UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

COLLEGE OF HUMANITY AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM AND MASS COMMUNICATION

THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN THE PREVENTION OF ELECTION RELATED

CONFLICTS: A CASE STUDY OF KENYA'S 2007 GENERAL ELECTION

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DECLARATION

This project is my original work and to the best of my knowledge has never been presented for a degree award in any other university.

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Alfrick Kipkoech Tanui   Date

This project has been submitted to the University of Nairobi for examination with my approval as the supervisor.

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Dr. George Nyabuga   Date

University of Nairobi

DEDICATION

I dedicate this study to all those in the media fraternity who work with great dedication to create peaceful societies through imparting positive influence on public decisions through awareness creation and mobilisation for action against social ills.

I further dedicate this work to my wife Rose, children Jebichii, Jerop, Kipng'etich and my late brother Mwalimu Reuben Kibet Cheploen who offered me great motivation to pursue my MA studies but passed on as soon as I started my studies.

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Above all, I thank the Almighty God for his guidance all through my course work and project.

ABSTRACT

This study sought to investigate the role of print and broadcast media in political discourse and their influence on citizenry during the 2007 General Election. The study examined the role of print media in reporting conflict during the escalation and de-escalation period. To examine these variables, the study was guided by the following objectives; to determine the factors informing the print and broadcast media's coverage of electoral conflicts in Kenya; to examine the print and broadcast media's role in the escalation of the 2007/2008 post-election violence in Kenya; to assess the effectiveness of the functions of the print and broadcast media in the prevention of the 2007/2008 post-election violence in Kenya. The study applied the agenda setting theory, the manufacturing consent theory and the social conflict theory. The theories were relevant due to their three dimensions of the media in setting the agenda, political bias and the inevitable factor of underlying societal inequalities during political process that all influence and lead to post-election violence. The design used in conducting data collection and analysis was exploratory in nature. The study solely adopted qualitative methods of research using content analysis and a population of 30 participants randomly chosen from journalists, news editors, political commentaries and analysts who have been in the mainstream media for past 10 years. Qualitative analysis was used in the study to present the findings based on the three main research questions. The analysis found out that the media contributed to the emergence and escalation of the conflict through select words, framing and order of stories as well as purveying the notion that the election was going to be rigged, heightened tensions and suspicions. However, the major factors that influenced the manner in which the media presented contents were lack of media independence occasioned by controls, political affiliation, business interests by the media houses themselves and over emphasis on peace journalism over conflict journalism. Based on these findings, the study recommends that the media should be seen as agents of change, that media intervention should take the form of media training for impartial ethnic reporting and provide opportunities for accelerating social integration.

TABLE OF CONTENT

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BBC   British Broadcasting Corporation

CIPEV   Commission of Inquiry on Post-Election Violence

CNN   Central News Network

HRW   Human Rights Watch

ICC   International Criminal Court

IREC   Independent Review Committee

KNCHR   Kenya Human Rights Commission Report

KTN   Kenya Television Network

NTV   Nation Television

ODM   Orange Democratic Movement

PEV   Post-Election violence

PNU   Party of National Unity

UNESCO   United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Overview

In a functioning democratic state, the media play essential roles in the improvement and enhancement of democratic principles. The debate on the role of media in an electoral context is usually tied to its watchdog functions (CIHRS, 2011). Thus as the watchdog, the media offers independent scrutiny on achievements and pitfalls of political candidates, governments, and institutions tasked with managing elections. This chapter presents the background of the study relating to the role of media in the prevention of election-related conflicts, the problem statement, the study objectives, justification, significance of the study, scope and limitation of the study and the operational definitions.

1.1 Background of the Study

Print and broadcast media have for long played a central role in availing information to people regarding various social, economic and even spiritual realities. In their development of the functional theory of communication, Harold, Wright and McQuaill outline the development of different functions of the traditional and new media in conflict resolution. Harold (1948) for instance observes that the media's contribution to conflict resolution can only be achieved if it plays the roles of surveillance, interpretation, and transmission of news relating to the history, values and way of the people who are their target audience. These three roles were however expounded by Wright (1960) who added that the media also contributes towards tranquillity in the society through effectively

playing an entertainment role. McQuaill (1987) on his part developed further the debate on media's role in conflict resolution by linking the media to a very politically related function that is mobilisation of the body of citizens to action. A look at the development of the functions of both traditional and new media in the formation of a society indicates that other than just giving information for the sake of it, the media through the information it gives aims at motivating the citizens to act in support of their own interests and that of their community. Gilboa (2009) comprehends this as the conflict early warning role of the media which is positive in itself.

In the numerous armed conflicts that Africa has experienced, the media, in view of the roles it plays in a society automatically becomes a key player in either fuelling the conflicts or resolving them. Amisi (1997) argues that the media has the potential of playing both negative and positive roles in either escalating or preventing conflict or peace campaign platforms. Wairagu (2003) and Howard (2003) explain that the media has the potential to contribute to conflict by failing to highlight emerging conflicts, delaying to raise alarm about signs and indicators of latent conflicts or even inciting people into violence. In Rwanda for instance, the Rwandese Radio- Television Libre des Milles Collines (RTLM) contributed towards fuelling the looming genocide by encouraging the Hutu population to exterminate the Tutsi terming them as "cockroaches" that needed to be eliminated in Rwanda; an incitement which eventually led to the massacre of approximately a million Tutsis while displacing many others (Mutua, 2001).

In the case of Kenya, the media was openly accused for escalating the conflict that rocked the country after the 2007 elections. According to the CIPEV report (2008), both print and broadcast media played and inflammatory role by putting in the public domain information and utterances that prompted fear and horror among people thus leading to violent reactions. Furthermore, the media, was accused of precipitating the PEV by portraying a volatile political environment marred with abhorrence, violence, and a stiff race between two protagonists (the Party of National Unity (PNU) and Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) parties) (KNCHR, 2008). The KNCHR report found out that ethnic based FM radio stations acted unprofessionally by disseminating negative ethnic stereotypes, cultural chauvinism, and by maligning individuals and communities.

In his explanation of journalism of attachment, Bell (2008) implies that the media can be a catalyst of promoting ethnic supremacy contests through bipartisan reporting whereby the reporters tend to side with one party to the conflict considering them as victims. In the Balkan wars for instance, Amanpour appeared to support the Muslims and strongly advocated for military intervention against the Serbs.

Local media outlets such as Nation Television (NTV), Kenya Television Network (KTN), KASS and INOORO seem to have predicted a flawed and highly manipulated election in favour of the ruling party; a situation which shaped perceptions of people towards violence in case the election results were announced in favour of the protagonist (Twaweza Report 2008). *The Standard* newspaper of 14 October 2007 published a documentary on how the government planned to rig the election.

The mobilisation role has however in some cases proved to be a positive. In his reference to the Iran's Twitter revolution of 2009, Benard (2009) indicates that the 2009 protest against the outcome of the presidential elections was an indication that the media was providing new platforms for interaction and presenting divergent views that influence people's way of thinking. By examining various roles that the print and broadcast media plays in a society, this study seeks to establish what role the media plays in situations of electoral conflict and how stakeholders can work towards supporting the media's role in preventing election related violence.

1.2. Problem Statement

In spite of the media being proactive in conducting civic education and providing news about events happening around elections, there is a big gap in the media actualising its analytical and mobilisation role thus failing to enhance the understanding of the public about right decision making in political processes. This problem is further made complex by the lack of media independence as a result of the force to fulfil the interests of various parties that have interest in obtaining favourable outcomes from the ongoing political process; a situation which frustrates objectivity in news reporting leading to lack of a meaningful balance between peace journalism and conflict journalism. Consequently, the public who are the consumers of media content end up feeling that there is a collaborative relationship between the media and the perpetrators of the perceived injustice. This leads to the escalation of violence rather than a prevention of it. As a result of this there is a lack of analytical knowledge among recipients of media content regarding politics.

Imbalance between broadcast media and print media in as far as shaping public opinion is concerned with reference to electoral processes is another issue of concern. Although the print media plays a very crucial role, many political decision-makers take this for granted. Political practitioners, and researchers have taken lightly the importance of news media in electoral conflicts political and electoral conflicts conflict management while giving a holistic understanding of the media as both print and broadcast.

1.3 Research Objectives
1.3.1 General Objective

To examine the role that print and broadcast media play in conflict prevention with special focus on conflict in Kenya during the 2007 general election

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

1. To determine the factors informing the print media's coverage of electoral conflicts in Kenya

2. To examine the print media's role in the escalation of the 2007/2008 post-election violence in Kenya

3. To investigate the effectiveness of the functions of the print media in the prevention of the 2007/2008 post-election violence in Kenya

1.4 Research Questions

The study is guided by the following questions:

i. What are the factors informing the print media's coverage of electoral conflicts in Kenya?

ii. What role did the print media play in the escalation of the 2007/2008 post-election violence in Kenya?

iii.   To what extent did the print media employ its functions to prevent the occurrence of 2007/2008 post-election violence in Kenya?

1.5 Justification

Referred to as the fourth estate, media is considered an important pillar of governance after legislature, executive and judiciary by virtue of having the capability to shape perceptions, beliefs and way of life. Indeed, media influences every part of our lives (thoughts, attitudes, choices, lifestyles, decision making among others) through education, information and entertainment. In this thought, the media can play a great role in preventing conflict from escalating. Conversely, media has been used to cause conflicts. This can be seen as subjective reporting and it tends to polarise communities therefore promoting or escalating underlying conflicts. In this light, this study will focus on the fundamental understanding of how print media particularly escalated conflicts during the 2007/8 PEV in Kenya.

The role that journalists played in the political conflict – with emphasis on the 2007 pre-election tensions and rivalry culminating in disputed election results and violence – are heavily determined by the degree of independence and the negative influences they fall into. One cannot therefore discuss the importance of the fourth estate in either escalating or de-escalating conflict without an assessment of these influences. In this study, this was done through looking at how tribal loyalties, corruption and bribery by the political elite, and unprofessionalism manifested itself in the manner in which journalists covered the period leading to and after the election itself.

Despite the past and ongoing research that attempts to link media to conflict, there is no conclusive finding of what contribution newspaper journalists had in relation to Kenya's 2007/8 PEV. This study therefore seeks to analyse how print media affected the heightening of tensions amongst ethnic communities therefore leading to the violent conflicts that cost lives, affected Kenyan economy among other socio-economic and political effects. This research will focus on newspaper coverage, which in effects means that analyses of key words used by writers and the choice of headlines would serve as key indicators explaining the exact role.

1.6 Significance of the Study

There is inadequate research and current literature on the role of print media in Kenya in preventing or escalating electoral conflict. The study seeks to add to the existing knowledge and propose areas for further research from the gaps arising at the end of the study. Additionally, from its findings, the study will give recommendations for effective policies and positive engagement of the print media during election processes in Kenya especially now as Kenya goes for the second but highly charged election like the one in 2007.

1.7 Scope and limitation of the Study

This project concentrated in Nairobi, this being a host town to majority of the mainstream media houses. The researcher closely worked with professionals and experts at media houses and public communication at the political level. The researcher also sought relevant information from the relevant government institutions. More so the study also

reviewed policies and analysed data collected from the findings of the 2007 PEV in Kenya, as well as media reports relating to the post-election violence that rocked the country in 2007/2008. The relevant agencies and institutions dealing with conflict early warning during election processes in giving out information that was found useful to the researcher because of the sensitivity of information.

1.8 Operational Definitions

Broadcast Media: Refers to forms of communication devices which uses signals like Television and Radio to reach the audience.

Citizen journalism: It is a situation where members of the public resort to collecting and distributing information to others mostly through the use of internet enabled communication devices.

Conflict: This is the disagreement between different groups of people over particular issues that can lead to war and loss of lives.

Electoral conflict: It is a situation where there are at least two different political antagonists who do not agree to certain ideologies leading to conflict.

Local/Regional media: This refers to media outlets that target a specific community and usually uses the local (vernacular) language to communicate with the audience.

National Media: This is used to refer to both print and broadcast media that operates within the boundaries of a nation and has national coverage and reach.

Peace journalism: This is journalism with peace as the main aim. It entails the practice where journalists covering conflicts become cognizant of the need to change attitudes of

the audience, the media owners and all other stakeholders towards peacemaking and peacekeeping.

Post-election violence: This is a situation where people become unruly, resort to fighting, destruction of property and killings to protest the outcome of an election

Print Media: This term is used to refer to the kind of media that are published on pieces of paper before being distributed to the audience like newspapers and magazines.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Overview

In this section, the study critically examines relevant literature touching on role of print and broadcast media in electoral processes and the extent to which their role contributes to conflict management in cases where electoral processes turn violent. It begins by discussing a general understanding of the media so as to give scope to the concept of the media as discussed in this study. Section two explores the various roles that the media play in political processes in a society. The third section discusses literature relating to the media's role in conflict with reference to particular cases across the world, Kenya inclusive. The fourth section presents the theoretical framework that has guided the study with a view of presenting the gaps that this study seeks to fill.

2.1 Conceptualising the Media

According to Guttierez (1997), Media is a term that is used to refer to communication devices that are applied to pass information and interact with a group of people through graphics or contemporary technologically enabled communication featured in modern societies. Being at the centre of communication in any society, media is part and parcel of the daily lives of humankind. Other than its entertainment role, the media remains to be probably the only other way for people to interact.

In analysing the role of the media in conflict resolution, it is vital to look into the evolution of the media. In his presentation of the evolution of the media, Gilboa (2009) classifies media into traditional media which entails newspapers, television, and radio and new media which is basically the internet which is fast contributing to public debate on social issues by providing non-state actors such as CSOs with borderless opportunity to educate but also to raise alarm over social ills that might lead to conflict if not appropriately attended to.

While it is worth acknowledging the role that traditional media is playing in passing information and setting political, economic, social and cultural agenda, it is also worth noting that traditional media is limited in space and content as Semetko (2009) observes unlike the new media which is less controlled thus having the ability to go beyond national boundaries. This implies then that the new media has greater and more robust opportunity to play the agenda setting role in even the most authoritarian states which have the muscle to control the information that the public gets from the media. Preventing electoral conflicts therefore needs to bring forth an integrated model which brings together both categories of media to actualise the main functions of the media in conflict interventions.

Other than just distinguishing the media in its 2 main types, a further understanding of the levels at which the media operates. This is because the levels at which a particular media outlet operates determines its degree of influence. Gilboa (2009) identifies 5 levels of media operation i.e. local, national, regional, international and global.

Even though, the traditional media is much more understood as local, there is a sense in which traditional media has been able to reach audiences worldwide without having to face the challenge of national, ethnic or cultural bias and the internet has been the best aid to this process of globalising the traditional media (Wellman, 2004). With the globalisation of traditional media through regional and global media outlets and live streaming of local media outlets, there is an increase in space for the media to play its role with less control from the state.

The media is important in democratic societies and in democratic processes. A free and fair election entails freedom to vote and participate in the election process such as participatory engagement where voters take part in public debates and get sufficient information about vying parties, their policies as well as information about the running candidates to enable the voters to make informed voting decisions based on the information they acquire. Moreover, media plays the role of a watch dog therefore safeguarding the transparency of the election process. Certainly, any democratic elections without media freedom or at the least, subdued media freedom, is contradictory to the democratic principles. In 2005, UNESCO formulated the Dakar Declaration on media and governance which called on media to be independent in promoting good governance and democracy (UNESCO, 2005). The importance of this communication is emphasised by Schramm (1964) who stated that media can help bridge the gap between different communities while upholding the national values and aspirations of a country. By doing this, media plays the role of empowering the citizens to be able to claim for accountability and quality from their own governments.

2.2 Media and Conflict

2.2.1 Conflict

Conflict is defined differently depending on the context within which the definition is being used. Bonta (1996) defines conflict as "the incompatible needs differing demands, contradictory wishes, opposing beliefs, or diverging interests which produce interpersonal antagonism and, at times, hostile encounters. Conflict situations thus range from antagonist behaviour. It implies that occurrence or end of conflict is associated with communication since wishes, beliefs, and interests and the resultant effects of the divergence of these between people are largely shaped by people's communication.

2.2.1.1 Phases of Conflict and Relevant Interventions

Johan Galtung in his work "peace by peaceful means" identifies three stages of conflict thus, pre conflict, conflict and post conflict phases. The shortcoming with this kind of phasing is that it overemphasises on conflict as if conflict remains the same from the beginning to the end. Furthermore, this phasing leaves out the period before and after conflict with the assumption that nothing happens in these phases and alongside the conflicts. This shortcoming calls for a classification of phases while bearing in mind interventions too. A blend of Galtung's and Lund's classification gives the possibility of identifying 4 phases of conflict thus conflict prevention, conflict management, conflict resolution and reconciliation (Galtung, 1996, Lund 1996).

The phase that is mainly the concern of this study is phase one (conflict prevention). According to Lund, (1996), the first phase is characterised by the beginning of disagreements and growth in hostilities expressed both verbally and in behaviour. Lund

(1996) further adds that the most fitting intervention at this phase are preventive measures aimed at stopping the conflict for instance conflict early warning and early response. In intrastate conflicts such as those associated with elections, the media plays a very critical role at this phase either in escalation or prevention. Presenting sentiments that are inciting in nature can lead to heightening of tensions and consequently violent conflict. However, if the media chooses to play a more informative and analytical role at this phase rather than just presenting events as they are, chances are high that recipients of news will be well informed so that they are able to make decisions that are not violent.

Media and conflict are often linked to each other because of the high tendency to present negative news. Rubenstein, Richard; Botes, Johannes; Dukes, Frank; Stephens, John, (1994) argue that items related to conflict are often given more prominence compared to non-conflict items as evidenced in media outlets which present news that are frequently about international conflicts, communal wars, religious upheavals, racial disorders, political debates, family disputes, arrests, strikes, shootouts, lawsuits. The undoing of the media at the conflict prevention phase is that overemphasis on disagreements is actually a recipe for the heightening of tensions. This is the way in which the media contributes to conflict rather than preventing it.

2.2.2 Cases of Media's Role in Conflict

In an ideal situation, democratic elections are intended to moderate political conflict in an orderly and civil way and ensure integrity of outcomes. However, since most African states are either grappling with violent or structural conflicts or emerging from war,

elections have in most occasions been associated with volatility and violence. (Hoglund, 2012). From the above conceptualisation, the media can be used to incite people towards violence like in the following cases discussed below:

Case 1: Ivory Coast

In Ivory Coast, a report by the Media Foundation of West Africa (2011) found out that both the main public television station and several newspaper publications contributed to the violence that preceded the 2010 general elections. According to the Electoral Reform International Services (2011 report), both presidential candidates Laurent Gbagbo and Allasane Outarra used the media for propaganda to mobilise and incite their supporters against their opponents. The media played to the gallery of the two presidential protagonists and in the end was blamed for fuelling the conflict that led to the displacement of more than one million people, economic deterioration, loss of lives and destruction of property worth millions of dollars.

Case 2: Media and the Rwandan Genocide

In Eastern Africa, Rwanda and Kenya serve as some of the examples of the role of media in political conflict. In Rwanda for instance, only those staying in the city had access to newspapers but in a bid to share with the rural folks what was happening, the elites in towns carried the copies to their rural homes over the weekends and other off days. They would even help those who could not read and understand by explaining to them what were written and through this way influenced the majority rural public with propaganda peddled by the press. (HRW, 1999). Kangura, a weekly Rwandan newspaper also carried

hate messages against the Tutsi by denouncing the Tutsi in what it termed as the 'Ten Commandments of the Hutu.

Case 3: Media and Kenya's PEV

In the general elections in 2008 in Kenya, there was a thin line been coverage for public interest and social responsibility. Thus, the 2008 post-election violence left the Kenyan media strained in balancing such interest. Mutua (2010) note that the Kenyan media abdicated their social responsibility and fuelled the conflict by making people to develop negative attitudes and perceptions towards people in opposing political ideologies. Thus the media should not merely report, comment on or interpret conflict but should also enhance peace through conflict resolution (Ogola, 2011).

The media also came under criticism from the human rights groups that linked partisan and ethicised reporting to the escalation of the violence. KHRC documented a case where Kass FM and Radio *Injili* reportedly interviewed elders who added onto the propaganda and war-mongering already driving the Kalenjins to hunt, evict or even kill members of the community. The Kikuyu on the other hand armed themselves and in the contact areas, and in the end there were deaths and loses of property on both sides. Both violations were brought out by Kriegler, Waki and KNHRC and formed the basis of the ICC cases against initially six Kenyans.

At the International Criminal Court trial of initially six prominent Kenyans linked to serious crimes against humanity charges – killings, displacement and even rape – one was

a Kass FM morning show presenter. Though charges against Mr Joshua Arap Sang would later be dropped alongside those of Uhuru Kenyatta and Mr William Ruto – the court would be told that Sang used his vantage position to direct the warriors in Eldoret and Nandi using coded language. Similar claims would be made by some of the witnesses who later recanted their contradictory statements citing intimidation. In the investigation stages, ICC advertised for translators who could turn what was said in Kikuyu, Kalenjin, Dholuo, Kiswahili and Luhya into English for the prosecution as it built its case. The target was understood by Kenyans to be the broadcast news items and interview programmes of vernacular FM stations.

There are two situations in which this plays out in Kenya. The first is where the owners are active politicians seeking new office or fighting to retain one. In Kenya the family of retired President Daniel Arap Moi own the vast media staple – The Standard Group – whose platforms include the Daily Standard, the Standard on Saturday and the Sunday Standard as well as the Nairobian. On the broadcast side there is Radio Maisha, Standard Digital and the premier private Television in Kenya – KTN and its latest addition – 24 hour channel, KTN News. The family of Kenya's first President Mzee Jomo Kenyatta and the fourth President Uhuru Kenyatta own the Mediamax Company that in turns own the K24 Television and the People Daily newspaper (Nyanjom 2012: 26)

The second tier of control of media houses is where the owner does not have direct political interests but puts their media empire at the disposal of a political actors. This in Kenya manifests itself in the way the owner of Royal Media Services engaged with both

the Kibaki government and the current one. Lastly in this league is the privately owned Radio Africa associated with Mr Patrick Quarcoo as well as Nairobi Governor Dr Evans Kidero and Kittony family – Senator Zipporah Kittony and influential Kanu politician, and Kiprono Kittony, a well-connected personality in business circles in Kenya.

2.3 Media and Conflict Resolution
2.3.1 Media and the mobilisation to democracy

The definition of democracy ranges from different scholars' point of perspective, but it is generally agreed that it is the freedom to participate in a competitive election (Schumpeter, 1943). Whitehead (2002: 27) has defined democratisation as "a complex, long term, dynamic, and open-ended process; it consists of progress towards a more rule-based, more consensual and more participatory type of politics". This introduces two separate kind of approaches. The first one focuses on condition that precede democratisation, such as seeking domestic and international factors that make it likely for democratisation   to begin the process of democratisation   and succeed in it. The second approach focuses on democratisation   processes, giving emphasis on the short term (Haerpfer et al., 2009).

Democratic changes bring forth a hybrid government mixing the old and new concept linked to the early modernisation as outlined by Hinnebusch (2006: 374). International factors also play a key role in democratisation   such as globalisation which in this case present the influence of external variables which has to be considered (Brinks and Coppedge, 2006). Mass beliefs are of great importance in order to enhance a country's chances of continually practicing democracy even after its democratisation process. Like

instrumental preferences, fundamental preferences for democracy, arise under authoritarian governments, therefore if the fundamental preferences are not strong or are not present, such governance may be considered as being democratic. Therefore, the modernisation and democratisation nexus is seen to be intermediated in development. It is at this point that mass media have can be seen as an influential and also potential democratisation actor. This is the case because unlike earlier cases, the current wave of democratisation is actuated through intense media coverage. (Voltmer and Rownsley, 2009).

The media according to Salgado, (2009) plays the role of mobilising people towards embracing democracy as a political ideology. McQuail, (2005) concurs with this opinion by saying that the media can be seen as either dependent on society and mirroring its contours or as primary moulders and movers. Similarly, the freedom of the media is seen in reforms that enables the democratic institutions to perform effectively in democratic societies. Generally, the freedom and independence characteristics of the media are the most universally endorsed. Thus normative functions of mass media are usually based on the characteristics engraved in representative or liberal democracies. In this case, the media act as: guardians or 'watchdogs' against the abuse of power, platform for pluralistic debate about public affairs and an agent for mobilising public participation and learning in political process (Norris, 2000).

However, Voltmer and Rownsley (2009) note that altering the media into a fully democratic institution is complex since the relationship between government and the

media is quite uncertain, and always changing. Additionally, organisations with transformed journalists continue to practice values that were entrenched in their professional life during the previous regime but the challenge can be countered by liberalizing the media (Rozumilowicz, 2002).

In democratic societies, the media tasks are generally and usually subsumed under the 'accountability role' which the media have been normatively ascribed as one of their main functions in a (Norris, 2006). More so, the idea that the press should hold the government and political elites accountable and answerable to the electorate and subject to eventual punishment in case of wrongdoing, is strongly entrenched in the liberal democracies. This for instance has been the case with many traditional journalists in the Anglo-American practice. (Waisbord, 2000).

Additionally, when it comes to a country's election, the press becomes important for political accountability; enhancing ability of citizens to oversee actions of those in authority; and in acting as the overseer of functions performed by various state agencies. (Whitehead, 2002).

The media role in democratisation may also be understood in three stages of political transformation: pre-transition, transition and consolidation periods. In pre-transition period, it may play witnessing functions preceding elections the media also plays the role of exerting the influence that pushes for change within a political set up (Randal, 1993).

2.3.2 Media as the avenue for political communication

In other instances, the media constitute a major forum for political communication and are the global vacuum referred to as a public sphere in which different and divergent opinions from those in power and the subjects in a country meet up. Habermas (1998) perception about the media is that it is an ideal forum for public communication which when not threatened or inhibited by restrictive and punitive state regulations will provide the perfect platform to engage the public with a view of collecting their opinions to enhance a country's democratic and political movements. During general elections, talk is endlessly circulated around all places, from press conferences, media, public relations, and politics. Generally, in democratic tradition public involvement in political the process is often envisioned. However, the populace has little direct role in politics (Keane, 1991).

2.4 Theoretical Framework

This research study is guided by the agenda-setting theory. This framework was first used to examine the 1968 U.S. presidential election strong agenda-setting effects among the public. During that election, the core issues that had been formulated by the media and which were put as the main news items became the central part of the list of priorities which the public wanted to be addressed by the presidential candidates. This proved the central role of the media as an agenda setter in shaping the opinions of people (McCombs, 2013). Thus agenda-setting focuses on how the media generate the content and the way it is presented to influence people's thinking.

Contemporary agenda setting ideas are draw from mass society perspective as observed by Baran and Davis (2006). Cohen (1963) refined the idea of the agenda setting theory and this is summarised in his argument that the press is more that a conduit of information and may not be successful in telling people what to think but has stunningly succeeded in telling the audience what to think about.

The Kenyan context for instance had public issues around 2007/8 PEV centred on ethno political grievances. According to Price and Tewksbury (1997), the way in which the media navigate through certain issues, picking out the salient views to present and profiling certain individuals present and image within the public eyes and minds which shifts their focus and behaviour towards a particular political course.

The agenda setting theory applies to this study as theory demonstrates that the media sets the agenda for the society and people always rely on the media for guidance on issues that are important There are three concepts, priming, agenda-building and framing, under agenda setting theory will help the research study in examining the agenda setting role of print media in the Kenya post-election. The research also applies manufacturing consent theory which was primarily intended to criticise the behaviour of the mass media in the United States in general. This model built itself on Critical-structural or Critical-Marxist tradition of economy and political ideology. It suggests that 'consent' or shared understanding is cooked (manufactured) by manufacturers "specialised classes" (Shemelis, 2016). This idea is important to the study as it assists in examining how the processes in Kenya are dialectical, where one consumes the other.

The theory of Social Conflict Theory by Karl Marx also compliments the research study as it views the happenings in our surroundings and the way we are organised. This implies that identity factors such as race, sex, ethnicity, class, and age are closely linked to social inequalities (Gotham, 2004). This idea asserts the prevailing of dominant group over minority group.

CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Overview

The chapter discusses the research design, the population and its size, the technique that was used in sampling, the research instruments, the methodology of data collection and the data analysis technique.

3.1 Research Design

This study made use of exploratory research design which according to Creswell et al. (2003) entails the exploration of a phenomenon using qualitative methods. The study therefore entailed an initial exploration of the case of media's role in electoral conflict prevention using a few participants who were asked to share their experiences regarding the subject matter so as to find out dynamics surrounding this phenomenon. Qualitative information generated through this initial exploration was used to support the generation of propositions through in depth analysis of media content in the period before the 2007 post-election violence. This therefore implies that the study solely adopted qualitative methods of data collection and analysis. Consequently, focus was given to analysing with a view of establishing the causal relationship between the political related content that was reported in the print and broadcast media and the intensity of conflict that followed the general elections of 2007.

3.2 Research Approach

Qualitative study design was preferred for this kind of study because of its relevance in studying human behaviour which is most often difficult to quantify Kothari (2004). It is worth observing that this study examined human behaviour as conditioned by media framing, the force of manufacturing consent (Chomsky 1988), and agenda setting of mechanisms.

3.3 Sampling Technique and Sample Size

Sampling is described by Kothari, (2004) as the strategy of determining the participants that take part in a study by deliberately and strategically selecting a few subjects from the entire target population. This study targeted 30 of these participants in total. The target participants for this study were selected journalists, news editors, writers, political commentators and analysts who have been in the mainstream media industry in Kenya for the past 10 years. Three media companies were targeted in this case thus Nation Media Group, Standard Group and The Star. The second category was those who were affected with the violence that followed from the 2007 elections. Finally, the study targeted Non-Governmental Organisations' staff who were involved in response to the 2007 election and election violence. The main organisations targeted were Kenya Red Cross and Concern Worldwide.

The researcher adopted a combination of simple random sampling, and snowball sampling techniques in identifying with some level of objectivity the 30 respondents. Simple random sampling was adopted in the selection of 15 research participants from

the 3 media companies (5 per Media Company), 10 participants from among those who were affected by the conflict and 5 participants from the 3 NGOs. The initial task was to obtain a sample frame by generating a list of staff who have been part of the organisation s mainstream work for a minimum of 10 years. Using a sample frame of a maximum of 10 eligible respondents, the following random number sample was used by the researcher to identify the respondents per organisation who were eligible to participate in the study.

Table 3.2.1: Random number sample

10	2	8	4	6
9	5	1	7	3

The sample in Table 3.2.1 was used as follows:

- The table shows that the number of eligible respondents is 10 (i.e., 10 in each of the targeted organisation s) – This number was designated as A (A = 10)

- To identify who would be chosen out of the 10, the random number sample was used by making a horizontal move starting from the first box containing no. 10 and selected the number that is less than or equal to 20. This number was designated as B (B = 10)

- Then the researcher went back to the sample frame and selected the person number 10 in the sample frames that were obtained from the organisation s. This was the first respondent.

- Number 10 was then removed from the sample frame as well as the random number sample and this meant that the remaining eligible respondents were still 10 only that the option of choosing the 10th person in the sample frame was now

eliminated. Hence to select the subsequent respondents until the 5th in each organisation, the same procedure above was repeated while considering number A to be 20 and B to be the number that is less or equal to 10 in the random number sample.

The above stated procedure provided an equal opportunity to all the eligible respondents from that various organisations that had been identified to participate in the study. Having chosen 20 respondents from 4 institutions, the researcher sought to access 10 participants from the general public who were affected by the conflict that occurred in 2007. This was done by seeking the data from the records of the NGOs and even media houses on the names of families in their records that were grossly affected by the conflict. Particular focus was given to those who lost a close family member in the violence, those whose property were burnt or looted and those who suffered injuries that has led to a permanent disability. Having identified them from the list, the researcher used snowball sampling to access them by first seeking the help of the organisation to direct him to any of those who had experienced such effects. Once one among them had been accessed, the researcher accessed the rest using the previous interview or those in the community who might have known the individual that the researcher was interested in interviewing.

Further still, the study employed purposive sampling technique in the choice of newspapers that were analysed hence the reason why purposive sampling was found to be fitting. The study limited itself to the period between October 1st and December 25, 2007. Only the Daily Nation, the Standard and The Star Newspapers were sampled for analysis.

The choice of the newspapers to be subjected to analysis was guided by the stories that these newspapers had and hence the reason why sampling of newspapers was purposive. A total of 45 newspapers were analysed giving reference to various stories and articles. These 5 newspapers per month for each of the 3 Newspapers that were targeted. The unit of analysis in these newspapers were stories, adverts, cartoons, and pictures that had been published. The information communicated by these newspaper items was paraphrased and presented without giving reference to the newspaper that had reported them.

3.4 Data Collection Methods

As already indicated, primary data was collected from the 30 participants using interview guide questions. These interview guides were self-administered to participants. According to Sproul (1998), a self-administered guides provides an opportunity for the interviewer to explore in details the people's opinion, attitudes, beliefs and values because there is an opportunity for asking for clarifications. This was also done through the interview guide questions touching on media's role in conflict prevention.

Collection of primary data also entailed an analysis of three newspapers as described above as well TV productions. The content from these two media were mainly used for the content analysis. Secondary data was sourced from state and non-state publications and reports on the 2007/8 PEV particularly the role played by the print and broadcast media in the emergence, escalation and prevention of the conflict. The researcher visited the libraries of the mainstream media houses that produce print and broadcast media

content as well government archives and libraries to access the relevant documents and reports that had reference to the 2007 pre-election and post-election period.

3.5 Data Analysis

The study undertook a rigorous analysis of material coming out of interviews and the written media reporting in the run up to the 2007 elections. The analysis and presentation of data was done in line with the 3 main research questions of this study. Thus data presentation paid attention to the media's role in the emergence and escalation of the conflict, the factors that informed the manner in which the media's covered the 2007 electoral violence in Kenya and finally the effectiveness of the manner in which the media executed its functions towards the prevention of the 2007 PEV.

The qualitative data coming from the interviews were clustered according to similarity and used to explain the extent to which actions of the media contributed to the prevention of the 2007 Post-Election Violence. The standard expectations of the media in situations of electoral violence were used as the measurement yardstick to explain how the media performed in 2007 and how it ought to act in order to help prevent conflicts associated with elections. The analysis approach must guarantee the integrity of the entire study and its contribution to the repertoire of knowledge on the role of print media in PEV.

3.6 Ethical Issues

The study objectives were explained to those who took part in the study. Voluntary participation and importance of informed consent was guaranteed to protect

confidentiality. Information sourced was guarded and used confidentially and only for academic purposes. To protect interviewee's confidentiality, the details of the interviews were kept private. Their personal details and identification were kept protected and all interviewees' identity have since remained confidential. This helped to encourage the interviewees to contribute to the research. All requisite papers needed in order to be able to conduct the interviews were attained in advance.

The researcher used interview guide (see appendix I) and informed the respondents' subject of study, depth of inquiry and its role in the course and presented an introductory letter and a copy of certificate of fieldwork from University of Nairobi (see Appendix II). The researcher asked for their consent and guaranteed confidentiality. After appearing before the defense committee at the School of Journalism and Mass Communication, the researcher was awarded a certificate of originality see Appendix III followed by a certificate of corrections (see Appendix IV).

Since the research involved sensitive issues such as ethno- politics that would have discredited the image of given media houses and individuals volunteering for interviews, emphasis was given on pre-interview guarantees of confidentiality. According to Gray, (2009) the overarching principle of ethics in research requires that respondent should give their informed consent. To uphold the principle of non-disclosure of names, recorded data was not publicised.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.0 Overview

This chapter provides an analysis of the data relating to the 3 main research questions of the study. The chapter presents a discussion of the media's role in the prevention of electoral related violence in line with 3 key themes which are also aligned to the research questions and the objectives of the study. Section one delves into the factors that inform the manner in which print media covers electoral conflicts. Section two presents data relating to the print media's role in the escalation of the 2007/2008 post-election violence in Kenya. Finally, section 3 presents an assessment of the effectiveness of the functions of the media in the prevention of the 2007/2008 post-election violence in Kenya. As explained in the methodology section, the presentation and discussion of data will be aided by the reference to contents that appeared in the print and broadcast media in the period preceding the onset of the 2007 electoral violence. Further still, the analysis will be supported by the qualitative information that was generated from the interviews that were conducted by the key informants.

4.1 Media's Role in Emergence and Escalation of the 2007 Post-Election Violence

The study established that different media outlets contributed in various degrees to the escalation of conflict. For instance, irresponsible reporting was associated with TV and radio more than newspapers.

Table 4.1.2: Was the influence by print media different compared to other media during elections?

	Frequency	%
Yes	25	83
No	5	27

As indicated in the table 4.1.2, majority of the respondents agreed that the newspapers' influence was different compared to other media in the sense that they were more thorough in tight editing, and censorship of pictures compared to the other media such as TV and social media. Most respondents said that TV and radio, particularly the vernacular radio stations were more involved in careless reporting of information relating to the 2007 elections and the subsequent conflict. A key informant from Standard Group observed that TV brought real pictures and evoked more emotions given its visual nature compared to radio and newspapers which were not so visible to people. Others observed that the radio particularly the vernacular stations were more involved in reporting of unverified news; a situation which actually was blamed for the arrest of the radio journalist Joshua Arap Sang' and his subsequent trail at the International Criminal Court (ICC).

The following table shows a qualitative presentation of how the key informants rated the various media outlets in terms of the extent to which they contributed in fuelling the 2007 conflict.

Table 4.1.3: Forms of media and their extent of fuelling political conflict in 2007/8

Type of media	Extent	Reasons
Radio	Very great extent	Biased live commentaries said in vernacular with the aim of influencing the listeners to hate others
Television	Great	Live pictures viewed by the public
Newspapers	Moderate extent	Referral nature of print media and documentation.
Social Media	Very great extent	Uncensored & unverified reports reaching a wide range of young audience

Table 4.1.3 indicates that even though social media and radio have high relevance in influencing public opinion, the print media has something to do with influencing opinions of the electorate or the population in general. Of late we've seen changes whereby the majority of population is giving more towards the social media but still the Print Media has much to do with influencing the opinion of the electorate. The moderate performance of print media is because of majority of Kenyans don't have access to the print media. However, access to the print media thus its influence is on the rise since some of them are nowadays written in Swahili which is a language that is understood by majority of Kenyans. Statistics on sale of newspapers indicated that there was a rise in the buying of *Taifa leo* newspapers during the period under study. A respondent from the sales department of one of the newspapers observed, "…the increase in sales meant that the people who bought the newspapers were those who could read and interpret what they had read to the population in their social network and by so doing some seized the opportunity to influence their listeners negatively into conflict since their opinions were trusted by those they talked to.

33

4.1.1 Information packaging as negative influencer of opinions

Data from the interviews with key informants shows that all of those interviewed agreed that print and broadcast media have a powerful ability to create and influence the public way of thinking about the elections and consequently their reactions towards the same elections. In support of this position, a news editor from the Standard Group had this to say, "The prominence given to a story and the treatment of stories in pages 1 or 2 of a newspaper for instance gave priority to a story since most readers tended to get attracted to a newspaper or a news bulletin through what the headline presented" (Interviewed, July 2018). The level of interest in newspaper stories tend to decrease as one continues reading through the subsequent pages. A research participant from Kibera slum observed that the stories that were published in the front pages brought a sense of importance to the issues published thus created public discourse in their regard even among people who were often not frequent readers of newspapers but who seized the opportunity to inform others about what the newspapers of the day said. A respondent in Kibera affirmed this by noting that the print media was able to take the narrative further, in that even in the villages and informal settlements there were opinion shapers or opinion leaders who could give their opinion on what the newspapers said.

According to James Barry (2004), the headlines in media outlets are often attractive to readers or listeners much more when they are negative since news is considered as news much more when it is negative. This principle seemed to guide more the presentation of news in the period preceding the 2007 violence. The reports on rising tension, the verbal

exchanges between politicians and the hate messages only worked to worsen a situation that was already worse.

A respondent from one media house noted that during the 2007 elections, some pictures published in the newspapers concerning what was happening in the country alerted the people that the country was indeed in ruins and elicited a very furious reaction from people especially the youth. The implication of this observation is that if page one of a newspaper had a picture of youths carrying machetes, fighting or in possession of guns, retaliatory reactions were planned by opposing members of the society to counter those they were seeing in the pictures.

Further still, a respondent in Eldoret observed that in 2007, the print media had very elitist content and was used by the elitist people particularly politicians to influence the public opinion. A newspaper editor from one of the mainstream local media houses agrees thus, "The role of the print media is very critical because of its elitist propaganda role. In 2007 and indeed in the other election years, the print media targeted the elitist class with the intention of the elites influencing the non-elites. The elite club of politicians had fights over ensuring that one occupied the front page of the newspaper so that his or her appearance on the front page could be used for propaganda purposes in other media outlets." The observation by these respondents are supportive indications of why print media has been of late worst hit by fake news thus aggravating conflict by spreading news that are not accurate but whose intention is only to incite.

4.1.2 Uncensored News Reporting

Respondents had different perspectives on how the print media affected the 2007/8 PEV. One respondent noted that, after the violence the media published the photos and did not censor the number of deaths making people from particular tribes feel attacked. On one hand however, the study established that the media published these pictures also to evoke emotions to push for actions from authorities. The print media is also noted to have not effected the role of early warning since the reporters were aware of the signs but did not report early enough. A research participant whose home area is Kisumu gave an example of the banning of Nation newspaper selling in Kisumu in 2007/8 elections period where the van was torched by the outraged public and residents who protested against the sale of that particular newspaper due to bias reporting.

Table 4.1.3 presents in summary form the findings of the study with regards to reports that ought to have been censored in order to reduce the possibility of them resulting into conflict but instead ended up appearing on the media and particularly in the print media thus leading to the violence that ensued.

Table 4.1.3: Print Media's role in framing political tensions in 2007 general elections

No.	Print media
1.	Pictorials depicting the violence
2.	Number of deaths
3.	Pre-determined elections outcome
4.	Speeches by politicians that turned to be hate speech to some communities
5.	Publicised propaganda through political party adverts
6.	Attractive negative headlines to inspire the attention of the readers

Even though some respondents observed that the print media published some uncensored information thus heightening the conflict, some particularly from the media houses were lenient to the print media by saying that there is greater responsibility and ownership when it comes to print media compared to broadcast media thus concluding that print media was more factual in terms of information publishing than broadcast media. A news anchor from one of the leading media houses agrees thus, "The newspaper in my opinion was more investigative and conclusive in their reporting compared to the TV and radio. As the conflict raged on particularly in 2008, TVs and radios particularly the vernacular ones could utter a lot of things that were probably not facts with less fear since they could easily change their positions if challenged later. However, newspaper editors were more careful in their reporting since they could be held to account for what they had written. So I think the Print Media was more factual and presented more censored information compared to the electronic media."

It is however worthy to note that some informants noted that after the violence escalated, the influence of the print media shifted to a more reconciliatory one. Indeed one would argue that there was no prejudice in publishing in 2007, since journalists were simply covering what was happening at time and therefore this was not wrong and they were within their very mandate to inform the public.

Even though presenting such information was not totally contradictory to the functions of the media, the study found out that it was worth taking considerations of the negative consequences of putting the information public without censorship. If the responsible

media outlets would have made security considerations, it would been advisable for them to reconsider publishing such information even if publishing it was not poised to contradict particularly the media's role in information sharing.

4.1.3 Media, the build-up of anxiety and conflict

In consideration of the highly contested 2007 election in Kenya, the question that this study considered worth analysing was whether print media articles that appeared in the local dailies were fanning panic among citizens in the country. A cross sectional look at the content of PEV-related articles published by the print media indicated that most of them carried violence-related massages.

The interviewees from print media houses confirmed that during the 2007 election process, articles focused on news items such as party manifestos, campaigns, political propaganda and violence. The issues of land, unemployment, marginalization in education, health and infrastructure areas, as raised by the citizens, were missing in most of the articles published in Newspapers. From a conflict prevention perspective, it was expected that a discussion around the latter issues would helped to shape the minds of the electorate more and drift their attention from the negativity around the preparatory stage of the elections. Over-emphasis on the negative aspects of the elections without focussing on the development side of the political process helped contribute indirectly in increasing tensions and the subsequent conflict.

4.2 Factors informing the print media's coverage of electoral conflicts

The media can offer both a negative and a positive influence into the conflict prevention activities. This study has revealed that the media can however be compelled to act in a way that leads to the fuelling or resolution of the conflict due to factors that may be beyond the control of the media house itself. Key among the factors that were identified in this study are discussed below:

4.2.1 Government control and the fear of victimisation

According to Ochillo (1993) the roles and functions of the media in any society is determined by internal and external situations that the society finds itself in. He further notes that of great importance to note is extent to which the media can exercise its freedom in informing the people. Data that was generated from the key informants indicated an agreement with Ochillo's argument in as far as media objectivity in news reporting is concerned. One of the key informants observed with concern the lack of independence by media houses as a factor that distorts a lot the information function of the media in Kenya. Indeed the media practitioners themselves agreed that with regard to sensitive matters such as politics, they have faced the challenge of having to distort information so as to present it in a way that best suits the interests of those who hold the political as well economic power.

For instance the inability of the media in Kenya to access results of the presidential vote as they were being received at the National tallying centre led to a build-up of anxiety which consequently exploded into the conflict in 2007. The already heightened anxiety

was in fact worsened by the decision to block all media outlets from announcing the results and leaving only the government owned Kenya Broadcasting Cooperation to announce the final results. This was a situation that led to the outbreak of the conflict but which was not within the control of the media houses.

Political and economic power also emerged as a great influencer of the manner in which the media presented information leading to a negative influence among people. An NGO staff who participated in the study approved this argument in his argument, "It is the elite influencing the media. I have never thought either way because elite gets to a point where it's not just about being learned but it's about them having money and political power. With the power, they buy a media station to influence a certain class of elites who are learned and can influence the local who don't have the money. The general belief among such powerful influencers is that they are powerful, they have the money, the political power, and they can influence a certain print which has a wide coverage and can influence millions of other learned people who might not have the money to buy the airtime in that media station."

Due to business interests and the desire to make money especially during the political season, the media fell victims of such powerful forces and ended up losing their objectivity. Consequently, they fuelled conflict since the lack of objectivity meant that they had to be in disagreement with a section of the population that had subscribed to the views of the politician or financier who had sponsored the news.

4.2.2 Political Affiliation

Kenya's politics have always revolved around ethnicity and hence Kenyan politics largely revolves around mobilisation along ethnic lines. The study found out that political affiliation is a key motivating factor that influences media reporting. Political affiliation was found to be a big obstacle to objective media reporting since all local media houses except one are privately owned by people who are also influenced by politics of the day. The interviews particularly by those who were affected by the conflicts indicated that the public associated each and every media outlet with either ODM or PNU depending on the ethnicity of the individual or group of individuals whom they perceived to be the owners of the media outlet. A respondent from Naivasha in fact argued that in the run up to the elections of 2007, different print media were being sold to different regions depending on where and which political party the newspaper was associated with. Consequently, any information that came from a media would trusted or not trusted by the public depending on ethnic thus political affiliation of both the broadcaster and the recipient(s) of the news. The CIPEV report supports the aspect of political affiliation as a factor that determined media reporting and consequently contributing to the Post-Election Violence (CIPEV, 2008).

In the KNCHR's report on Kenya's post 2007 election violence, several mentions and references are given to many vernacular radio stations especially Kikuyu FM stations including Kameme, Inooro, Coro, as some of the ethnic based radio stations whose inflammatory language led to the heightening of animosity which consequently contributed to the conflict. The connection that exists between media outlets and certain

political and/or ethnic lines of thought are an indication that the operations of the media and consequently their role in the prevention of conflict emergence and escalation may be determined by the extent to which individuals in those media outlets are influenced by the prevailing political and ethnic sentiments. This is because the media is run by Kenyans who also have an opinion to express about Kenyan political despite the fact that they have a role to inform the public objectively.

4.2.3 Choice between Peace versus Conflict Journalism

Bell (2008) observes that the type of journalism adopted by a media outlet in times of conflict can either be a call to peace at all costs or a call to justice for and against the wars. The peace journalists are the withdrawn journalists whose main concern is the war to end and that is their sole course of action. The conflict journalists are more concerned with the welfare of the people involved in the conflict either positively or directly.

With regard to this study, the key informants largely associated Kenyan media with peace journalism rather than conflict journalists. Particularly in the period preceding the announcement of the presidential results, there were several calls from the media outlets that people should maintain peace, stay calm and await for the announcement of the final results. The media showed less of what was leading to the delay in results and how that delay could lead to people running out of patience and fighting for what they perceived as their right by then. In conflict studies, anxiety is considered a major trigger to conflict and subjecting anxious people to endless calls for peace was never going to play a

deterrent role but was rather poised to lead to even more anger thus violent retaliation by the aggrieved parties.

4.3. Effectiveness of the Media Functions in the Prevention of Kenya's 2007 PEV

This study has affirmed that press reportage and media outlets are today being viewed as avenues for propagating conflicts, making the media receive a centre of attention for majority of audience.

Respondents presented media ownership as a factor that determined effectiveness of the Kenyan media in preventing the post-election violence in 2007. It established that highest number of media ownership in Kenya is private followed by organisation ownership and state ownership taking the least stake. In keeping with its own professional standards, the media is expected to observe balance and fairness in its coverage. However, effectiveness of the media in Kenya was compromised due to reporting and interpreting conflict through the ideological lens of the media owners and those who control it; a situation which distorted information and undermined the critical role that the media was to play in enhancing security during the electioneering period.

This could explain the facts on the ground concerning a body of opinion which hold the view that while private media is perceived as free and independent, the ownership and the vested interests for which they hold usually manage public opinion through influencing reportage. This school of thought argues that in a world of concentrated wealth and major

conflicts of class interests the media serves the interests of the dominant elite. In deed this to a great extent was the situation in Kenya as indicated in this study.

The analysis on the opinion on the coverage of election violence showed that articles on the election violence gave a fair, balanced and impartial coverage of election violence. The writers did not misrepresent the factual position of the election violence covered despite the difference in ownership. The respondents indeed show that the post-election violence had an impact in the country in different ways. For example, it had an impact on the economy, displacement of people, destruction, looting and burning of property, re-awakening of latent ethnic hatred among other effects. The findings of the research indicate the writers of articles seemed to condemn violence and this to an extent influenced peace albeit to a very small extent.

An analysis of the 2007 General Election revealed that the titles of articles were covered provocative and alarming, the articles were not accurate. Analysis of other articles revealed that the journalists adhered to the code of conduct. Only few of the articles were slanted towards a particular ethnic community and were a condemnation of election violence based on ethnic considerations.

Further, this period revealed that the headlines of the articles covered were provocative and alarming. However, all the other items on the adherence of journalists' code of conduct showed that they adhered to the code of conduct. For example all the articles did not contain propaganda messages, hate speech or vulgar messages. Only few of the

article demeaned other ethnic communities, were slanted towards a particular ethnic communities, clearly showed in-house bias or support for a particular political side while just few articles were a condemnation of election violence based on ethnic considerations. The findings also indicate that citizen journalists can function as a proxy free press, a medium that can uncover and challenge falsehoods and misinformation.

The interviews further indicate that in Kenya, media have been a catalyst for political conflict and at the same time media have been investing for peace processes. The competitive nature of political issues such as election in Kenya is asserted to be a big cause of conflict. The connection of politics in print media is one of the big issues that have resulted to the escalations of conflict in Kenya. Different political parties use print media to send party's propaganda so as to win election. In Kenya, politics has been polarized for decades, and various actors in the political arena have stoked this polarisation to their benefit, including through various communication mechanisms.

4.4 Conclusion

An analysis of the findings reaches the inevitable conclusion that print media greatly contributed to the escalation of the 2007/2008 post-election violence in Kenya. They did this majorly through propagating hate speech, having their own parallel tallying centres separate from the one run by the electoral commission and whose results made the audience resort to violence, failing to disclose some important information that could have helped in cooling down the already volatile situation, telling lies and innuendos about what was happening instead of standing with the truth, choosing which political

side to give more and wider coverage while demonising and blaming the other side. In addition, this study concludes based on the findings that the Kenyan media to a large extent contributed to the public perception of the disputed election on gender basis, religious affiliation, and place of residence.

Finally, as one respondent observed, we cannot say the Print Media is better than the electronic because then again the purpose of media is to give information and that is what it was giving. Whether it was information through electronic or print they were giving information as it had happened. So again we cannot say it fuelled it or not but if looked at keenly, one will realise that different media houses had different sides they were supporting. A news anchor with one of the media houses affirms this saying, "... as we were covering events, there are certain areas we went and we had to seize from identifying ourselves with certain communities. Alternatively, we had to front someone from the targeted community for us to be allowed to cover the news in that area. However print media still played indirect roles that caused tensions and bias as well as roles that enhanced reconciliation after the 2007/8 violence that rocked the country."

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Overview

This chapter presents conclusions that are drawn from the summarised findings as well as recommendations that can be drawn from the key findings of the study.

5.1 Summary of Key Findings

The study's first objective was to identify and examine the factors informing the coverage of political conflict by print media in Kenya. This study found that open conflict can pass through both acute phases, with high levels of violence, and chronic phases of lower intensity conflict with generalised insecurity. Applicable interventions vary accordingly. During more acute phases, media initiatives may be limited to provision of humanitarian information and supporting objective reporting. Lower intensity conflict may provide more opportunities for peace-building initiatives through the print media.

It further found that political, religious, economic or ethnic tensions are a feature of many societies in Kenya. Such tensions are increasingly being focused on by the print. This is in agreement with the agenda setting theory as stipulated by Price and Tewksbury (1997) who assert the powerful role that the media plays in influencing the agenda on attributes, opinions and attitudes, even observable behaviour, regarding issues and political figures in contemporary societies. The study's second objective was to examine the role of print media in the political conflict in Kenya. This study found out

that print media in Kenya has contributed to instances of electoral conflict especially in the 2007 general elections. This is in agreement with Buric (2000) who states that broadcast of hate messages and the cumulative impact of biased coverage fuels the hatred in polarised local communities to the point where violence becomes an acceptable tool for addressing grievances. The failure of the media to provide the much needed information on electoral malpractices in the 1992 and 1997 elections also facilitated electoral violence in subsequent elections because the issues remained unsolved. This could have been due to state control but the effects of the remaining silence on electoral malpractices and injustices are just because print media is often used as a tool for propaganda during elections. Politicians and government officials use the media propaganda to influence electoral choices of the public. This is in agreement with the manufacturing consent theory which according to Shemelis (2016) criticizes the behaviour of the mass media in general elections, particularly how mainstream media structures and patterns reporting to protect elites business for instance, who often fund political parties.

News organisations, editors, and reporters are often accused of political bias in their coverage of elections. In the early 90s, the Kenyan media was very much under government control. Liberalization of the press saw an emergence of media houses and the firm grip the government had on the fourth estate loosened. However, lack of a regulatory body with regards to broadcast content, gave broadcasters a free hand that was abused on several instances and this led to incitement to violence by one section of society against another. This can be considered an outcome stipulated in Karl Max's

theory of Social Conflict where society is an arena of the inequalities in reporting during political processes, leading to conflict and other social changes. The issue of ethnicity or ethno-politics and grievances came up often in the research findings where the society as are a ripe ground for electoral violence due to underlying social inequalities. Thus the print media in 2007/8 led to different degrees of polarization, although in a lower level of influence compared to television and radio.

Print media in the pre-2009 era did not have stringent regulations on the content they printed and journalists got away with what were regarded as inflammatory statements. In the 2007 election, the banning of live coverage after the announcement of presidential results, for instance, was perceived as suspicious, wrong and provocatively high-handed. The findings indicated that print media despite the print media having a lower audience compared to television and radio, it is considered to be more trustworthy and readers believe it is well researched, this meant that in 2007/8 the newspapers had more censorship than other media minimizing the negative influence leading to the PEV. More notably, the print media played a reconciliatory role during the peace negotiations and during the national dialogue the media came out neutral with the two major newspapers (Daily and Standard) publishing one headline that read across the same with the same content, setting the agenda for dialogue to take place.

5.2 Conclusions

From the study findings above, it is possible to conclude that print media has not been very much useful among people particularly the illiterate ones hence not absolutely effective in influencing public opinion given its inaccessibility, high cost and low impact among people who may be mostly illiterate. However, if it were to be accessible

to more people, print media could play an important mobilising role especially in the developing countries. The study also concludes that for many political scientists and international agencies, freedom of communication is a measure of the reality of political liberalization and in such contexts print media and the media in general are seen as core elements that enable democratisation to take shape.

The study also concludes that political, religious, economic or ethnic tensions are a feature of many societies in the developed and developing world. Such tensions are increasingly being focused on by the media because they often ignite more acute forms of conflict. On the unique role played by the print media in political processes, respondents pointed out different aspects. Some stated the issue of the newspaper being more trusted where in the society, people trust what published more than other media such. This they elaborated being that people tend to believe in print media there is a lot of research and a lot of verification before publishing. The issue of permanence was also raised, noting that the print media has the advantage of referring to later on. However a respondent noted that this later referral can evoke emotions or bring into remembrance. Respondents also stated that newspapers have the ability to analyse the issues in a more detailed manner, expounding and giving reasons behind the stories.

5.3 Recommendation to the relevant authorities

Based on the findings of this study, the research came up with the following recommendations:

5.3.1 Media as an agent of social change

The study recommends that print and broadcast media should be seen as agents of social change and should be able to further the social mobilisation agenda so as to bring about the desired change. The study further recommends that the print media should be seen as a development agent, meaning there is need to use it as a sensitization means for the society during political processes and also as part of the existing electoral conflict early warning systems.

5.3.2 Media Interventions

The study recommends that media interventions can take the form of media training, especially in the fields of impartial or inter-ethnic news reporting aimed at addressing underlying grievances in the society that are part and parcel of the interwoven complexity in the political processes and its outcome. It is important to focus on the reconciliation and democratisation.

5.3.3 Self-Regulation by Media Houses

The study recommends that print media though can also bring opportunities beyond their role in accelerating social movements by providing forms of communication for the society. As recommended often by interviewees there is need for the media houses to

'self-regulate themselves' rather than being controlled by the government. Much more training is vital for reporter and newsroom managers on conflict reporting as well as training journalists on being analytical writers without bias as people's watch dog.

5.4 Recommendation for Further Studies

The researcher recommends that future researchers should carry out further study on how to develop an integrated framework of media functions and conflict sensitivity in conflict reporting. This is because the media practitioners seem to be more oriented towards news reporting as a function of the media but rarely give attention to the consequences of the manner in which they report news. Conflict sensitivity in Media reporting is key to enhancing the greater role of the media in conflict prevention.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: INTERVIEW GUIDE

I am Alfrick Kipkoech Tanui. I am a Masters student at the University of Nairobi doing a Master of Arts degree in Communication and Development Studies. I am carrying out a survey on the topic *"The Role of Print and Broadcast Media in the Prevention of Election Related Conflicts: Case Study of Kenya's 2007 Post-Election Violence."* The survey is aimed at fulfilling the requirements for my master thesis

I am kindly requesting for your contribution towards the realization of this thesis by providing me with information that you may have regarding my topic of research. The whole interview is designed to last for about 1 hour. The information you give will be strictly used for purposes of this research and will be treated with utmost confidentiality. Your kind contribution will be highly appreciated

Section A: Respondents Information

1. Name………………………………………………………………………. (Optional)

2. Age of the respondent

    Below 25 years   (   )   26 to 35 years (   )   36 to 45 years (   )

    45 to 50 years   above 51 years   (   )

3. Gender of the respondent?

     Male   〔 〕   Female   〔 〕

4. What is your highest level of education?

        Postgraduate 〔 〕   Degree 〔 〕   Diploma 〔 〕   Form four   〔   〕

        Primary School   (   )   No school   (   )

5. Occupation?

6. How long have you worked in the organisation ?

    Less than 1 year   〔   〕 1-3 years   〔 4-6 years   〔 above 6 years   〔   〕

Section B: Guiding Questions

1. Does the print media play a powerful role in influencing the opinion of their readers during elections?

2. Was the influence by print media different compared to other media during elections? Preventative? Censorship? Tight editing?

3. Did Kenyan newspapers contribute to increase in conflict in 2007/8?

4. What terms were used in articles that resulted to bias, hate speech and ethnic tensions?

5. Which form of media (Radio, Television or Print) was more responsible for fuelling the 2007/8 electoral conflict?

6. Should there be any changes or control on the role of print media in Elections (government, media houses and other actors)

Thank you for your time

APPENDIX II: CERTIFICATE OF FIELD WORK

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SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM & MASS COMMUNICATION

REF: CERTIFICATE OF FIELDWORK

This is to certify that all corrections proposed at the Board of Examiners meeting held on '_____ in respect of M.A/PhD. Project/Thesis Proposal defence have been effected to my/our satisfaction and the project can be allowed to proceed for fieldwork.

Reg. No: K50/81601/2015

Name: ALFRICK KIPKOECH TANUI

Title: The role of print and broadcast Media in the Prevention of election related conflicts; A case Study of Kenya's 2007 General election

DR GEORGE NYABUGA   _Nyabuga_   19.11.2018
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Dr Samuel Siringi   _Siringi_   19.11.2018
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR   SIGNATURE   DATE

Dr. Ndeti Ndati   _[signature]_   28.11.2018
DIRECTOR   SIGNATURE/STAMP   DATE

APPENDIX III: TURNITIN ORIGINALITY REPORT

Turnitin *Originality Report*

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This is to certify that all corrections proposed at the Board of Examiners meeting held on Nov. 2, 2018 in respect of M.A/PhD. Project/Thesis defence have been effected to my/our satisfaction and the project/thesis can be allowed to proceed for binding.

Reg. No: K50/81601/2015

Name: ALFRICO KIPKOECH TANUI

Title: The role of print and broadcast media in the Prevention of election-related conflicts: Case Study of Kenya's 2007 General Election.

DR GEORGE NYABUGA   19.11.2018
SUPERVISOR   SIGNATURE   DATE

Dr Samuel Siringi   30/11/2018
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR   SIGNATURE   DATE

Dr. Ndeti Ndati   30.11.18
DIRECTOR   SIGNATURE/STAMP   DATE

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