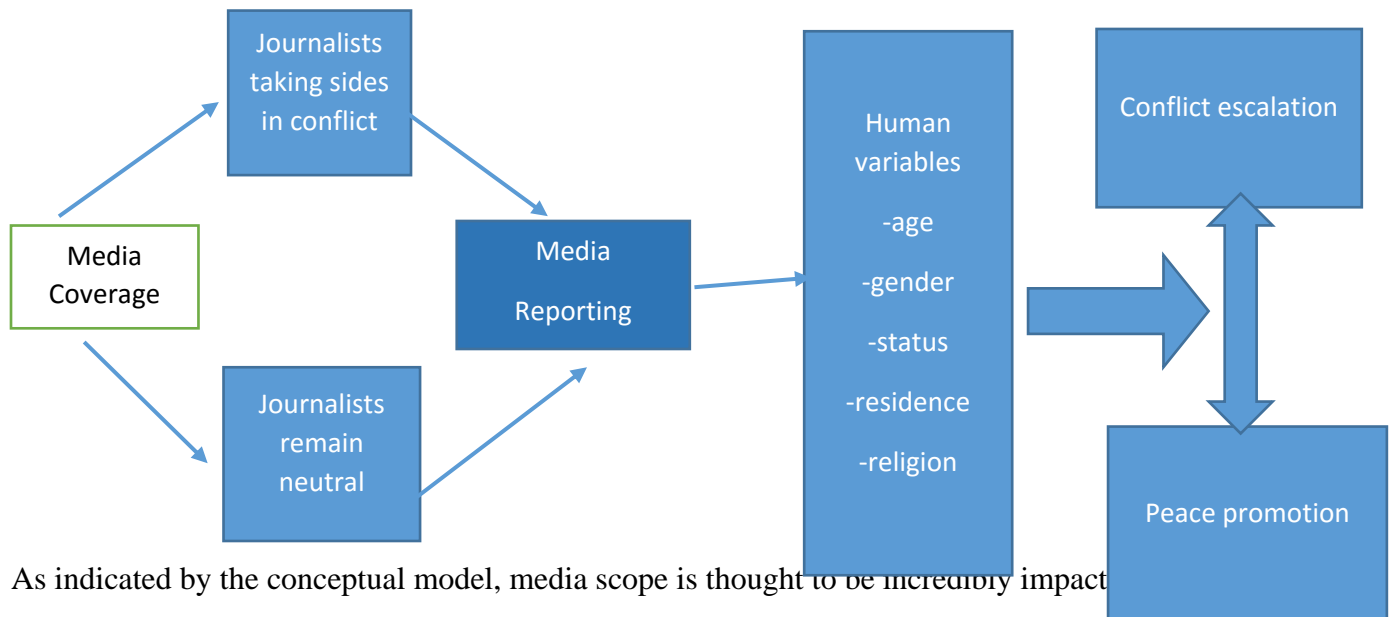
As indicated by the conceptual model, media scope is thought to be incredibly impact independent or target revealing which decides the idea of scope. Individual detailing included arranging, dissecting and most likely control of reports to suit interests, while target announcing

includes realities, precise and capable report in view of demonstrable skill. All these are believed to occur in the media condition which speaks to the autonomous variable. Be that as it may, their powerful impact on people depends on variables, for example, sexual orientation, age, economic wellbeing religion and home. These human elements speak to the interceding variable, which decides the quality of the connection between the autonomous and ward factors. A definitive reason for the struggle is the dependent variable. It accepts two results i.e. heightening or lessening as might be affected by the media report. This media impact on struggle is the thing that the investigation is expected to set up.

1.6 HYPOTHESES

1. Media coverage on the normative and ethical debates inspire management of conflict by advocating for diplomacy.

1.7 METHODOLOGY

1.7.2 Research Design

The research adopted a descriptive study design. Mugenda and Mugenda supported the fact that for a descriptive research often aids the researcher to form a more concise problem statement.[13] Clear and concise explanation of the cause and effect between independent variables and the dependent variables has been provided. Descriptive study role was to be able to offer the researcher a platform to describe relevant areas of the phenomena oriented.

---

[13] Mugenda &Mugenda A.G. Research Methods: *Qualitative &Quantitative Approaches.* African Centre for Technology Studies (ACTS Press, 2003)

1.7.2 Data Collection

In data collection, this study will have relied on interviews, observation, documentary sources and questionnaires. During the study, only qualitative data was collected and to enhance reliability both primary and secondary sources. For the research, a questionnaire in (Appendix 1) was used for resident respondents. Questionnaires are cheaper in terms of costs and saving time.[14] Response rate using questionnaire was high because respondents could attend to the questionnaires at their own time; respondents gave free views without fear of victimization, as no personal information was required.

The approach primarily collated and accessed various sources including newspapers, journals, TV productions and government and non-governmental reports. Secondary data involved materials such as published books, e-journals, academic papers, TVs and radio coverage especially prior, during and after 2007 election. Primary data collection was done by the researcher with assistance of three field assistants. However, the researchers used questionnaires and documentary sources due to the research design and for this study.

1.8 CHAPTER OUTLINE

Chapter one introduces the topic of our research by setting the extensive framework of our study, statement of the problem, justification, conceptual model, literature review, hypotheses and the methodology.

---

[14]Kothari Research Methodology: *Methods and Techniques 10th ed.* (2011).

Chapter Two looks at the general role of the media during PEV in Kenya. The major part the media plays in conducting the general election in Kenya, especially throughout the 2007-2008 Post-Election Violence. The media often plays an important role in managing, creating and furthering factors that trigger conflicts. This chapter will also look at how the Kenyan media might have created and its role in managing the conflict after the general elections.

Chapter Three will look at various modes of media coverage and the accessibility of the various types of media coverage during the general elections in Kenya.

Chapter Four looks at media's negative and positive in the post-election violence. It also looks at conflict, the key players in the election process and how they seek to promote peacebuilding and reconciliation to create peace through mainstream media.

Chapter Five delivers conclusions of the research, gives recommendations and provides proposals on areas for further study.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ROLE MEDIA PLAYED BEFORE, DURING AND AFTER THE 2007 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN KENYA

2.0 INTRODUCTION

The media had its role in the elections that took place in Kenya in 2007. Media acts as the watchdog of the society thus information passed to the masses before, during and after the general elections is to be fair and authentic. Among its many roles, Kenyan media was blamed for promoting the post-election violence in 2007 and this possibly affected the way it covered the 2013 election.[15] The media might have failed in one way or the other to pass the correct information to the public during elections but it also played a major role in promoting peace after the 2007 PEV in Kenya.

This chapter will focus on the behaviour of the Kenyan media before general elections, throughout elections and after the election. It will focus on the significant role the media played in creating, managing, and furthering factors that are considered to have triggered conflict. The media had its merits and demerits in the 2007 post-election violence.

In the society, media plays significant roles in shaping how the people live, it offers a platform for serious issues to be discussed. With media communication and information exists which help the society to function harmoniously.[16]

---

[15] Price, M. & Thomson, S. (2002). *An Operational Framework for Media and Peace-building*

[16] See KNCHR, On the Brink of the Precipice: *A Human Rights Account of the Kenya's Post-Election Violence. Kenya National Commission of Human Right.* Nairobi: HRW. (2008b).

The media has the task of ensuring it passes information in a fair, timely and balanced manner, this is to ensure that information remains vital in a democratic society. In Kenya, it is the responsibility of the media to make the public trust the leading media houses that relied on information during the coverage of the elections. For most people in the rural areas used the radio, those in the urban areas had the print media, television, radio and internet. Media had a lot to cover during elections and sometimes during the airing of the information journalists were carried away in their reporting. The news they aired was causing tension within the public sphere.

At the election period, the media acted as the mouthpiece of politicians to cause tension while calling for mass action against other communities. Aside from politician abusing the role of media thee ae other major positive roles the media played that calmed he post-election violence.

2.1 Role of the Media in the Electoral Process

When a country carries out elections it should be free and unbiased elections. It is always the task of the media to air the elections to point out issues that may cause tension and address those issues early enough. It is also the job of the media to educate the voter on the election process, hold political debates with the politicians for the public to scrutinize their agenda, media should also hold public forums to give the people a platform to air their views.

For the public to have knowledge on how to vote who to vote for and maybe why to vote for a certain party, media has a role to play of displaying these candidates' agenda before the electoral process. This is whereby the media airs debates, interviews and profiles of the candidates running to be elected. Before elections media acts as a watchdog where it exposes errors of commission or omissions by those in control in their pursuit to stay in power. This alerts citizens

to any electoral malpractices before elections for it to be rectified. Media also exposes the manipulation of citizens through the offering of bribes by politicians and other illegal dealings during campaigns.

2.1.1 Voter Education

In a democratic country and one looking to have free and fair elections education is key before any voting exercise. This is to create awareness to the voters, especially those in rural areas. Proper voter education by the media in the rural areas to be taken as important this is because politicians take advantage of the fact that most of the people in the rural lack the education and most of them depend on hand-outs. And, to be urged not to sell their votes for a mere kilo of sugar as it tends to happen in other parts of rural areas. Not only in rural areas is voter education important but also in urban areas the same education would apply. Reason for voter education in rural areas would be because many things would have changed for example the technology used to administer the elections, required documents during voting, for instance, the voter's card was important and the identification card. The public needed to be told to register in their preferred polling stations to avoid confusion during the day of voting. All this would be the role of the ECK to educate the public through the media. For those in the rural areas, the use of vernacular radio stations can be used to educate since not all people in the rural areas understand the two national languages that is English and Swahili.

2.1.2 By reporting on the election process

It is the media that reports the electioneering process to the public. Election process entails debate platform for the politicians, for the public to air their views or their take on the elections, issues they would like taken care of. During the election process the media also highlights the

agenda of the politicians, their campaigning period. Journalists camp in various parts of the country to follow up on politicians and their campaign. During elections, they camp on polling stations to record the voters' turnout, to ensure free and fair elections. Media coverage during elections starts from campaigns of the politicians. Campaigns happen in different parts of the country but not everyone gets a chance to be present at that place and time. This is where the media comes in and plays its role in reporting and disseminating of information to the public. Media gives the location, the message passed, the politicians present at that rally event. During this campaign rallies the media needs to be very keen in whatever they air to avoid negativity among the public, some of these politicians spread malicious news to make their opponents look bad. This is where the media needed to play smart and not air any news that wold cause tension within the public. After the elections, the media should not be allowed to run parallel tallying centres alongside that of the official electoral body. This gave different figures making politicians and the public uneasy and made it hard for the electoral body a hard time when it came to announce of the results. However, they should be encouraged to report on the accuracy of the electoral body results and to objectively highlight on any discrepancies noted on these results.

2.1.3 Provide platform for the public to communicate

Media helps the people to be able to communicate their opinions on the campaigns development. Peoples concern, thoughts and opinions can only be addressed when the media airs them for the whole country. With peoples' opinion, the media plays a role of a mirror where the politicians can see what the people see them or whatever choice they make in politics.

2.1.4 By providing information to prevent election-related violence.

Media airing words from the politicians that were malicious caused tension. This is one of the key reasons for violence because some of the politicians in their vernacular language passed information that caused tension when they smelt defeat. The spread of hate speech among other tribes during elections was also evident in some vernacular radio stations. Laws and definitions of hate speech are not clear so institutions should be in place to monitor any form of hate speech from the media.

Even in less developed countries media is powerful source of information used by politicians for their political agenda.[17] Media has an important role in informing the public with up-to-date occurrences and raising awareness of pressing matters in the society

2.2 Role of Media Coverage during General Elections

The media is an important tool in any democratic nation, and a free election is intolerable without media. During elections citizens relied on the media in providing extensive views and unbiased information during election coverage besides that, media was a platform for debate involving citizens and the politicians, it also played role in development projects and contributed to the easy flow of information.

With the Kenyan public dependant on the media, it was during elections that the people took any form of news update streamed from the media as fact. Not enquiring whether the material

---

[17] See "Media and Parliamentary Elections in Egypt: *Evaluation of Media Performance in the Parliamentary Elections*" Human Rights Movement Issues, (Egypt, Cairo institute for Human Rights Studies,2011).

transmitted is of substance. It was during the period of elections that media had a larger audience than any other time. People were curious to know what was happening and where it was happening. The losing politicians and those that emerged as winners, to get all this was through the media. The media took this as a challenge and started competing on who will give results first

During the 2007 general elections media was used as an open forum for the public to air their views. For instance, radio shows would ask callers to call in and give their own opinions on a given political topic. Media was also a platform for politicians to debate and discussions for political analysts. As valued in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, all persons have the privilege to express restricting thoughts and sentiments.

Media houses were deceptive in the way they discharged decisions this was a result of the opposition the media houses were in with each other. They released different tallying that was confusing since the figures were not varying. Media was very speculative on how they released the results.[18] From this biased way of reporting results during elections, we see reporters as inexperienced in conflict reporting and this led to poor reporting of elections. This came through because journalists were writing on election violence for the first time. Most radio stations relied on DJs who their jobs do not entail conflict or rather news reporting.

Some FM stations took sides when they encouraged the audience to participate in the mass action. Most Kenyans took to protesting on the streets to intimidate the enemy, the enemy in this setting being the other political party supporters. This led to demonstrators causing chaos on the

---

[18] See KNCHR, On the Brink of the Precipice: *A Human Rights Account of the Kenya's Post-Election Violence. Kenya National Commission of Human Right.* Nairobi: HRW. (2008b).

streets ensuing into the loss of lives and ruin of property. Through mass action, media encouraged confrontation between ODM and PNU supporters and the police. During these conflicts, media reported on the fighting between the police and the protesters, looting and destruction of property and the predicaments of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs).

Media spent a lot of time on incitement given the vernacular radio stations but also the media took time to broadcast votes tallying by the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK). All through Kenyans have known the weakness of the ECK.

2.3 Role of media played in peace building amid the post-election violence

Media may have assumed a negative part in fanning the post-election savagery however it likewise assumed the positive part in lecturing peace after the brutality broke. Media failed to fully appreciate the importance of the violence. It did not go deep to find the root cause of the presidential disputes. The media reduced the violence to a two-man politics.

When violence broke, international media was reporting this made the world to watch what was unfolding in the country. With this Kenyans in diaspora and even ambassadors urged the public through the internet to maintain peace. This also invited heads of foreign bodies to visit the country and mediate between the Kibaki and Raila. The media took their time to broadcast the mediating process chaired by Kofi Anan. The Kenyan churches also played the role of peace-building, churches sheltered IDPs. Media assisted a lot in playing conciliation though from varied motives. Media Owners Association (MOA) joined forces to backing peace-building initiative. Media houses committed airplay and space to convey messages of peace and peace-building discussion asking the two foremost leaders to call upon their supporters to stop the bloodshed and called them to arrange a settlement.

19

Be that as it may, the emergence of violence, the vernacular radio stations additionally assumed vital parts in advancing peaceful co-existence. An activity of Pamoja FM is a conspicuous case of media impact in toning down the violence. Media Council of Kenya (MCK) asked columnists to cling to moral principles and a few media faculty were offered honours to respect their tranquillity activities amid the violence time frame.

2.4 Editorial Policies on conflict Reporting and peace building

Amid the elections, the prevailing press was the wellspring of data to the general population this implied whatever the general population did was checked deliberately to avoid tensions. The Kenyan media had never experienced post-election violence before thus they had never reported on conflict.[19] Most reports were incorrect and out of line for the live scope. Most media got wrong the exact areas of the brutality, influenced the number of individuals et cetera. This was because of rivalry between the media houses of who were hoping to increase their audience. Confirmation of certainties was so poor and casualties of contention were dealt with simply as insights without identities. These were a clear sign that the article strategies that represented these media houses were not keen about what was circulated.

The media failed to find out the real issues or the root causes of the conflict they reduced the violence to a two-man political issues. Media was unable to point out key issues rather it cited sensitive situation then, for instance, media referred to youth demonstrating as "armed youths".

To help the journalists in their contention detailing undertakings, the Inter News Network composed a progression of workshops. This was, for the most part, to teach reporters and editors

---

[19]Howard, R. "*Ethics for the real world*", (2008)

to react to the unfolding brutality. Other media bodies that have held workshops for writers include The International Media, The Kenya Editors Guild, and the Kenya Union of journalists.

What happens after elections, after peace-building efforts? After the violence, it is less likely that the president would deliver on the promises he made during campaigning period. Media needs to be a watchdog for the people who trusted the media during election. It would be their mandate to demonstrate maturity and respect their role in the Kenyan society by looking at the interest of the people and shaming politicians who did not live to their promises.

2.5 Conclusion

In democratic country elections are considered key, allowing the people to exercise their democratic rights. During an election, there is always tension in the public because everyone has the mentality that the party they are supporting would win. So, when it does not happen conflict arises. Conceivably, the media has a dynamic part in safeguarding that tensions and clashes are limited. It is also the duty of the media to respect the public and feed the people with genuine news that would not interfere with peaceful co-existence after or during elections. For the media to minimize conflict or violence, it needs to educate the citizens on the proper conduct of elections.

For media to fulfil positive roles, journalists need to uphold high level of competence, truth and objectivity in their coverage. Media Council of Kenya (MCK) should monitor and put measures to curb any media malpractices.

CHAPTER THREE

MEDIA ACCESSIBILITY AND MEDIA COVERAGE IN KENYA DURINGTHE 2007 GENERAL ELECTION

3.0 INTRODUCTION

Though, Kenya is one of the developing nations in Africa, it has a high literacy rate.[20] for example in the earlier years, the nation has had an effective economy with a standout among unique advertising markets. Given a country that consumes news information voraciously. Over a period of fifteen years, this persistently unequivocal and self-confident media has expected a liberal part in interceding associations among inhabitants and state, in moulding the popularity based regulation in the nation, and has changed how probably the most minimized in the public eye get data on key issues that shape lives. Kenyan citizens have turned out to be progressively reliant on the media for such information, capitalizing it with more integrity than any other source of information.[21] For the greater part of this period, the media has been seen broadly and globally as a foremost marker of the law based vitality of Kenya. Media has been at the front line of moves to change Kenya from one party state to multiparty ruled government; it has picked up a notoriety for uncovering debasement and going about as a fiery for a for open verbal confrontation; it is a watchman of general society enthusiasm against over weaning state control.

---

[20]See World Bank AMDI report on Kenya (2004)

[21] Steadman Research Services Report, Daily Nation, *African Media Development Initiative Report*, BBC World Service Trust, 2006.

Kenyan media had a good reputation until about the time election violence broke out then the Kenyan medias reputation is being questioned whether its capable in controlling what it puts across to the masses. In the years before during any conflict eruption media has been condemned of incitement of ethnic hatred through their vernacular radio stations and having become politically aligned with their favourite political leaders.

 Given the conflict situation experienced in the country, the local media played a key role in peace building despite the other negative role it played. The media had the task to deliver real and unbiased news to the public, to be able to separate facts from rumours, but along this list the media failed to deliver and thus it failed the public.

3.1 The Media and Election Coverage

The scope of decisions in any democratic nation gives one of the toughest moral tests for the media. In the past general elections, the Kenya media have tended to focus on un-engaging and unimportant issues that don't, help voters in their day by day lives. The media would tend to personalize issues instead of addressing serious issues that would help voters make informed decisions. These days it is the media's duty to give citizens access to every single sound actuality, fair-minded suppositions and thoughts by the hopefuls before the elections.

Aside from covering elections the media also took part in sensitizing the public, covering the election campaigns and carrying out voter education and advertisements: certain gatherings or articles plainly brought sides with aspirants in the race; some media were specifically made by parties they upheld; journalists even challenged for positions in the elections. This made the

media turn into a political player in every sense of the word.[22] The sources of media that used in election coverage must therefore, separate facts from fiction, rumour from truth, sense from babble.[23] The media provides voter education with information related to election and can make the electorate participate in elections.

Covering of the general elections must be carried out free and fair. This means the public need to have access to the media, the media on the other hand should carry out the responsibility of passing credible information to the public and be able to give the politicians to air their agenda. On electoral bodies, free and fair elections mean that there should be voter education, establish capable voting infrastructure and lastly enable the public to exercise their democratic rights by voting peacefully. For the media to successfully cover the elections, the journalists need to adhere to the code of conduct.

During the general elections in any country not only in Kenya different sources of media ae always used, this is to be able to reach every person in the country. There is that audience that would prefer to get their information through the newspapers, others through radio, television and others the internet. So, it is up to the media to be able to be accurate when they are publishing or broadcasting any information to make sure there is consistency. Print had a major role in the election coverage, it has for the last 40 years. Though print media is in English or Swahili a small number of individuals in the rural areas would use print media to get information. Majority of them would rely on their ethnic radio stations. The media's assignment was to communicate or publish coverage for the contesting parties and candidates and keep the

---

[22]See Lafargue et al. (2008). "*The General Elections in Kenya, 2007.*"
[23]Chirambo, K. and H. McCullum. *Reporting Elections in Southern Africa*: A Media Handbook. Harare: Southern Africa Research and Documentation Centre, (2000).

voters educated on the issues and arrangements engendered by the presidential hopefuls.

However, all through the race time frame, the media had political top picks and this was obvious

through the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) which by law ought to give the equivalent

and adjusted scope of every single political party partaking in races. KBC as a national

broadcasting media apparently was one-sided in support of the Party of National Unity (PNU)

and its presidential candidate Mwai Kibaki. [24]According to the EU EOM, the government-

controlled KBC radio gave the PNU 76% media coverage while ODM had 13% and ODM-

Kenya 5% respectively. KBC TV gave PNU 71% share of the media coverage, ODM a mere

11% and ODM-Kenya 5%. The opposition candidates were given more coverage by the

privately-owned media houses (KTN, NTV and CITIZEN TV). When it came to radio coverage

the vernacular radio stations favoured politicians from their ethnic communities more.

 Commercial radio stations provided a point of diversity between the most political parties. for

instance, PNU received 45% from Citizen radio, ODM received 29% and ODM-K 12%. Easy

FM had PNU at 52%, ODM at 34% and ODM-K 12% coverage. KISS FM coverage for PNU

coalition was 44% and 43% for ODM. Television coverage PNU had 46% while ODM was at

39% on KTN.

 When it came to election coverage the radio, television and print media al played a significant

role. The vernacular radio stations conceded more prominent access to the political parties and

aspirants with close connects to the tribal and political affiliations of their audience members.

The print media utilized amid the race time frame was daily papers. Daily paper scope exhibited

a somewhat consistent pattern over every one of the titles checked. For instance, PNU received

---

[24]See UNDP. (2008). *The Mass Media and 2007 General Election in Kenya*. September issue. Nairobi, Kenya

54% of coverage in the Daily Nation, ODM 29%. In the Kenya Times PNU received 53% while

ODM received 33%, the Standard PNU and ODM received 55% and 30 % respectively. [25]

According to [26]Reporters without Borders, an international criticizes the Kenyan media during

election to have failed in performing an adequate role. They contend that the media was not

being excessively watchful and self-controlling. Both local and International observers asked

whether the media made an appropriate showing with regards to as fair onlooker, or added to the

crisis. When opposition leader Raila claimed the elections was rigged, the media did very little to

find out if the matter was true. Kenyan media was blamed by policymakers for tending to the

government's side amid the election chaos and analysts reprimanded the media for the

heightening of the brutality.

Broadcast media was very vocal to present political debates and failed to broadcast equitable

amount of time on the political leaders. Extensive media coverage of the campaigns was evident

and there were clear indications that the media had preferences in political leaders and other

political parties. With this kind of move from the media coverage of the political elections was

impartial. In the argument, Castells demonstrates that power connections are the establishment of

a public, as organizations and standards are developed to satisfy the interests and estimations of

people with great influence [27]

---

[25] (*Extracted from Preliminary Statement, European Union Election Monitoring Mission, General Elections 2007 (January 1, 2008)*

[26] Reporters without Borders. "*How far to go? Kenya´s media caught in the turmoil of a failed election* (2008)

[27]Castells, Manuel, and Peter Monge. (2011). "*Network Multidimensionality in the Digital Age."* International

Journal of Communication 5: pg788–793.

3.2 Government Media and the General Elections

The Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) has been the governments media since independence. Signing of the multiparty constitution in 2002 gave hope to the other media fraternities to come up and take the challenge of criticizing the government. Since at the time Kenya Broadcasting Corporation was the states media and it was clearly biased. For KBC it would at least be transformed into a public service broadcaster.

Since KBC had been in existence since it had a larger audience than the new media houses that were coming up. Even before the elections it had its signals reaching nationwide listeners easily. It had the advantage of broadcasting in nearly 20 languages and it operates both news and entertainment media. An effort was made to attempt and change KBC and its focus became less biased towards government concerns.

The Kenya Broadcasting Corporation was considered as a failure by the European Union Election Monitoring Mission, KBC neglected to fulfil its legitimate commitments as an open service broadcaster established in the IPPG agreement 1997 and International and regional standards. This failure was highly demonstrated by the KBC English and Swahili radio stations when it came to elections coverage and PNU was given more coverage than the opposition party ODM. The level of biasness combined for both English and Swahili services for PNU was at 76%.[28]

The then chairman of Election Council of Kenya Samuel Kivuitu directed criticism to KBC saying the election coverage favoured the PNU coalition party and its presidential candidate

---

[28] For more reading, European Union Election Monitoring Report, Election Observation Mission, Kenya General Elections 2007, Preliminary Statement, January 1, 2008.

Mwai Kibaki. He proceeded denounced the station for not giving equal coverage to every single presidential hopeful during elections. Even though KBC denied the allegations, Kivuitu said that KBC has disappointed the citizens, in a race year revealing should show competitions; it can't be that different applicants are stupid to the point that they don't have anything which can't be accounted for.

3.3 Mainstream media in action

To contact a more extensive audience the press is regularly utilized. Predominant press alludes to the real media houses which incorporate print, radio and TV. These are the large business associations working broadly in English as well as Swahili. In Kenya, these business associations incorporate Nation Media Group and Standard Group. These leading media broadcasters being the biggest media houses are more respected by the audience as they cover news from all presidential candidates equally. There are individuals who still question media, this is because of the part that the media played in the 2007 presidential elections.

The main reason for the huge turnout of voters is mainly because of the media's role in carrying out civic voter's awareness. Aside from educating the public during elections the media also covered election monitoring exercise to be able to air free and fair elections. The successful election coverage happened due to the hundreds of journalists that were all over the country covering the voting exercise. The stationing of journalists around the country meant that the media houses were on keen competition to announce election results. Stationing of the journalists around the country during election period ensued that there was no election malpractice. Media

houses conducted that elections were smoothly carried out due to the large number of voters who were seen queuing for long hours.

The media avoided malpractice during voting exercise but failed to pay attention to the malpractices during the counting of the votes at the Kenya Conference Centre (KICC). Aside from the votes counting malpractices there was also the case of ballot boxes being stolen. The media was tallying the presidential results but also there were efforts by the media to access the tallying at KICC during the counting process. In the meantime, the public was growing anxious and suspicious due to the un matching presidential figures. Despite the public outcry and suspicions the ECK went ahead and announced the presidential results. This is when the mainstream media was in crisis. It was unable to keep tubs on the counting process and as soon as the results were announced did the country fell into violence.

 Mainstream media in action was when the violence broke after the annunciation of the presidential election, the media immediately mad efforts to unite the public by preaching peace. Another positive action with the overall press happened on 3rd of January 2008, when the major media houses encouraged a move in sprinkling a comparable element across everyday dailies front pages, 'Save Our Beloved Country'.[29] With this positive action, the International media took notice and one Aljazeera news maker was cited saying "Some of our scope concentrated on the part of the media in attempting to convey peace to the nation. "Prominent radio stations that took part in dispersal message of peace involved KISS FM. Aside from preaching peace the media additionally took part in negotiations that occurred when Kofi Annan led the consultations amongst Kibaki and Raila in the 2007-08 post-race. During the negotiations process the

---

[29] For more reading, European Union Election Monitoring Report, Election Observation Mission, Kenya General Elections 2007, Preliminary Statement, January 1, 2008.

mainstream media was noted to be keen and fair in there reporting. Now, the International media was also watching and taking part also thus making the Kenyan media very careful in their reporting. The mainstream was cautious on the language they used in their reporting. Mainstream media gave the conflicting views during elections, some believed the mainstream incited violence while others did not rather saw the mainstream as a peace-building instrument. Other claims towards the media are that some journalists during their election broadcasting used the media to advance the partisan interest of politicians from their cultural groups.

The progression of the wireless transmissions and the ensuing passage into the market of private and ethnic or group based FM radio stations expanded instead of decreased this disturb.[30]A major result of the liberalization saw a run-up to a referendum on the new constitution. The extent of ethnic politics was in the results of the referendum for the proposed new constitution. Besides that, there were several reasons the media had in mind that may have caused the post-election violence.

One theory by the media was that there was violence by the public towards each other was because of "long-brewing ethnic strains" [31] However, bloggers also argued that the conflicts among the people hosted been intentionally stirred by political gatherings, while the country had been free of genuine ethnic pressure for the greatest part of its history [32]. Bloggers went further to accuse the mainstream media of failing to tackle serious political problems that arose during the post-election violence, for instance, the extra-judicial killings by police.[33] Bloggers also

---

[30] Kenya had only two TV broadcast stations, the state-owned Kenya Broadcasting Corporation and the private owned Kenya Television Network.
[31]CNN.com (2008)
[32]Zuckerman, Ethan. "Citizen Journalism: *A Look at How Blogging is Changing the Media Landscape form the Congo to Korea"* (2006)
[33]Musungu, Sisule F. "*Media′s Role in the Election Fallout".* IPS News: Kenya (2008).

scrutinized the universal media for demonstrating Kenya as an urgent and vicious nation, and disregarding the voices of individuals who were not keen on viciousness [34]. When the country was in distressed moment bloggers in Kenya lacked trust in the mainstream media.

3.4 Role of Vernacular Media in General Elections

The two main official languages in Kenya are English and Swahili, which are rarely spoken by the population. This is because the Kenyan population also have their mother tongue to fall on to. Mother tongue comes in because most of the people in the rural areas have little understanding of the English and Swahili languages. For most people in Kenya English and Swahili ae used as lingua franca thus the languages may not be a form of communication. With this kind of reasoning most people prefer their vernacular. In Kenya, there are more than 100 ethnic languages spoken.[35]For information to be passed through these ethnic languages, KBC which is a government owned media has ethnic radio stations and so it passes information or through community networks.

 In 2002, the first vernacular radio station was formed (Kameme FM). Later, in 2004 after media liberalization more local radio stations were opened. These local radio stations were formed to target listeners from other ethnic communities who were not from the kikuyu community. Local stations were partitioned for Kikuyus based in Central, Luos living in West, Kalenjin in Rift Valley, Kambas in Eastern, and Kisiis in South Nyanza. Opening of these radio stations was

---

[34]Wanjiku, Rebekah. "*Death of international journalism,* (2008)
[35] Research Findings and Conclusions, *Africa Media Development Initiative Report,* Kenya (2006), BBC World Service Trust.

spurred by business motivators, as opposed to political and development.[36] With this kind of motivation the vernacular radio stations role in election coverage was questioned.

During the election campaigns vernacular radio stations role was to air their political views but it was in favour of the politicians in their communities. The real picture of the vernacular radio stations came to play after the declaration of the presidential election was announced. Soon after the disputed election, vernacular radio stations took positions siding with politicians from their ethnic tribe. These clear positions taken by the vernacular radio stations focused on hate and incitement by the journalists and political leaders. Incitement and hate speech were particularly amongst radio stations that were not being supervised in Nairobi.

It was noted by the minister of Information that some vernacular radio stations provoked anxiety and hatred among people mainly at the height of the violence. "The violence after the declaration of the polls was due to split in the media, particularly vernacular media which were turned into political tools," Samuel Poghisio, Minister of Information said. Stations enrolled "quacks" as news supporters, columnists and editors, he additionally called attention to a situation where a broadcasting house would program cultural war songs aiming certain communities. Due to the kind of coverage the vernacular radio stations were airing it impelled the government, to carry out its own monitoring of all vernacular stations, and later the government went and imposed a month ban when the violence first struck.[37]

Despite the positive role of the vernacular radio stations this same community radio stations encouraged hate speech that carried about cultural detestation that in the long ran prompted the

---

[36]Ismail, Jamal Abdi and James Deane. "*The 2007 general election in Kenya and its aftermath: the role of local language media." The International Journal of Press/Politics* (2008).

[37] Wanjiku, Rebekah. "*Death of international journalism,* (2008)

2007 post-election violence. Vernacular media may have played a role in fanning the post-election violence and disregarded the part played by other mainstream media. However, after the general election and the eruption of violence, the ethnic radio stations played a critical role in peace-building.

3.5 Print Media Coverage of 2007 General Elections

During elections in Kenya, most political aspirants relied on the media to influence thousands of their supporters. Print media is one of those ways that the politicians passed information to the voters. The print media as one of the sources of media that was used to cover the general elections have established an influential role in Kenyan politics and elections. Further, the 2007 general election was not an exclusion with the print media used to reach the people.[38]

Both international and local print media covered the 2007 general elections. Politicians got the media to air their own political interest at the time an editor with largest newspaper Daily Nation said that politicians spent a lot of billions so that the media would be on their side.[39] Print media was the go to for most people when they are not in the house. Print media assumed a part in the covering of the general elections though through their writing some of the journalists seemed to have no experience thus their reporting standards proved wanting. Given this poor reporting standard by a portion of the media houses fanned the post-race brutality.[40] A report by the media monitoring suggested that, newspapers reporting demonstrated a continuous trend across the

---

[38] Wanjiku, Rebekah. "*Death of international journalism,* (2008)

[39] Ismail, Jamal Abdi and James Deane. "*The 2007 general election in Kenya and its aftermath: the role of local language media." The International Journal of Press/Politics* (2008).

[40]See *Election Monitoring Report, Election Observation Mission, Kenya General Elections 2007*, Preliminary Statement, January 1,2008

mainstream media. For instance, political parties received different coverage from different dailies during the election period. PNU received 54% coverage in the Daily Nation, ODM received 29%. 53% coverage for PNU in the Kenya Times, 33% for ODM and 55% for PNU in the Standard and 28% for ODM in the Standard. With this numbers, we see the role of the print media, the effects it had with the numbers they had during the election period.

3.6 International Media Coverage during Post-Election violence in Kenya

During an election exercise in any democratic country the international media comes in to cover the election process. From the day of elections to the eruption of violence the international media was there to cover what was happening. International media is always invited to ensure free and fair elections is observed. International media houses that broadcasted during the post-election period included: Al Jazeera, CNN, France 24 and BBC which covers a vast portion of the country. With this international media platform Kenya received vast media coverage during the general elections and throughout the 2007 post-election violence.[41]

Subsequently, the eruption of the violence the then internal security minister John Michuki banned live media coverage of what was occurring in Kenya, the mainstream media simply reinforced live messages through social media platforms where the international media including BBC, CNN and Aljazeera got the scoop. International media had the upper hand given that the

---

[41] Ismail, Jamal Abdi and James Deane. "*The 2007 general election in Kenya and its aftermath: the role of local language media.*" *The International Journal of Press/Politics* (2008).

34

Kenyan media was banned. Still the country was not in total media blackout given the role of the global media.

The international media role was to mainly assist the local media to layout international view of the political emergency in the nation. Given this role of the international media other freelance media personalities jumped the wagon and aired the violence in their own way they saw fit. They did not edit what they were broadcasting they showed massive violence news which the public had to access in the internet. Example of this journalists include Ross Kemp. There has been reproach inside Kenya media critics of the mode in which some parts of the international media covered the crisis. Some critics said the Global media inflated the impact of the violence in the country and thus provoked increased fear and tension amongst the people. International media used of 'inappropriate' language in describing the violence words that were mostly used was "tribalism "genocide", "ethnic cleansing" International Media might have been readily available to Kenyans but was their reporting accurate and reliable? There are instances where these international media broadcasters were not aware of the facts thus they relied to locals who gave them information based on their own knowledge.[42] This made international media news unreliable in one way or the other.

International Media played a critical role during post-election violence. Despite media ban the international media was not banned in the country this gave them leeway to broadcast the violence without restrictions from the Kenyan government. Other international broadcasters also played their roles and believed it made an important contribution. This is so because when the

---

[42] Wanjiku, Rebekah. "*Death of international journalism,* (2008)

local media was banned the people still got news from the international media that was available

in the country at the time or the public would turn to the internet to get informed.

3.7 Role of Social Media in Post-Election Crisis

We are in the 21st century and social media plays a lot of impact in the passing of information.

As compared to the broadcast media, social media is more diverse in terms of accessibility.

Social media is a powerful source of passing and accessing information. Social media is faster

than the mainstream media. Social media maybe abused by escalating violence and it may also

be used deescalate violence. This type of media reaches a lot of people within a short period of

time. It is cheaper compared to the other mainstream media. It is mainly used by the youth who

are key plays in violence and in peace building initiatives. Social media in Kenya was used both

ways in post-election violence.[43]

All through the post-election violence, role of social media was very significant in the process of

political mobilization. Social media passed news information through Facebook and Twitter

platforms. Kenyans using Facebook used the platform to like any news that made sense to them

those using twitter re-tweeted popular tweets therefore news information of any agenda spread

very quickly through cascades[44]

Aside from the international media that the Kenyan public used to get information after the

media ban, the public also had social media that is Facebook and twitter to get and give

information without the government monitoring. Other means included the use of short messages

---

[43] See *the Standard Newspaper 2007;*
[44] Enjolras, Bernard, Kari Steen-Johnsen and Dag Wollebaek "*Social Media and Mobilization to Offline Demonstrations: Transcending Participatory Divides?" New Media & Society*

services (SMS). A large Kenyan population had mobile phones and sending messages with mobile phones is very cheap. These social media tools were used by the public to circumvent the media blackout[45]. Social media gave platform for political analysts, bloggers and the Kenyan citizens in other countries to air their views. They used the plat form to criticize a some used the social platform for peace-building views.

Social media was a powerful tool during the post-election period in that it generated an alternative public sphere, and permitted a new sort of national participation in talking about the violent circumstance. With the election predicament social media became a very important source of passing information by the youth, politicians, bloggers and even the journalists.[46]

3.8 Conclusion

When it comes to the election coverage in Kenya media fearlessly put their best foot forward to ensure they pass on information to every individual no matter where they are in the country. With elections, the mainstream media locally and internationally played a critical role with the help of the social media. But with all these sources of media role in elections they had a negative significant in post-election violence. Some challenges in the media included the reporting of the violence that was criticised by bloggers and the public. With the negative role of the media there was the urgency to discuss the organizational and behavioural topics that bring down the positive role the media during elections and the eruption of violence.[47]

---

[45]Ramey Corinne. 2008. "*SMS as information channel in post-election Kenya".*
[46] [46]Ramey Corinne. 2008. "*SMS as information channel in post-election Kenya".*
[47] See *the Standard Newspaper 2007;*

As a country, there are bodies involved in monitoring the media and journalists conduct in news coverage. This is the Media Council of Kenya (MCK) the entity should look on steering an examination of the underlying challenges of the Kenyan media with aim of discussing the deep-rooted issues. The media was criticised when it came to vernacular radio stations, special attention should be paid to the ethnic radio stations. MCK should ensure all ethnic based radio stations and the journalists have serious hands on editorial policies. And penalties should be put in place for the radio stations that spread rumours and hate speech.

The society is changing so is democracy, media is used to shape and mediate those changes. The mainstream has a major role to play and the growth analysis, not least in drivers of change studies and supremacy analyses. However, while its media's part is featured, policy approvals applicable to it rarely result.[48]

A Nations Democracy, globalisation, ever changing technology and many other factors make media patterns inevitable. In democracy, we see politics and politicians, in globalization the international medias ole in news information and technology the significant use of Facebook, Twitter and SMS to pass information. Several examples where cultured media liberalisation has had a consistently beneficial outcome on nations driven by conflict. There was the relaxed media in Nepal that had different political topography to that of Kenya. The media in Nepal played an important role to protect a peaceful democratic changeover dictatorship in 2005/2006. In the Kenyan context, the ethnic radio stations played a very critical role both in fanning and defusing

---

[48] For more reading see, (public debate) of 2005, *Lessons learned on the use of Powers and Drivers of Change Analysis in Development Cooperation* p29

violence. With many other practices from all over the world media is loosened and after liberalisation make a massive change to autonomous outcomes.[49]

With the rapid liberalization of mainstream media and technology involved in the media industry media regulation has failed to keep up. Special attention need to be given to the use of technology to keep in check the spreading of rumours. There should be independent institutions set aside to monitoring the actions and stop the spread of rumours. But it is yet to be made clear of what constitutes hate speech or rumours so the institutions may have a hard time in case they would want to prosecute. After all media in Kenya has had a very important role in society advancement. Media has created a platform for various issues to be discussed. They have educated the public and informed the same public on important issues. Unfortunately for some reason the media role in Kenya is sometimes undermined by the journalistic integrity and political ambitions.

---

[49]See, Buckley S, Duer K, Mendel T, O'Siochru S, Broadcasting, *Voice and Accountability: A Public Interest Approach to Policy, Law and Regulation, World Bank/World Bank Institute,* 2008.

CHAPTER FOUR

EXTENT TO WHICH MEDIA ESCALATED/DEESCALATED VIOLENCE DURING 2007 PEV INKENYA

4.0 INTRODUCTION

Elections in Africa have become more competitive than ever. Presidential candidates are competing for power and leadership. Some African leaders drag their countries in turmoil because they want to stay in power. Election is a process not an affair for our representatives' they treat elections as competing. To take an example from Kenya elections in December 2007, the country witnessed an unexpected postelection violence that led to hundreds of thousands of IDPs, deaths and loss of property.

This chapter focuses on the role of media during the months of December and January of post-election crisis in 2007-08 in Kenya. How the media played the role of promoting violence through vernacular radio stations. Here the media not so innocent in its reporting since the vernacular radio stations leaned on their ethical background while reporting or supported politicians from their region. Aside from the media being not so biased on one end it also had a significant part in its promotion of peace after the post-election chaos. Statements that may be positive or negative appealing the media's remarkable impact are dependably from the decision-makers. [50]

---

[50] Ramey (2008).

In the case of Kenyan 2007 elections it was filled with uncertainty in that upon on the announcement of the results when violence broke out. This post-election violence promoted ethnic divisions in the country which was carried way into the following year 2008.

Political violence is not a new spectacle in Kenya. Since the introduction of multiparty the country has experienced election violence. The 2007-08 elections violence was unique in a way that there were factors that determined the scene for conflict. These factors were political history of constitutional reform and the 2005 referendum.

Shortly after announcing winner of the general elections on 30th, December 2007, ban of live broadcast was disseminated. Internal minister Michuki ordered the ban saying it was "in the interest of public safety and composure" [51] Before the declaration of Kibaki, Odinga the opposition front-runner then announced his victory in a public conference. This caused tension given that many media sources had already released the results, so with this confusion the media houses thus caused the media to replace the published results with new ones. This is when the ban was put into mode by the internal minister. Despite the ban we had different international media come in and air the tension, violence in the country. We had some international media broadcast very graphic scenes which showed people using 'pangas' on each other. With this kind of broadcast the international media escalated tension among people, international media put the country in a difficult position to help itself since the world could see what was happening. To the rest of the world Kenya was unsafe place to visit thus the economy plunged.

---

[51]See *the Standard Newspaper 2007;*

Given the news stoppage, most Kenyans turned to other means of receiving and passing information. People used mobile phones to connect and evade the media blackout[52] .SMS messages were used to share news broadcast and emotional state, but the capability to send mass SMS had been deactivated by the government to stop people from sending what it considered to be "inflammatory messages.[53]

4.1 Media and post-election Violence

Media is a tool not to be used to cause risk, tension or even turmoil. Given the post-election violence experienced in 2007-08 the media was perceived as an enemy of the people for some time, it was being biased taking care of themselves, only interested in generating revenue. Media did not seem to care what they were feeding the public and this made the people to see each other as enemies. By the time the media realized the damage it was too late since lives had already been lost, property had been damaged, people had lost their business, houses burned and hundreds had been internally displaced.

Looking at when the violence started it was due to the delay of presidential elections. The public was anxious and people grew impatient. Supporters of both PNU and ODM were eagerly waiting for the results to be announced. At the same time, the presidential results were steamed on television and with different numbers from different television stations supporters had their own idea their candidate was winning. Not announcing the winner of the election in due time made opposition supporters to suspect that their competitor was tampering with the numbers. With these events unfolding at KICC, tensions started erupting at the ODM stronghold in Kisumu and

---

[52]Ramey (2008).
[53] *See CIPEV*

parts of Nairobi and the other major cities. Same was experienced with the PNU supporters who also took mattes in their own hands. Hundreds were murdered in merciless and ponder police activity, which included utilizing live ammo on "demonstrators," including women and children.[54]

The Kenyan media took to highlighting the IDPs predicaments, showed how big supermarkets were being looted, houses being burnt and people moving to their rural homes. Journalists at the time of post-election violence did not know what to broadcast or publish due to lack of experience in reporting of conflicts. Kenya had not experienced such violence before and so the standard of reporting was wanting.

4.2 Media and Elections Politics

Politics and media go hand in hand and in Kenya the same applies. Media has a role to play in politics but it was not until 1992 that the media was vocal in speaking against the government. Before that there was the government broadcasting media KBC, that belonged to the government after the end of the Nyayo regime that is when the media got to start criticizing the government.

After the Moi era, the Kenyan media had a part to play in trying to establish a multi-party democracy. To succeed in building a one-party rule, freedom of the media, its investigation, its innovation and professionalism got to play a key part in both political and public debate. Media had the freedom without restrictions and monitoring from the government.

The Kenyan media had assistance from the political and civil society in democracy and multi-party movement. Since the establishment of multiparty, the media changed in two major ways.

---

[54]*See CIPEV*

One of the major changes is the mainstream media which in the past years has been able to reflect the unpleasant nature of the country not only that but also the media gets drawn into having political favourites- aligning itself with different political sides. Media has also changed the democratic politics of the country.

From the year 1992 Kenya has experienced violence during elections where by ethnic communities clashed over disputed election results. But these conflicts were not always broadcasted by the media to the masses. At the time KBC the government broadcasting station hold all the power. This kind of media only broadcasted what they want the people to see. No one got to see the real issues, no one questioned, there was no platform for people to air their views or even the media to hold debates to talk about the issues.[55]

The 2007-08 post-election violence erupted and took Kenyans by surprise. Not only Kenyans were taken aback but also the international observers. This destroyed the idea of Kenya being looked at as stable and safe country. Travel bans were issued for tourists who looked to visit. It was not business as usual given the chaos that followed announcing Mwai Kibaki as the winner of the elections.

For a period of 25 years Kenya was entrenched in one-party system. The one-party system of government was characterised by the curtailment of fundamental rights. A major political breakthrough was in 1991 when multiparty was introduced. General elections were held and Mwai Kibaki won the elections promising a new constitution to deal with governance problems in Kenya.

---

[55] *See* Jacqueline M. Klopp and Prisca Kamungi, "Violence and Elections: Will Kenya Collapse?" World Policy Journal, vol. 24 (2008), 11–18.

The reason behind the 2007-08 post-election violence was partly because the people felt betrayed of the promises that never came to be.[56]The democratization process in Kenya compared to other Sub-Saharan countries, has been labelled as rapid and spectacular. Moi administration was labelled as authoritarian, there was high level of lenience and reassurance in some cases of public expression[57] After the beginning of multiparty, an instrument used by the government to cast its supremacy in Kenya. Risks experienced was ethnic hostilities, land skirmishes, livestock stealing or crime acted as an agenda of frightening local people that were supposed of supporting the opposition[58].

The violence experienced in Kenya's was not anticipated by anyone thus it shocked many domestic and international observers alike. In a close look at violence patterns in the 1990s tends to show shoot up of viciousness before multiparty elections and accumulating decimating issues coming up from candidates utilizing militias, for their own political purposes.[59]

Before the evolution on media in Kenya key factors like political arguments were a distance dream under the one-party rule. Media had no right to question the government, had no right to speak against the government or even call politicians for debate sessions on live television. It was not until the establishment of multiparty do we see the media fighting and sensitizing the people, highlighting issues that need a platform for discussion. The media also carries out investigative news airing corrupt politicians something that media could not do many years back.

---

[56]David K. Leonard and Felix Odhiambo Owuor. '*The Political and Institutional Context of the 2007 Kenya Elections and Reforms Needed for the Future*' 8 March 2009
[57]Lafargue et al. 2008,
[58]Lafargue et al. 2008, 43
[59]Kenya Human Rights Commission, "Kayas of Deprivation, Kayas of Blood: Violence, Ethnicity and the state in Coastal Kenya," 1997; "Killing the Vote: State Sponsored Violence and Flawed Elections in Kenya," 1998

The Kenyan media part has seen a level of mediatisation and the media persisted as the main

foundation of information on political, economic and social matters in the country[60]

After the formal ratification of multiparty government that the Kenyan media became a stage for

politicians to hold dynamic political debates. These discussions normally took place in

antagonistic settings for the journalists and were often amorphous and unclear. More noteworthy

opportunity of articulation prompted progression of the electronic media segment.[61] These

debates saw candidates peaching themselves on what they would do for the people if elected,

they would showcase their manifestos and for those seeking a second term would remind the

people what they have done in the last five years of service.

Politics and elections go hand in hand, they are why the other exists. But with poor judgment of

politicians that is when violence erupts. Political influence was a noteworthy player in the post-

election brutality in Kenya in 2007. Politicians would use the media to spread hate speech and in

some cases rumours against their counterparts. To ensure they win some politicians mobilized

groups of their supporters to carry out illegal activities. Some media broadcasting stations

especially the community radio stations affiliated themselves with some groups, showing

interests to certain politicians. This made the media looked corrupt, biased and the violation of

the code of conduct.

Media has grown tremendously in the last 40 years and so has politics and the political leaders.

For example, the radio sector witnessed a rapid growth whereby nearly 60 mostly privately-

owned radio stations came up. Most of these radio stations are ethnic radio stations. Television

---

[60]Somerville 2011; Schulz 2004.
[61]Lafargue et al. 2008, 61

sector was also developing new stations and even the ethnic television stations came up. This tremendous progress in the mainstream media added a new height to the 2007 general elections. Suddenly the Kenyan population had a variety of news bases, which had at first been bound to print media, was diverted to radio and to a small extent television.[62]

The Daily Nation, established a social media sentiment trailer on their elections website demonstrating reputation of the social media ground for political discussion and campaign[63]. Furthermore, a confirmation of the connection between the media and legislative issues was the portrayal by several reporters in quest of parliamentary civic seats mostly on minor party tickets[64].

These reporters or media proprietors are what Castells referred to as the 'switchers'. These are the regulators of linking points among various planned networks aimed at dispersing specific political philosophical discourses[65].In the media industry journalists took the political interest as a take-off in their individual professions and so they took benefit of not only to showcase their technological expertise but also to communicate their popularity amongst the masses. Journalists in the end to increase their revenue suddenly started news reporting in a style that would give them favour of the electorates that they had political attention in. With this kind of reporting from journalists, corporations invested in the expansion of communications networks and for self-empowerment this would see more individuals coming up to assemble their own frameworks of mass self-correspondences through the remarks sections and the expansion of the Kenyan blog sphere.

---

[62]Lafargue et al. 2008, p67
[63]Orring 2013
[64]Lafargue et al. 2008, p70
[65]cf. Castells 2009, p46

The significant contention set forward by Castells states that, the system making power in the correspondences domains was portrayed by the activity of sight and sound corporate systems, as well as corporate and government that associate with system handlers who both consume media products and form their own culture[66].Another intense favourable position set forth by the development of electronic media added another dimension to the 2007 general decisions. All kinds of people had extensive variety of sources of data in the two official languages English, Swahili and other indigenous languages to choose from.[67]

4.3 Role of Media in Kenyan Crisis Escalation

Kenyan media had a lot of task through the period of post-election violence, the media was seen airing politicians throwing words at each other in the name of campaigning. To liberalise the media a new law was passed making way to ethnic radio stations. These ethnic radio stations targeted majority of the listeners in the rural areas. We had a radio station targeting the Kikuyus in Central, Luos in Nyanza, Kalenjin in Rift valley, Kamba in Eastern, and Kisiis in Southeast of Nyanza. Given this ethnic promoted radio stations the two-formal language were rarely used to communicate even when it came to news reporting journalists were hired who could speak their mother tongue fluently. This made other aspiring journalists to look for jobs in the main media houses who did their reporting in either English or Swahili. This kind of reporting in the media was biased and the ethnic reporting in no doubt promoted the election violence which had ethnic hatred as a backdrop.

---

[66]cf. Castells 2011, 783
[67]Lafargue et al. 2008, 63.

When this local radio stations had any form of information to pass across they did so in their mother tongue this proved a disadvantage to the rest of the other tribes. It sounded malicious to talk in your mother tongue through a media during the post -election period because it seemed one was passing on rumours, hate speech or even call for violence against other ethnic communities. Aside from news reporting the radio stations called their ethnic political leaders for debate to make matters worse the invited guests would speak in their ethnic languages unfortunately these discussion shows acted as a passage for a public debate and an expression of opinion which had been repressed for years. From the talk shows listeners could determine that some of the invited guests were angry, and resolute on change. Such channels were arguably necessary if violence was to be somehow managed and defused through open verbal confrontation instead of violence.[68]

In any given setting, the ethnic talk shows required standard reporting, well skilled journalist to careful moderate the debates. Without these key characteristics, the shows were bound to be biased in their reporting. Unfortunately, during the post-election period media hired untrained journalists who only knew to broadcast in their mother tongue, the radio stations also had DJs who would play music and report on the election reporting since they would be in the studio. To better relate with their listeners the stations hired personalities that would relate better with the listeners maybe because of their popularity.

---

[68]Note also that some stations were available online and therefore internationally, and significant content of discussion programs is sent in by email from Kenyan expatriates in other countries

When asked most of the staff who worked in the ethnic radio FM stations accredited that they have had minor or no journalistic skills in facilitating and reporting on debates in conflict conditions.

The role of radio stations during the post-election violence does not have sufficient content to make a clear valuation on the major role of ethnic radio stations in times of election violence. Despite the ethnic radio stations being known to have escalated crisis through their hate speech, there is evidence that some local radio stations tried to preach peace.

Complaints concerning the vernacular radio stations of hate speech were all over the place especially during the reconciliation period. Listeners complained of the hate speech that the radio stations passed during the violence period. Call on better regulation of media laws and the owners of these privately-owned radio stations asked to adhere to the code of conduct.

The ethnic radio stations cannot be wiped out or restricted for that matter, people need to get information and while others are not able to understand English or Swahili fluently then ethnic radio stations is the way to go. With this freedom given to the vernacular radio stations then the people unable to understand the two formal languages ae able to get the same information in their vernacular and still get to air their concerns and take part in democratic debates.

During the election period, the media had to setup at polling stations to be able to monitor the election exercise. There was vigorous competition amongst the media houses on who would get the news out first which was based in election results[69]. Media caused tension in this kind of exercise because every media broadcasted their own numbers that differed from each other. This

---

[69] Taylor. *Global Communication, International Affairs and the Media since 1945*: (1997)

made the public to watch the television station that favoured their preferred politician even when the results tallied by the media was not accurate.[70]

During the election day media was at the polling stations to air the process of voting. They showed how people queued for hours so as for them to get to exercise their democratic rights. This kind of exercise made the media to conduct unbiased, true and fair news coverage.

During the election period, we can say that the media did not drive deep in its reportage and look for explanations that led to the violent events rather the media sort to cover, not what has caused those events." Just as media had developed more factionalised, so at least to some degree have other self-regulating sectors in society, as well as civil society and academia. Media looked prepared to take that their part could and should be more sovereign, more hands-on and fact-finding, less unethical, clearer when politically predisposed, more appropriate and less affair driven. Nevertheless, they also argue and feel that they are not responsible for the country's problems.

Given the post-election violence that took the country by surprise, the media was also caught unaware and this led to the media into probing their own role and accountability in the predicament. Media monitoring by Strategic Research and Consulting found that media 'had mostly upgraded its observance to the code of conduct.[71]

---

[70] See, Buckley S, Duer K, Mendel T, O'Siochru S, Broadcasting, *Voice and Accountability: A Public Interest Approach to Policy, Law and Regulation, World Bank/World Bank Institute,* 2008.

[71] Lafargue et al. 2008, 63.

4.4 Media in peace-building and conflict resolution in Kenya

Beside the negative parts of media, a few cases have likewise connected media to the advancement of harmony and compromise. After the scourges of 2007– 08 postelection savageries experienced in Kenya it was up to the media, the writers, partners and the media board of Kenya to assume the peace part.[72] The media might have instigated the violence but after the devastation and the IDPs, death of people and damage of property it was left to the media to salvage what remained.

Peace building activities continued and hopefully it will continue even in the coming future elections. Media should figure out how to preach harmony before elections, throughout and after the general elections. This teaches the people on how to relate with others even after elections take place.

We give the mainstream media a thumb up in that when violence broke after the 2007-08 violence, it was quick to try and calm the situation. They started airing peace messages and even songs from artists. The newspapers were splashed with peace messages in the front pages to save our country that was 'burning' at the time. During news bulletins Kenyans were asked to send messages of peace or even send food and clothes donations to the Internally displaces persons. This is when we got to see a neutral media speaking one language of peace.

We acknowledge the media in its great effort in promoting peace-building activities airing the meditations process letting the country know that peace is the way to go despite the elections results. The media significantly played conflict upsurge roles during the 2007 general election

---

[72] See, Buckley S, Duer K, Mendel T, O'Siochru S, Broadcasting, *Voice and Accountability: A Public Interest Approach to Policy, Law and Regulation, World Bank/World Bank Institute,* 2008.

and following 2007/08 violence. A portion of the parts included; urging detest addresses to more noteworthy degree; running parallel counting focuses to a vast degree; suppression of fundamental data about clash to a little degree; deception of data; instigation to a substantial degree; factional or taking political sides to a degree; and debasement to a smaller degree. Some positive roles played by media were conducting civic education; preaching peace and calling for unity to a very great extent; public awareness and fair coverage of political campaigns; and airing of contentious issues during negotiations to a very great extent.[73]

The international media also had a role to play in peace building in Kenya. For example, when the government banned the Kenyan media it was the international media that took part in peace building and conflict resolution. Even with the media ban international media was readily available for the Kenyan people through the internet. Example of international media that took over after the ban on Kenyan media was CNN, Aljazeera and BBC. We also have a very vocal media journalist named Ross Kemp who aired deep violence attacks.[74] With the international media airing the conflicts after the general elections made the international bodies to send in mediators for instance we had Kofi Annan come in to mediate and come up with a solution.

4.5 Conclusion

After looking at the major factors that the media plays in escalating and deescalating violence after the post-election violence, we observe how the government failed in one way or the other. Apart from the government the media also had its shortcomings in its role in post-election

---

[73] Schudson, M. (2001). *The Objectivity Norm in American Journalism: Theory, Practice and Criticism. Journalism*, Vol 2 (2), 149-170.

[74] Taylor. *Global Communication, International Affairs and the Media since 1945*.

violence. To some extent the media escalated conflict during the elections and we might also argue that the media de-escalated conflict.

Given the shifting political nature of the country, it is important to address Kenya's electoral process. Just as the elections are an important feature in any democratic country so is the electoral process the media coverage on the election process. During the elections media has the job of highlighting the politicians by airing debates but some of the politicians' agendas tend to cause tensions among the people.

As a country Kenya has had the opportunity to host reconciliation and mediation projects. It is the job of the media to highlight peace building and conflict resolution and for the process to be successful government should offer the platform to assist the media.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS

Chapter five draws out conclusions and it tends to propose an outline for analysing role of media in post-election violence. To better comprehend the media's role in post-election violence we study the media in three categories: media as a mirror, amplifier and enable. Media may also be used as a respected tool for forecasting the possibility of election violence. With this kind of ability that the media has, it would be much easier for the media to suggest policy recommendations for stakeholders. These commendations will be the assistance of inter-dialogue and one on one debate about their significance to an agenda.

The recommendations are for media environments in the third world countries. In Kenya, today media schemes are varied, has far more contact to infrastructures platforms such as Facebook. This is shifting, as we have seen with the quick growth of mobile expertise in the country.

During the 2007-08 post-election violence, it is easy to say that there were technical problems with the Kenyan elections and this contributed to the election violence. It is better to highlight this issues that led the country to violence.

The Kenyan government had minor shortcomings all through the post-election violence. It is essential to highlight where the government failed and hopefully it gets to correct these shortcomings to avoid future election violence. With the government failing in one way the media did not have it easier either.

They don't demand so their opinion can form the basis of government accomplishment but they call spur of-the-moment. It is not documented. But the individuals that write in the media are very particular, they do their research, it is the academic setting.[75]

5.1.1 Media as an Amplifier

By nature, the media acts an amplifier. How the media performs as a mirror determines how it amplifies and what it amplifies. Media should be independent in its passing of information, but given freedom of being independent sometimes weakens the government in controlling what the media passes to the people. With this kind of friction between the media and the government forces the government to perhaps instil media ban to control what is broadcasted.

Using new technologies by the media results in a more controlled way to pass information to the public Technology does not alter messages it only speeds the time the message gets to the people and thus mobilizing groups of individuals towards certain actions (messages passed to this groups may be rumours or even stereotypes).[76] The government of Kenyan looked to impede amplification.

In spreading of information during elections and post -election violence new technologies were used. These types of new technologies reached a big number of people, both locally and internationally. With this spread of information via the new technologies international media played a huge role in the conflict management process.

---

[75]Interview by: Charles Onyango-Obbo
[76] Osborn, "*Fueling the Flames*

It was also lively in dispersal of gossips, which frequently muddled detail and fiction. Gossips have always been part of the political scene, but it is now easier for rumours to go countrywide.[77] Portion of the influence of texting lies in its apparent obscurity. As one Kenyan blogger grieved, unidentified messages spread quickly among Kenya's nine million mobile phones users: It is dangerous since there is more craftiness to it. It is not open, it is clandestine, making it tougher to put an end to."[78]

5.1.2 Media as a mirror

Analysing the media as a mirror, this is when it is the media's responsibility to inform the public or even the government in some instances if there is a problem and if the problem is being taken care of. This is where the media is tested tremendously in that, the media as a mirror can give accurate reflection of the real issues or it can give distorted information.

The real test is how to make the media a true for it to be trusted by the general population. The sort of reflection that can be a pointer for pending violence, that can be relied on by both international and local election observers and a mirror that can play a positive role in reconciliation processes. Also, we seek to find out if the observers have an eye to interpret correctly what the mirror in this context being the media might be projecting.

To be able to answer this and to better understand the functioning of the media there is a set of variables that are considered important. The interactions between the media systems and the political systems are believed to be products of historical experiences.

---

[77]Osborn, "*Fueling the Flames*," 316.
[78] See BBC Monitoring Africa, "*Kenya: Mobile phones' messages of hate*."

5.1.3 Media as an enabler

Media may also play the role as an empowering agent. By having the media as an empowering agent, we imply how the media has a role to play in national identity, justice process, mediating and in negotiation process. These are crucial roles of the media given the post-election violence experienced in 2008-07 election violence in Kenya.

Media acts a stage for political actors to debate and vie for leadership roles, this can be viewed as an asset and as weakness. It is an asset since the media may act as a platform for dialogue between two political parties or candidates in dispute. For fragile states that lack proper institutions to support such discussions media would not be able to serve as a forum for politicians.

In both policy and academic literature, both media and political systems are linear this is regarding media development. However, given the post-election violence experienced in Kenya demonstrates weakness and failure of the country. The media failed itself for failing to control the violence.[79] It failed the nation for failing to adhere to code of conduct, picking political sides at a time it was supposed to be neutral.

While the present disillusionments of country building may shoot from an absence of vision from the leadership, or from the prevailing battle for access to assets, a major, and frequently disregarded challenge for most nations observed in this report is to build up a methodology for

---

[79] See, Buckley S, Duer K, Mendel T, O'Siochru S, Broadcasting, *Voice and Accountability: A Public Interest Approach to Policy, Law and Regulation, World Bank/World Bank Institute,* 2008.

the media to adequately add to building up a concurrence on what the country is, while building a workable state.[80]

5.1.4 Conclusions and Recommendations for Media Policy in the Post-Election Period

Throughout the research several matters were looked at. The role of media in the above discussions has been an enabler and as an amplifier. There are the recommendations suggested for policy makers, journalists and the government. There are in no order.

---

[80]For more reading see '*Developmental media'* which was essentially government propaganda.

5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

5.2.1 Training

The study too recommends that local media reporters or journalists be trained on conflict reporting. Since conflict reporting is more challenging, most journalists were unprofessional in the way they handled the PEV reports as per the findings and therefore media training institutions should design study units on conflict reporting. The other major reason for the journalists to undergo vigorous training in conflict reporting is because most of the journalists had not reported on conflict before some are DJs working in the media industry. The Media Society of Kenya should organize workshops and training on conflict reporting and management for its practitioners.

5.2.2 Government responsibility

The government has an important part to play in any election. The government is responsible in putting forward institutions that are capable in resolving conflicts disputes. The public should be able to trust the courts to deliver unbiased verdict in case of any dispute among the candidates.

5.2.3 Inter-media Dialogue

Dialogue should be encouraged among media council, owners and even stakeholders. Inter-media dialogue will bring the media houses together and allow them to broadcast information to the public equally. There will be no difference in what they will feed the public. Lack of uniformity among the media is what causes conflict, when every media house supports a different candidate. With inter-media dialogue media houses come together and opt not to support one party rather broadcast the same kind of news that is bias free.

5.2.4 Release of Public Opinion Results

With so many different bodies that carry out survey on elections and politician's popularity. Their likelihood of winning elections and so forth, media should take great care when they release the information to the public. Though it is public opinion not everyone took the survey and the population sometimes tends to disagree with the public opinion results. Sometimes the opinion results do not reflect the election outcome and so the people might be swayed to rebel.

5.2.5 Announcement of Election Results

The study recommends that Media should not be allowed to run parallel tallying centres alongside that of the official electoral body. However, they should be encouraged to report on the accuracy of the electoral body results and to objectively highlight on any discrepancies noted on these results.

5.2.6 Live Broadcasts of Violence

Not on is violence reporting is very sensitive but broadcasting on live television causes tension. Study recommends extensive measures should be put in place when it comes to broadcasting election violence. Journalists should know how to filter what to air to the masses and what to avoid broadcasting. Since what will be broadcasted will always determine what the action of the people will be.

Based on the findings that there exists a significant discrepancy between news reported by several media houses, the study recommends that media houses should adopt a common conflict reporting approach. This will help in mitigating the discrepancies in coverage to unearth areas of

dispute and consensus objectively with a view of encouraging amicable solution to the matters at hand.

5.2.7 Media Policies and Liberalization of the Airwaves

Major attention should be given to the privately-owned media stations and radio stations. These stations do not necessarily follow the laws in their news broadcasting and thus they end up airing any news that they feel will give them an audience and generate revenue.

The administrative experts should plan a custom fitted administrative component for vernacular FM stations not quite the same as the ordinary ones. This is so a direct result of their huge impact and prominence particularly among the less instructed individuals from society.

5.2.8 Monitoring Media during Post-Election Period

Media Monitoring is essential in any election. Both local media and international media need to be monitored to allow the right information to be distributed to the masses.

Since media played both conflict escalation and conflict decrease roles during the 2007 general election and succeeding post-election violence as per the results of the study, the study endorses that media monitoring and law enforcers should plan stern laws, tenets and punishments for the two media houses and identities who utilize media for negative purposes.

5.2.9 Codes of Conduct

During the coverage of elections, election violence and any other sensitive issues around the world, journalists are required to adhere fully to the code of conduct. These allows journalists to pay close attention on how to cover stories related to election disputes and conflicts. Code of conduct should be implemented by the Media Council to allow journalists to adhere in all the

rules and failure to adhere they should face consequences. Fake news reporting with little facts causes tension amongst politicians, stakeholders and the citizens. By following the code of conduct it would be easier to avoid elections related conflicts.

5.2.10 Hate Speech

Before, during and after the 2007-08 elections local radios used their ethnic languages to pass information to the masses. Those that did not understand the language felt like it was hate speech. For violence to be avoided in the next general elections the media council should put forward measures that could control the community radio stations from spreading to much information in their mother tongues. Journalists in this radio stations should also have good judgement and good conduct while reporting in their ethnic languages. They should refrain in communication in these languages that would cause tension.

5.3 CONCLUSION

Considering the discoveries, the examination presumes that the most widely recognized wellsprings of data in the investigation range are Radio and TV with KASS radio station presence being the utmost preferred radio station, Citizen TV favoured Television station and Standard Newspaper the preferred daily paper.

Given these forms of media to pass information to the masses, the media played very significant role in escalating and deescalating post-election violence. Better part of media in elections is not only a bone of contentious in Kenya but around the world. Media is a powerful tool thus precautions must be taken by the media houses and journalists alike to ensure that their reporting in conflict is of high standards. Reporting that is bias free, realistic and news worthy reporting.

Journalists should be taken through training to allow them to report conflict related news well enough. During the 2007-08 elections violence was not anticipated so the next election coverage should be carried out with precaution to avoid the same chaos, political leaders as well as the media should look out for tale signs and look to avoid the same road of 2007.

The examination additionally infers that media incredibly assumed clash acceleration parts amid the general race and resulting post-election skirmishes. A portion of the sections included; urging loathe discourses to more noteworthy degree; running parallel counting focuses to a substantial degree; withholding of fundamental data about clash to a little degree; misrepresentation of information, provocation to a large extent; taking political sides and corruption to a small extent. Some positive roles played by media were conducting civic education; preaching peace and calling for unity to a very great extent; public awareness and fair coverage of political campaigns; what's more, airing of petulant issues amid transactions to an exceptionally incredible degree.

5.4 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

When it comes to conflict management and Media in general, research of this kind and nature cannot be fully exhausted. Irrespective of the accomplishment of this research, many topics remain unanswered whereas others also involved throughout the study. The pattern shift in communication has led to the development of social media. The study recommends investigation to be take on in areas of social media on the internet and mobile technology in peace making. Furthermore, analysis in the research topic should be done using multiple factor correlation to assess the inter-variable relationships.

REFERENCE

Ibrahim & Jenner, (1997). The Rise of a mediated state in Northern Kenya: The Wajir Story and its implications for state-building.

Kaldor, S. (2001). Canada and International Peacekeeping. Washington DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies.

Kirschke, L. (1996). Broadcasting genocide; censorship, propaganda, & state-sponsored violence in Rwanda 1990-1994. London: SAGE.

KNBS. (2009). 2009 Population and Housing censures. Republic of Kenya Central Bureau of Statistics, Vol 1.

KNCHR. (2008). Ballots to Bullets: Organized Political Violence and Kenya's Crisis of Governance. Kenya National Commission of Human Right. Nairobi: HRW.

KNCHR. (2008b). On the Brink of the Precipice: A Human Rights Account of the Kenya's Post Election Violence. Kenya National Commission of Human Right. Nairobi: HRW.

Koni, D. (2012). African media and conflict. Retrieved Jan 18, 2013, from http://www.cr.org/occ_papers/af_media/

Kothari, C. R. (2009). Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques (10th ed.). New Delhi: New Age International (P) Ltd.

Kull, S. (1995). What the Public Knows That Washington Doesn't. Foreign Policy (No.101), pp 102-115.

Kumar, R. (2011). Research Methodology: A Step by step guide for beginners (3rd ed.). New Delhi: SAGE.

Masinde, L., & Cranford, P. (2003). Under development in Kenya, the Political Economy of neo-colonialism 1964-1991. London.: Sage.

Mbeke, P. (2009). The role of media in conflict and peace building in Kenya. Nairobi: InterNews Network.

Media Foundation for West Africa. (2011, April 18). Ban on international media lifted by Ouattara government. Retrieved March 18, 2013, from International Freedom of Expression Exchange: http://www.ifex.org/

Metzl, J. (1997). Information intervention: When switching channels isn't enough. US Foreign Affairs, 76 (6), pp. 17-20.

MFAF. (2009, April). Media Focus on Africa Foundation Centre for Independent Research (CIR). National Integration and Cohesion Report.

Morgenthau, H., & Thompson, K. (1985). Politics among nations. New York: McGraw Hill

MRG. (2013). Annual survey: Hate crime towards minorities and indigenous peoples in Africa. Minority Rights Group International. London: Commercial Street Press.

Mugenda, M., &Mugenda, A. G. (2003). Research Methods: Qualitative & Quantitative Approaches. Nairobi: African Centre for Technology Studies (ACTS) Press.

Mutua, A. N. (2001). A study of Information and the Press in Africa. Retrieved JAN 8th, 2012, from http://www.geocities.com/a_mutua/propaganda.html#references

Newbold, J. (1995). "Somalia." Enforcing Restraint: Collective Intervention in Internal Conflicts. (L. F. Damrosch, Ed.) New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press.

Okumu, R. R. (1997). The Effect of war and government policies in Northern Uganda from 1986. UNDP. Gulu: (Unpublished Report).

Otieno, I. (2005). Mobile Telephony and Democratic Elections in Kenya: A case of 2002 Elections. Reactivism Journal.

Ottaway, R. S. (1997). Dateline Capitol Hill: The New Majority's Foreign Policy. US Foreign Policy No. 101, Winter (96), pp. 159-169.

Patton, Q. (1990). Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods. California: Newbury Park Publishers.

Praeger, N. (1994). Armed conflicts and Diplomatic Crises. Politics and Public Policy, Working Paper 94 (1).

Price, M., & Thomson, S. (2002). An Operational Framework for Media and Peacebuilding. Retrieved March 12, 2013, from IMPACS: www.impacs.org

Rasmussen, S., & Erik, S. (2002). Essentials of Social Research Methodology. Southern Denmark: Odense University Press.

Reporters Without Borders. (2011). Call to Avoid Media Vengeance by Civil War Victors. Retrieved March 18, 2013, from http://www.rwb.org

Rugman, T. (2002). Studies in Reconstruction and capacity building in post conflict countries in Africa: some lesson of experience from Uganda and Harare. Africa capacity building foundation, Vol IV.

Ruto, K., Olaf, B., Ralf, V., &Wotzka, H.-P. (2003). Factors in Pastoral Conflict in North Rift of Northeastern Africa. Aridity, Change, and Conflict in Africa.

Sadkovich, J. (1998). The U.S. media and Yugoslavia - 1991-1995. CT: Westport. 81

Schudson, M. (2001). The Objectivity Norm in American Journalism: Theory, Practice and Criticism. Journalism, Vol 2 (2), 149-170.

SFCG. (2004). Middle East media. Retrieved July 29th, 2014, from Search for Common Ground: http://www.sfcg.org/programmes/middleeast/middleeast_media.html

APPENDIX 1

Respondent's Questionnaire

SECTION A: **Researcher's Details**

I am a student at University of Nairobi, undertaking Master of Arts degree in International Studies. I am conducting a research on "Role of Media Coverage in International Conflict Management in Kenya: Case Study of 2007-2008 Post-Election Violence in Kenya. I would like to solicit your kind assistance by preparing yourself to provide responses to the questions posed below. Information is required for academic purposes. It will also be used as a tool for enhancing peace and coexistence by encouraging media practitioners to report objectively and within the established laws and ethics. The data collected will be confidential.

Yours faithfully,

Researcher Name: Belindah Olisa

Registration Number: Admission No: R50/70138/2013

 Instructions: please tick [√] your answer where applicable.

SECTION B: **Respondent's Details**

1. State your gender?

    o   Male

    o   Female

2. How old are you?

   o 18-35yrs

   o 36-45 yrs.

   o 45-55 yrs.

   o Above 55

3. What is your Marital Status?

   o Single

   o Married

4. Highest level of Education and training attained?

   o Primary

   o Secondary

   o College/University

   o Others

5. Have you ever been a victim of a violent conflict?

   o Yes

o   No

SECTION C:

Q6. Which form of media is your main source of information?

- o   Radio

- o   Newspaper

- o   Television

- o   Internet

Q7. Specify the radio station(s), Television channel(s) or Newspaper(s) you commonly listen to, watch or read respectively.

i.   ……………………………
ii.   ……………………………
iii.   …………………………...
iv.   ……………………………

Q8. Do you agree or disagree that what the media reports influences most decisions or actions?

- o   Strongly disagree

- o   Disagree

- o   Agree

o Strongly agree

Q9. As an audience to what degree do you have confidence in the media to broadcast true information on election related conflicts?

o Large extent

o I don't know

o Small extent

o Very small extent

Q10.Which method of Kenyan media covered the post-election violence to a full extent?

a. TV

b. Radio

c. National newspaper

d. Internet

Q11. From the above forms of media, name examples of media house that you have selected.

i. ..……………………………

ii. ……………………………

iii. ….…………………………...

iv. ………………………………

v. …………………………...

Q12. Do you think media could have played a role during the 2007 general election in Kenya?

- o Yes

- o No

Q13. If Yes, what role did media play?

i.   Escalated violence

ii.   De-escalated violence

iii. Both roles

Q14. State roles you think were played by media in:

a. Escalation of post-election violence

i. ……………………………………………………………………

ii. ………………………………………………………………

iii…………………………………………………………………

iv. …………………………………………………………

b. De-escalation of violence

i. …………………………………………………………………….

ii.…………………………………………………………………

iii…………………………………………………………………

iv. ………………………………………………………………

vi. …………………………………………………………………

Q15. Based on the under listed factors, rank them in a scale of 1 – 5 (denoting no influence on great influence) the extent to which they influenced or controlled your reaction to media coverage and reports on 2007/08 PEV.

a) Age

b) Gender

c) Social status

d) Habitation (Urban/Rural)

e) Religion

SECTION D: Provided below are questions that contain some of the roles that media played during 2007 general election, perceived to have contributed to 2007/2008 PEV. Based on your opinion and extent of agreement.

Q16. Do you agree that local radio stations encouraged hate speech through broadcast?

o Yes

o No

Q17. If yes, to what extent do you think this could have elicited ethnic hatred and animosity among communities and tribes in Kenya?

o Large extent

o I don't know

o Some extent

o Small extent

Q18. To what extent do you support that the media can act as a mouthpiece of politicians and opinion leaders through violent elections?

o Very large extent

o Large extent

o I don't know

o Some extent

o Small extent

Q19. Based on above issue, to what extend do you agree that Kenya media could have acted as mouthpiece of politicians and opinion leaders during the 2007/08 PEV?

- o   Very large extent

- o   Large extent

- o   I don't know

- o   Some extent

- o   Small extent

Q20. Do you agree that media could fail to provide background information of emerging conflict or take part in conflict by covering-up or withholding vital information?

- o   Yes

- o   No

Q21. With reference to Kenyan situation, to what extent do you agree that mass media could have failed to provide adequate information or/and provided poor analysis of the situation which eventually caused anxiety and confusion among Kenyans?

- o   Very large extent

- o   Large extent

- o   I don't know

- o   Some extent

- o   Small extent

Q22. Do you think media should be allowed to run a parallel vote tallying centers along with the official Election Commission Centre as they did during the 2007 general election in Kenya?

- o Yes

- o No

Q23. To what extent do you think that Kenya media houses, that were running parallel election tallying centers, were unprofessional.

- o Very large extent

- o Large extent

- o I don't know

- o Some extent

- o Small extent

Q24. To what extent do you agree that this unprofessionalism could have led to or escalated conflict during the 2007/08 PEV in Kenya?

- o Very large extent

- o Large extent

- o I don't know

- o Some extent

- o Small extent

Thank you.

Interview Guide for Media Professionals

Purpose of this interview is to collect material from media professionals from

..................Television/Radio station of KTN, CITIZEN, KASS FM, INOORO FM, etc.

The interview is aimed at soliciting data to assess the role of media in conflict management in

Kenya. Your views will be useful in influencing security decisions in the County and for

academic purposes and will be treated with confidentiality.

Section A: General Information Your Title:

....

Age: ....

Gender: ....

Marital status: ....

Education level: ……………………………………………………………………

Institution/Organization you work for: …………………………………………….

Duration (years) you've been in this work: ....

Which media house do you work for ……………………………………………………

Section: Interview Questions

Q1. News headline do have the first impact on audience or listeners' interpretation and subsequent perception on its contents. Journalists, especially during 2007 general election more often used intense comments by key politicial aspirants and opinion leaders to craft their titles. In addition, emotive references to history dominated most newspaper headlines during PEV. What impact could this have had towards violence during 2007/08 PEV.

Q2. News editors should be aware of the danger of promoting biased reporting and common stereotypes about groups.

a) To what extent do you concur with this statement especially with reference to 2007 general elections in Kenya?

b) What measures do your editorial put in place to discourage such negative reporting?

Q3. Where there is ethnic violence there should be an effort to investigate and expose the causes.

a) Do you think this prudent course was exercised during 2007/08 PEV?

b) How do the media practitioners ensure that underlying issues are objectively addressed and impartially reported during conflicts?

Q4. What measures are in place to ensure that factual accuracy does not lead to conflict?

a) To what extent have you ensured that your coverage and editorials do not capitalize on factual accuracy to promote conflict?

Q5. Over the past, and especially during the 2007 general election, media houses ran documentaries on how certain parts or communities were marginalized by former regimes, with the potential that they would benefit could there be a change of guard in governance.

a) To what extent do you think such documentaries and reports hindered the spirit of nationalism?

b) Could such negative reporting be attributed to the conflict after 2007 general election?

Q6. Statistics have been used to excite passion, and as witnessed during the 2007 general election, the release of presidential results was varying and inconsistent.

a) To what extent do you think this contributed or inflamed 2007/08 PEV?

b) How can we avoid such mistakes in future?

Q7. It is normal practice for media houses to edit and select which part of coverage is aired to audience or listeners accompanied by brief comments.

a) How can editorial comments contribute to news/fact distortion and misleading news reports? Could this be responsible for the violence witnessed during the 2007 general elections?

Q8. Unverified information should not be aired by the media houses. What is the danger of speculating violence?

a) Are there measures put in place to certify the validity of news before broadcast?

b) How can a media house confirm the validity of what journalists' report?