THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN CONFLICT MANAGEMENT OF INTER-COMMUNAL CONFLICTS IN KENYA: A CASE STUDY OF GABRA-RENDILLE CONFLICT

By

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R50/6882/2017

A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTERS OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL STUDIES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI.

APRIL 2019.

DECLARATION

This project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree award in any other University.

Signature…………………….   **Date……………….**

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REG NO: R50/6882/2017

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

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Dedication

To my family.

Acknowledgement

Abstract

The study focused on the role of media in conflict management of inter-communal conflict in Kenya focusing on the Rendille- Gabbra community attacks. It examined various views by scholars on their perception of the media's contribution in conflict management. What came out clearly is that the media is an important factor for good and for ill in conflict management as it plays the roles of both an agent for or against conflict and its resolution. The agenda setting theory of media reporting was used to explain media roles and to develop the conceptual framework.

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1.0 Chapter One: Introduction

The media plays a critical player during times of conflict. It creates a room in which the media itself can be discussed as an element of conflict. Conflicts at any time emerge from conflicting interests, goals, values and desires which create demands in the social and physical demands of human beings at any level.[1]

1.1 Background to the Study
In the current dynamic international system, most of states have had fair share of conflicts and some are still being experienced to this day. The African region has agonized with numerous conflicts (armed) and in most cases, media is a major player. Media sometimes is blamed as the major trigger or cause of conflicts. Studies have implicated that media may lead to conflict through inciting and propaganda which cause violence, failure to point out developing conflicts and postponing to report such conflicts. A case in the African region is the Rwandan genocide where the media is blamed for the 1994 genocide. Reports indicate that the local media reported in a way that causes incitation causing killings which are based on tribalism, the media has a times ignore what happens or misinterprets the events which happen. The populace depended on the services of local media mostly radios especially for those who were unable to read and write. The radios also played a crucial part while connecting the government to the governed. The most critical was Radio- and Television; known as Libre des Milles Collines (RTLM) which are among the greatest examples of how media can help promote conflict for it encouraged the Hutu

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[1] Berger, Guy, ed. *Media in Africa*: *Twenty years after the Windhoek Declaration of press freedom.* Media Institute of Southern Africa, 2011. Pg 17-20

tribesmen to annihilate the Tutsi calling them cockroaches that to be eradicated to guarantee peace in the country. This brought about the genocide that saw almost 1,000,000 Tutsis killed and thousand others displaced.

Inter communal conflicts of late have become diverse and imploded creating trouble to world peace and security especially in Africa. Also, the understanding and perception of what leads to escalation of conflicts and the relation between security angle and management of conflicts from international angle and perspective is turning out to be to be dynamic.[2] As a result, most of today's community conflicts are generated within local social environment and spread across borders to their surrounding environment. This has also been triggered by competition for political power in developing countries particularly in in Africa.[3]

The complex interdependence in modern day international system and the rise of non-state actors in international politics has brought forth powerful actors such as the media which influence primary interests of states in one way or another.[4] Media coverage has surpassed the territorial borders and aspects such as the internet which has evolved on how information is collected, framed and written in different regions and internationally. Media is a key player in conflict and management. The media can said to be a powerhouse collectively or individually, but it can said to be a subject for manipulation.[5] Inter-communal conflicts are ever present in any given nation states especially in Africa. The role of media reporting is to shape what is seen and heard about a communal conflict. Media house may skew news for favor for one side or for economic interests, others may have their own beliefs and opinions based on their personal preferences and experiences. Digital media platforms such as snapchat, skype, YouTube and Instagram have

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[2] Morgenthau, Hans, & Thompson, *Politics among nations. New York*: McGraw-Hill (1985).
[3] Sadkovich, James J. *The US media and Yugoslavia, 1991-1995*. Greenwood Publishing Group, 1998.
[4]*ibid*
[5]*ibid*

given the people more liberal avenues to be active participants in the conflict debates and processes and an event taking place in one corner of the state can go viral in a matter of minutes, thus increasing the number of actors. This could however serve either as a deterrent to mismanagement of conflict process or an incitement tool against perceived injustices that could then fuel inter-communal conflicts.

A close look at the modern conflicts reveals that conflicts have mutated and most of the sources are no longer socio-cultural irreconcilable differences. The central cause of most communal civil strives in most countries are natural resources. Social and economic inequalities between groups have also been identified to predispose communities to conflict. Inter-communal conflicts are mostly experienced in the developing world which is characterized by underdevelopment, inequitable access to resources and ecosystem- based livelihoods. Many of the countries in this category are afflicted by high levels of poverty, malnutrition, poor health care, inadequate social amenities, corruption and poor management of shared natural resource.

The media of the 21st century has experienced "technological change" that, "coupled with transformation of the global system, also not forget globalization which has brought new modus operandi of the way media operates."[6] Technological developments have driven a change in shape and influence of media involvement in conflicts.[7] Advancements in technology have forced media houses to work more with unexperienced media photographers to get a real picture of what is happening in certain events. For instance, Saddam Hussein while been executed was filmed by rebels and the content shared within hours to every corner of the world.

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[6] Mbaine, Adolf E., ed. *The Media in Situations of Conflict: Roles, Challenges, and Responsibility*. Fountain Pub Limited, 2006.
[7] Ibid

1.2 Statement Problem

There has been an existence of inter-communal conflicts in the African continent leading to deaths, property destruction and economic slowdowns. In most conflicts, media reporting has been blamed for triggering the conflicts to worst scenarios instead of using their position to reach out to the warring factions and create a solution in the process of reporting. Findings of previous studies show the key weaknesses of media in conflict such as failing to reach the conflict zones or reporting from information which if gotten from third parties. Kenya has also experienced numerous intercommunal skirmishes leading to; displacement of people, property destructions, deaths, and economic crisis. Other causes of conflict in Kenya have been caused by scramble of scarce natural resources such as land, grazing pasture among others. Intercommunal conflicts in Kenya have been experienced in the areas such as Tana River, Kisii, Kericho, Kisii counties, Baragoi in Samburu, Pokot and Turkana and the Rendille-Gabbra which is the focus of this study, among other inter-communal conflicts in Kenya. The way media reports such conflicts brings to the fore, the critical role of media reporting in accurately and instructively handling conflicts to ensure that the audience are not only well informed but also be the bridge to better reduce hostilities and offer information necessary to ending the conflict. It has been suggested that media reporting may trigger conflict by inciting opposing factions, failure to report pre conflict behaviors, fearing to report conflicts, journalists taking sides, concentrating on hate speech when conflicts escalate, being subjective, and knowingly creating false pictures and misrepresentation in reporting. The role the media plays has been studied in other parts of the country of Kenya such as the rift valley, the west Pokot region, but little has been done in the Marsabit County where the study will be done. Although the region has only two local radio

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stations, the region also receives coverage by the national televisions. The study will therefore question in depth role of media reporting in the managing of intercommunal conflicts among the Rendille and Gabbra communities in Marsabit County. It was also carried out to establish critically the role media reporting plays and the ways in which media reporting can be used in managing intercommunal conflicts.

1.3 Research Questions

1. What is the role of media reporting in conflict management of inter-communal conflicts in Kenya?

2. What are the impacts of media reporting in conflict management of the Rendille and Gabbra inter-communal conflicts in Kenya?

3. Which measures are taken to improve the role of media reporting in the management of Rendille and Gabbra inter-communal conflict in Kenya?

1.4 Objectives of the study

The general objective of this study is to investigate the role of media in conflict management: a case study of inter-communal conflicts in Kenya.

Specific objectives: -

1. To identify the role of media reporting in conflict management for inter-communal conflicts in Kenya.

2. To establish the impact of media reporting in conflict management for Rendille and Gabbra inter-communal conflicts in Kenya

3. To establish the measures taken to improve the role of media reporting in management of Rendille and Gabbra Inter-communal conflict

1.5 Justification of the Research Study

To academicians and researchers, the study will provide valuable contributions from a theoretical standpoint in relation to the role of media reporting in conflict management of inter communal conflicts. Further, the study also will provide a base upon which more studies can be conducted on media reporting in relation intercommunal conflicts. It is anticipated that the findings in this study will be important towards highlighting applicable standards in education that guide the decisions in role of the media in raising awareness in and countering inter-communal conflicts. Above all, the findings of this study may lay the groundwork for further investigation and debate on the problem

This study will provide ideas that could be used by conflict management practitioners and governments in the Kenya as well as other parts of the world, to formulate policies on the usage and monitoring of media. This research study can also be used to make contributions that will make use of the policies to reduce intercommunal conflicts. In addition, the research can be useful to conflict specialists dealing with conflict resolution and management. Through these findings they will be able to develop effective mechanisms by knowing what works best under what circumstances.

1.6 Literature Review

The following section looked at the different literatures written by different authors related to the study and bring out the gap on the role of media reporting in conflict management of intercommunal conflicts.

1.6.1 The Role of Media Reporting in Conflict Management of Inter Communal Conflicts in Kenya

In Kenya, economic, political or even social factors are the leading causes of conflicts. In many situations, diversity and complexity of issues care the causes of conflicts.[8]

This is evident in dispute that entail, divergent religious views, conflict over natural resources, ethnic and clan profiling. Conflict triggers in the North of Africa and Arab word were, inequality, injustice and human rights abuse, lack of accountability by state officials. The utilization of media through medium such as phones and internet made it possible to have the silent majority due to lack of proper governance.[9] Egypt depicts a classic example where social marginalization acted as a catalyzed to conflicts, where a few people of the population enjoyed prosperity. The rest of the population lived in deplorable conditions in informal settlements. In a different scenario across the borders, Tunisia witnessed social unrest emanating from unemployment, social injustice, lack of democratic practices in their political system and violation of human rights by the state.[10] A critical issue and the manner in which media opts to cover package report and disseminate.[11] This majorly influences the uptake of information by consumers.

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[8] *ibid*
[9] *ibid*
[10] *ibid*
[11] Sadkovich, James J. *The US media and Yugoslavia, 1991-1995*. Greenwood Publishing Group, 1998.

Media should endeavor to spur and strengthen peace building through under taking various responsibilities.[12] For example, reporting and covering more on peace building initiatives which enable shed more light for comprehensive peace dialogues to commence. Media personalities should continuously and consistently advocate and strive for more positive based programs and reduce promoting conflict type programs as they shape and influence citizenry behavior, attitude and beliefs.

1.6.2 Impacts of the Media in Management of Intercommunal Conflicts

It has been noted that apart from the function of promotion socioeconomic and political aspects; media has become the major source of all events, issues and actions which occur all over the world.[13] Normally, media is anticipated to be precise and unbiased by being objective in data collection and coverage so that the consumer could make appropriate resolutions. Designed or undersigned media scope of cruel occurrences and broadcasting the same to the people has frequently led to mistrust and hatred or even an urge to take revenge. Expertise in media coverage is therefore very essential since partial stories particularly those that are sympathetic to some parties against others in any dispute could instead fuel the communal conflicts further, more especially because social media is rarely controlled, anything spotted by the user is spread.

Media have been criticized for negative reporting on conflict and fail to consider peace building initiatives. Radio stations sometimes give contradictory information that can fuel the conflict, failing to bring out the main issues and players. Giving one side of the story which affects the accuracy and reliability of the information being reported hence this brings division among

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[12] McCombs M, Reynolds A. *News influence on our pictures of the world. In: Bryant J, Zillmann D (eds) Media Effects: Advances in Theory and Research, 2'nd edition.*

[13] Hellman, Heikki. 'Diversity-an end in itself? Developing a multi-measure methodology of television programme variety studies.' *European Journal of Communication 16, no. 2 (2001): 181-208.*

parties and damages the image of the media and the community. However, when badly used, it can also flame the violent conflict and make it difficult for conflict resolution processes to succeed. Sensitivity in media reporting is a model that when used in covering conflicts can better ensure the media does not escalate the conflict.

Several Western media initially compared what was happening in Libya as a dictator slaughtering his people, and emphasizes the need to intervene on humanitarian ground. The role social media and other types of media took up in Libyan conflict can clearly be illustrated on how fast the image of the killing of Muamar Gaddafi was transmitted throughout the world, even before some of his close allies could confirm that.[14] The release of the amateur video has sparked a major surrounding the killing of Libya's strongman and its legality. History has also that media can provoke people and lead them towards enmity. A good example is how the Germany leader, Adolf Hitler could by use of media reporting to incite hatred against Jews of Europe.[15] It is reported that Joseph Goebbels who was Hitler's right-hand man for propaganda, had the eloquence and the skills of mass persuasion making radio broadcasts and motion pictures as his favorite weapons.[16] He is believed to have had hold over radio programming and controlled who admitted to the schools of journalism.

Most wars are caused by intense competition of available resources which are always scarce such as food, water and grazing fields especially in Northern parts of Kenya.[17] Cattle rustling is a culture and common practice among cattle rearing communities. As such, the communities use the practice to restock, particularly, after their animals succumb to livestock diseases or severe

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[14] *ibid*

[15] Semelin, Jacques. *Purify and destroy: The political uses of massacre and genocide*. Columbia University Press, 2007

[16] *ibid*

[17] *ibid*

drought. The skirmishes caused by the raids if not prevented by security apparatus can lead to wide spread violence causing instability if early symptoms of the conflicts are not dealt with accordingly, the instability affects other socioeconomic activities affecting development.[18]

The Media council of Kenya was established in 2007 as an agency to regulate conduct of journalism related activities in Kenya.[19] Its role is registration of journalists, media entities and handle media reporting related complains.[20] Registered journalists are supposed put into you its code of conduct to make journalism field a professional practice in Kenya.[21]

According to reports by CNN concerning the 2007/2008 post- election portrayed terrifying scenarios viewed by Kenyan citizens in large masses that led to country wide fights among different tribes. As a result, the Kenyan citizen focused on the media reports been portrayed by the media stations rather than the issue reported. Technology, has been well received by many as one can easily communicate despite their location or distance when away from their family. The methods of gaining necessary information has greatly influenced when it comes to collection of the required information factors, such as location of where the research of the information is being carried out will determine the amount of coverage to be received as the closer the proximity the more coverage and allocation of resources is to be done compared to a location that is inaccessible by both the researchers and the media personality.

After the 2007 elections carried out in Kenya, the media reporting was carried out on a bias tribal based basis.[22] Comparative research was carried out on East African countries namely; Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, and Sudan among others with reference to the level of competition that is

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[18] *ibid*

[19] Mutere, Absalom. "Media policy making in Kenya." *African Communication Research* 3, no. 1 (2010): 121-124.

[20] *ibid*

[21] *ibid*

[22] Simiyu, Tome Francis. "Media ownership and the coverage of the 2013 general election in Kenya-democracy at the crossroads." *Global Media Journal-African Edition* 8, no. 1 (2014): 114-145 .

experienced in their countries during the election period; the objective of the research was to establish the role of media in the dissemination and transferring of information which will have a negative effect on their target audience as the information may be against a certain community as was experienced in Kenya as the Kenyan leaders used the media as a platform for the mobilization of the youth of the same community against their fellow youth of a different community.[23] The local media stations were one of the key perpetrators that fueled the disunity among the various communities in the country as they showed support based on the community that the media personality as well as the stations belonged to; thus the leaders were able to spread information to their target audience.[24] There was also a great issue of most media personnel who were working in the local station not been fully trained in the skill of delivering unbiased news based on available facts.[25]

1.6.3 Media and Inter-Communal Conflicts in Kenya

Despite Kenya been a multi ethnic state, having over forty-three diverse ethnic groups it has witnessed numerous inter-community conflicts. These conflicts are composed of election related conflicts, pastoral and land conflict among other resource and cultural conflicts. According to the Kenya Human Commission for Human Rights, reveal that pastoral areas in the Rift valley are more prone to inter community-based conflicts due to resource competition for example grazing pastures, inter-clan and ethnic rivalry.

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[23] Gustafsson, Jessica. "Media and the 2013 Kenyan election: From hate speech to peace preaching." *Conflict & Communication* 15, no. 1 (2016).
[24] *ibid*
[25] *ibid*

Political propaganda and hate speech broadcasted by media houses is attributed to have caused wide spread violence after Kenya's disputes 2007 elections leading to inter communal conflicts.[26] A comparative report done after the skirmishes blamed competitive election experiences as the major cause of violence in many countries in Eastern Africa.[27] The report clearly indicated that politicians use mainstream media other emerging faster types of media to spread false information in achieving their agendas which often lead to conflicts[28].

Intercommunal conflicts experienced in Kenya in 1992, 1997 and in 2007 thousands of lives were lost, property destruction and displacement were partly blamed to the media which instead of suggesting solutions to the conflict broadcasted real-time events as they happened and some of the content would cause bitterness among affected tribesmen who in turn would opt for revenge by use of violence.[29] This led the conflict shifting to other aspects such as power struggle, land disputes and historical injustices which made the situations worse.[30] Politicians would also source arms for their tribe's men and such reports when reported would lead to opposing political factions also arming their tribes leading to a full armed intercommunal conflict.[31]

The discovery of oil reserves in Turkana County was good news to the local community as this was an opportunity for economic development to the region which has the lowest human development. The region also experiences arid climate for most part of the year making pastoralism the most suitable activity. Pastoralism is coupled with cattle rustling hence communities in the North West of Kenya keep on fighting one another due to fight over the

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[26] Stremlau, Nicole, and Monroe Price. "Media, elections and political violence in eastern Africa: towards a comparative framework." (2009)

[27] *ibid*

[28] *ibid*

[29] Opondo, P. A. "Ethnic politics and post-election violence of 2007/8 in Kenya." *African Journal of History and Culture* 6, no. 4 (2014): 59-67.

[30] *ibid*

[31] *ibid*

scarce resources i.e. grazing fields, boarders and water points. With discovery of oil, the media instead of reporting on issues which bring out the need to solve the underdevelopment the region and solve insecurity issues in the region, the region hits headline when there arises violence between communities in the region. The reporting brings in political leaders who in turn use the media as a channel to issue statements which bring out urge to revenge hence more escalation of conflict. This clearly brings out how media reporting can be involved in conflict management of intercommunal conflicts by either creating opportunities for solving the conflicts or escalation of the conflicts.

1.7 Hypothesis

This study will test the following hypothesis.

1. H_1: Media Reporting promotes conflict management of intercommunal conflicts in Kenya.

2. H_0: Media Reporting does not promote conflict management of intercommunal conflicts in Kenya

1.8 Gaps in the Literature Review

Although studies have shown that media has a role conflict management, little has been done on the role of how media reporting of inter communal conflicts in Kenya has had impacts on the conflicts. Also, the Government has also shut down media houses claiming that their coverage

could trigger conflicts as it was the case in 2017 post-election chaos dominated by two rival communities politically in Kenya who have clashed in the past. Furthermore, most studies have focused on the Rift valley, West Pokot and the Kericho borders. Little has been done on the Rendille- Gabbra intercommunal conflicts. From the foregoing, the studies have generally described the increasing role of social media in inter communal conflict management and it further find out that media could be a tool that could be used to reduce inter communal conflict and could also be used to propagate it.

1.9 Theoretical Framework

This study will be guided by the agenda setting theory. It critically analyzes how mass media influences issues in the public arena. The public arena is usually interested in issues events and actions which happen in the public domain. The founding fathers of the theory are McCombs and Shaw.[32] The theory well explains how the mass media projects to the public an issue and the reaction it causes, either positive or negative. The theory also gives a critical explanation on how mass media may alter the pattern of political behavior especially during elections.[33] Therefore, the theory became an interest to many scholars in the field of conflict management learning on how media reporting is framed and how it will affect other audiences not only in conflict related issues. Hence, media reporting can be said to be a determinant factor in reaction it causes to public arena, it is important to note that some of the influence it may cause may be intentional or not.

Although the theory is criticized for not possessing means to achieving public agenda on opinions or attitudes, it has an excellent ability in influencing the perception, values, focus and

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[32] Kosicki, Gerald M. "Maxwell McCombs. Setting the Agenda: The Mass Media and Public Opinion. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press. 2004. 184 pp. 54.95(cloth); 26.95." (2006): 124-127.

[33] McCombs, Maxwell E., and Donald L. Shaw. "The agenda-setting function of mass media." *Public opinion quarterly* 36, no. 2 (1972): 176-187..

priorities[34]. Through the ability to influence, it achieves or captures media audience pursuing them to form their own opinion on issues events and actions which are reported hence a certain mental direction on particular happenings[35]. The theory was chosen because of its ability to explain the role of media in conflict management. For example, the theory explains that when an issue, event or an action is portrayed in a certain by the mass media, it becomes an agenda of discussion with different perspectives by difference audiences depending on their interpretation of the issues, some perspectives may differ hence a possibility of conflict. In this case when inter-communal wars are primed, then communities would either respond by ending it or continue with it basing on how the information would be relayed on media.

1.10 Research Methodology

1.10.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology which was adopted by the researcher in the course of the study. Methodology describes the procedure to be followed while undertaking research.

1.10.2 Research Design

Research design refers to detailed plan indicating how the research will be conducted to be used for research. The study adopted a cross-sectional descriptive design. Descriptive designed allowed for the collection of data without manipulation the environment. Descriptive research usually gathers data and describes phenomenon or events, then organizes, tabulation of the data collected is then done and results analyzed[36]. Case study was used so as to help explain complex matters and issues of conflict in a new way than portrayed in previous studies case studies and

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[34] Entman, Robert M. "Framing bias: Media in the distribution of power." *Journal of communication* 57, no. 1 (2007): 163-173.
[35] Aryal, Achyut. "Bishnoi Communication Theory and Model by Guru Jambheshwara Bhagawaan." In *An Independent Research for Communication Theory Conference 2013*. 2013.

[36] Kothari, Chakravanti Rajagopalachari. *Research methodology: Methods and techniques*. New Age International, 2004.

add new knowledge to existing problems. The main reason for choosing a case study in this research is because it analyzed context, events and the relationship in a case and as such it fits the study well and its specific objectives.[37]

1.10.3 Target Population

Population in social sciences is a description of entire group of individuals, objects or even events having similar pattern characteristics, origin, culture etc.[38] The specific target population for the study was carried out in four selected national media houses, and the two radio stations in Marsabit County, the media reporters in these stations and the political leaders in the Rendille and Gabbra communities and local residents in Marsabit County who have experienced conflict. This group was be chosen due to the fact that they have firsthand information and experience on the research subject and thereby adding the more credibility to the findings of the study.

1.10.4 Sampling Procedure

Sampling in research is an intentional or deliberate procedure in which a research chooses a number of people who are to provide the data from which you will draw conclusions of a study about a larger section, whom the segment will represent.[39] Purposive sampling technique gives room for flexibility when selecting data for analysis in the selected radio stations and TV stations. The national media houses selected together with their radio stations because of their national coverage. Kenya Broadcasting Channel and Radio, Citizen TV and Radio, Nation TV and Radio, Kenya Television Network and Radio in Nairobi and SIFA Radio and Radio Jangwani in Marsabit County. This research will use purposive sampling for the media

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[37] Gephart Jr, Robert P. "Qualitative research and the Academy of Management Journal." (2004): 454-462
[38] Mugenda, Olive M. *Research methods: Quantitative and qualitative approaches*. African Centre for Technology Studies, 1999.
[39] Blumberg, Boris, Donald R. Cooper, and Pamela S. Schindler. *Business research methods*. Vol. 2. London: McGraw-Hill Higher Education, 2008.

practitioners of the media hoses in Kenya and the political leaders. Stratified sampling will be used to select the media practitioners in the media houses selected.

1.10.4.1 Research Sample

A sample in research is said to be a segment of a part that represents a larger whole. A sample of the population possesses the same characteristics as the population and is considered a smaller version and a representation of the entire population under researcher's investigations. The sample size for the questionnaire research will be obtained using the formulae scientifically computed as below: -

$$n = \frac{n}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

Where; e= Margin of error of 0.05

n=sample size and

N= target population size

Required Sample

$$n = \frac{1000}{1 + 1000(0.05)^2}$$

$$n = \frac{1000}{1.17}$$

n= 870

1.10.5 Data Collection

Data collection procedure is the process of gathering information from primary and secondary data sources. Primary data was derived from focus group discussions for the community members, key informant for the top management, the political leaders in the Rendille and Gabbra Communities, and questionnaires for the media practitioners.

1.10.6 Pilot Testing Instruments

A pilot study was conducted for this study through pre testing of questionnaires administered to data subjects drawn from the target population. The pilot was conducted at K24 TV and Milele Radio station, and this shall not be included in the main study. At this stage, the researcher tries to identify items that confuse respondents or those which take unnecessarily long to complete. Any weaknesses detected in the questionnaire are rectified to ensure that it is clear and user friendly before the final study is conducted. From the pilot study a rough estimate of the average time required to administer the questionnaire is assessed. The data subjects used in the pilot study were not be used in the final study.

1.10.7 Data Collection Procedures

Questionnaires were administered with the help of a research assistant who were trained by the researcher to the media reporters in the various media houses. The questionnaires were filled by the research assistant who returned them to the researcher upon completion of the data collection phase. The key informant interviews were conducted by the researcher himself with the top management of the selected media houses and the political leaders of the two communities.

1.10.8 Data Entry and Analysis

Quantitative data

Statistical package for social sciences (SPSS) version 25 was used for data management. Entry, cleaning and analysis. Descriptive analysis was done for categorical variables. Percentages are

reported for categorical data while measures of central tendency and dispersion are reported for age, BMI and other numerical data.

Chi square statistics were used as the inferential statistics for bivariate analysis. Bivariate outputs are summarized in two by two contingency tables with counts and proportions. This was used as selection criteria for inclusion in the final regression model for adjustment. Predictors from the bivariate analysis with a $p < 0.05$ were included in the final logistic regression model. P values, odds ratios and 95% confidence interval (CI) were used to demonstrate significance and the strength of association between predictors and outcome variables. Significance was assumed at p value < 0.05 in the final model. A binary logistic regression models were made by the stepwise method of forward selection. Hosmer-Lemeshow test for goodness of fit was used to identify how well the model fits the data in from the bivariate analysis. The probability for ratio test was <0.05 and it determined factors which were to be retained in the prediction of HRQOL.

Qualitative data

Data which was obtained from FDGs was extracted from the tape recorders by transcription and described in word. The FGD data was then coded into themes independently. The qualitative data was analyzed i.e. well described, summarized and then interpreted for each FDG. It was then edited for grammar and in line requirements for the interview which was used. Finally, responses were summarized together under the same themes.

1.11 Scope and Limitation of the Study

1.11.1 Scope of the Study

The geographical extent of this study was limited to Kenya, in Marsabit County and to the Rendille and Gabbra community. The two local stations in the Marsabit County were also be studied. Local radio station managers such as SIFA FM and Radio Jangwani were also covered.

1.11.2 Ethical Considerations

During the study each respondent was first informed of his/her rights of either participating or refusing to participate in the research study. They were informed that participating in the research study was not compulsory and that consent was to be granted by the respondent. The participants were informed of their right to remain anonymous and that their identity would not be revealed in this study. All ethical issues were observed during this study. Letter of introduction was drawn from the University.

1.12 Chapter Outline

The study describes the role of media reporting in conflict management using a case study of Gabbra-Rendille conflict in Marsabit County in chapter Two. It also describes the the finding describing them with use of tables from qualitative data collected. The impact of media reporting in conflict management is described in chapter three of the study. Also the findings of the study on how media reporting has effects on conflict management is explained by use of analyzed qualitative data from the study. Ways in which media reporting can be used to improve the role they play in conflict management are described in chapter four of the study also in support with the findings of the study. Finally, chapter five gives a brief summary, conclusions and recommendations of the study

2.0 Chapter Two; Role of Media Reporting in Conflict Management of Intercommunal Conflicts

Introduction

The research sample was made of 396 participants that is; 15 community leaders, 20 media personnel and 450 community members. The data was collected over a one-month period. Table 2.2 shows the return rate of questionnaires.

Table 2.2: Rate of Return of Questionnaire

Respondent	Questionnaires Distributed	Actual Study Sample (n)	Return Rate (%)
Community leaders	15	10	67
Media personnel	20	15	75
Community members	450	396	82
TOTAL	**485**	**421**	**87**

According to table 2.1 above, 10 out of 15 interview guides issued to community leaders were filled and returned making 67% of those issued, 15 out of 20 interview guides issued to media personnel were filled and returned making 75% and 396 out of 450 issued to community members were issued and returned making 82%. In total 87% of the instruments were returned. This was more than half the targeted population of the respondents. According to Mugenda and Mugenda, (2003) 50 percent response rate is adequate, 60 percent good and above 70 percent

rate very good. This means the response of 87% is satisfactory for the purpose of making conclusions for the study. For this study, the return rate of questionnaires is higher leading to higher probability of a sample being representative of a population being studied.

Demographic Information of the Respondent

Demographic data in this study was collected to show the characteristic of those who took part in the study. The information collected was based on community members, gender, age, marital status, education level and religion. Table 4.3 below gives a summary of the responses.

Table 2.3

Demographics information of students

		Count	Table N %
Gender	Male	172	43.4%
	female	224	56.6%
Age	18-35 years	201	51.1%
	36-45 years	128	32.6%
	46-55 years	48	12.2%
	56+ years	16	4.1%
marital status	single	148	37.4%
	married	216	54.5%

	separated	12	3.0%
	divorced	8	2.0%
	widowed	12	3.0%
educational level	primary education	56	14.1%
	secondary education	220	55.6%
	college/university	120	30.3%
Religion	Muslim	221	55.8%
	Christian	167	42.2%
	Hindu	8	2.0%

From the results majority of the student respondents were female (57%, n=224), many were of age bracket 18-35 years (51%, n=201), many were married (55%, n=216) and had an education level of secondary school (56%, n=220). Finally, 56% (n=220) reported to be Muslim while

Role of media reporting in conflict management for inter-communal conflicts

The results are summarized in table 2.4 below

Table 2.4 Role of media reporting in conflict management for inter-communal conflicts

	Gender				
	Female	**Male**			

		N	%	N	%	χ^2	df	α
Have you ever been a victim of a violent conflict?	No	49	34.8%	92	65.2%	6.80	1	0.09
	Yes	120	48.4%	128	51.6%			
In a normal day, on average, how many hours do you spend doing each of the following? Watching TV, listening to the radio, reading a newspaper, via phone ?	no time	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2.05	1	0.15
	Less than 15mins	108	40.9%	156	59.1%			
	15-30mins	64	48.5%	68	51.5%			
	31-1hours	0	0.0%	0	0.0%			
	1-3hrs	0	0.0%	0	0.0%			
	4-6hrs	0	0.0%	0	0.0%			
Which form of media is your main source of information?	Radio	113	40.8%	164	59.2%	3.65	2	.16
	Newspaper	0	0.0%	0	0.0%			
	Television	58	49.2%	60	50.8%			
	Internet	0	0.0%	0	0.0%			
Specify the radio station(s), Television channel(s) or Newspaper(s) you	KTN	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	.911	1	.340
	NTV	112	41.8%	156	58.2%			
	CITIZEN	60	46.9%	68	53.1%			

commonly listen to, watch or read respectively.	K24	0	0.0%	0	0.0%			
	IJARA	0	0.0%	0	0.0%			
To what extent do you agree or disagree that media report influences most of your decisions or actions.	Strongly disagree	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3.31	1	.069
	Disagree	108	40.3%	160	59.7%			
	not sure	64	50.0%	64	50.0%			
	Agree	0	0.0%	0	0.0%			
	strongly agree	0	0.0%	0	0.0%			
To what extent do you agree or disagree that media report influences most of your decisions or actions.	Strongly disagree	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1.80	1	.179
	Disagree	112	41.2%	160	58.8%			
	not sure	60	48.4%	64	51.6%			
	Agree	0	0.0%	0	0.0%			
	strongly agree	0	0.0%	0	0.0%			
Which form of media or press do you trust to report	Radio	56	42.4%	76	57.6%	.082	1	.774
	Newspaper	116	43.9%	148	56.1%			

Question	Option	N	%	N	%			
on conflict issues fairly?	Television	0	0.0%	0	0.0%			
	Internet	0	0.0%	0	0.0%			
Marsabit County has been the epicentre of violent conflicts in the Northern region.	Very small extent	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	.039	1	.843
	Small extent	60	44.1%	76	55.9%			
	I don't know	112	43.1%	148	56.9%			
	large extent	0	0.0%	0	0.0%			
	Very large extent	0	0.0%	0	0.0%			
Which form of media or press do you trust had extensively covered the Marsabit County violence?	TV	56	43.8%	72	56.3%	.008	1	.104
	Radio	116	43.3%	152	56.7%			
	National newspaper	0	0.0%	0	0.0%			
	Local Newspaper	0	0.0%	0	0.0%			
	Magazine	0	0.0%	0	0.0%			
	Internet	0	0.0%	0	0.0%			

Do you think media could have played a role in the intercommunal conflicts in Kenya?	Yes	144	41.9%	200	58.1%	2.64	1	.104
	No	28	53.8%	24	46.2%			

Source: Researcher, (2019)

The data in Table 2.4 indicates that a great proportion of the respondents (64%, n=248) agreed to have been victims of a violent conflict with males (52%, n=128) reporting a higher percentage compared to females. 67% reported to spending less than 15 mins on a normal day watching TV, or listening to radio, or reading a newspaper, with regards to their main source of information, 70%(n=277) reported that radio was their main source of information, many males(59%, n=164) listened to radio compared to female. When asked to specify the Tv station or newspaper they commonly use, 68%(n=268) reported that they used NTV with majority of the respondents being male (58%, n=156). When asked to what extent they agreed or disagreed that media reports influence most of their decisions or actions, 68%(n=268) disagreed, with a great proportion being males (60%, n=160). When asked to what extent they trust the media to give reliable information on violent conflict issues, majority disagreed (69%, n=272), and 67%(n=264) reported to trust newspapers in giving reliable information on violent conflict issues. When asked to what extent they agreed or disagreed that media had extensively highlighted the issues of violent conflicts in the area, 66%(n=260) reported that they did not know. 68%(n=268) reported that radio had greatly covered the Marsabit county violence and 87%(n=344) agreed that media could have played a role in the intercommunal conflicts in Kenya.

The researcher further established that from the interviews conducted with community leaders, that the media is not to blame for the conflict, but a recognizable number of both men and

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women do play greater role in escalation of ethnic rivalry between the Gabra and Rendille of Marsabit whereby men play the role of guarding the community and also raiding other communities while women play catalytic role that motivate men to raid and bring home livestock from the perceived enemy force. The community leader mostly showed the following as indicators of pastoralists conflict in Marsabit; fight over scarce water and pasture resources was the highest indicator, and other indicators include; cattle rustling, infiltrations of arms/aliens from across the county and inflammatory remarks by local politicians. Through the interviews conducted, majority of the respondents noted that, despite of the changes in the relationship, raiding activities were still acceptable and valued practices among the Gabra and Rendille communities just like any other pastoralists communities to replenish their herds depleted by may be severe drought, diseases, raids, heavy rain among others. Respondents also noted that poverty tempts a community to raid other community so as to keep on living and lead better life. Many of the respondents also said that having many livestock is considered to be a matter of prestige, honour, determinant of wealth and means of acquiring social status besides gaining respect in the community. They (respondents) said that, desire for wealth creation compels pastoralists engage in cattle raids. Raiding was observed as an attempt by a community to increase their herd size to ensure their survival at the expense of invaded pastoralists ethnic group

Bivariate analysis of gender associated with responses on role of media reporting in conflict management for inter-communal conflicts

Bivariate analysis on gender that are associated with responses on role of media reporting in conflict management for inter-communal conflicts shows that there was a significant relationship between gender and been a victim of a violent conflict in the study area (χ^2(df=1) =6.80, p=.09)

as shown in Table 2.4. The findings also showed that there was a significant association between gender and opinion on if the media influences most of the decisions or actions ($\chi^2(df=1) =3.31$, p=.049), with being more likely to agree compared to female. From the findings the rest of the items were not statistically associated with gender

The existence of media in a conflict situation can complicate matters but can as well be helpful in resolving the conflict. International level cases where the media has been influential on an in-conflict resolution consist of the Serbian situation. In this case, a United Kingdom based Independent Television News (ITN) covered the existence of detention camps in Omarska and Trnopolie[40].

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[40]Shah, Anup. "War, propaganda and the media." *Global Issues* 31 (2005).

3.0 Chapter Three; Impact of Media Reporting on Conflict Management of Intercommunal Conflict

In the last two decades, conflicts have consumed more than two million children across the globe. Further statics by Mohammed in 2012 reveal that children were more prone and affected by conflict; over a million children, left orphans while a record breaking six million were injured or left with permanent disabilities. Surprisingly many conflict went unnoticed by the global community, hence media a critical role to shine more light to this conflict related issues so that interventions can come in a timely manner. Hence can be attained through proper and objective dissemination of information.

However if media is not managed and regulated properly it has the potential of been manipulated to fuel and escalate conflict to a worse state prior the reporting. Over the years there has been a rampant increase in technological advancement that has in turn significantly impacted on more access and quick dissemination of information by a click of button. Developed countries are currently having an upper hand in technological advancement which is more efficient and cost effective as compared to the developing countries.

The second objective of the study sought to examine the impact of media reporting in conflict management for Rendille and Gabbra inter-communal conflicts in Kenya. The respondents were firstly asked to agree or disagree with statements that either escalated violence or de-escalated violence. 69%(n=272) disagreed that media escalated violence by promotion of propaganda, 87%(n=344) disagreed that media escalated violence by forming a platform for hate speech, 76%(n=300) agreed that media has escalated violence by miss-interpretation of information, 68%(n=268) agreed that media has escalated violence by incitement, 62%(n=240) agreed that media has escalated violence by airing violent scones and finally 71%(n=280) agreed that media

has escalated violence by being partisan or taking political sides. When asked to agree or disagree with impact of media in de-escalating violence, 71%(n=280) disagreed that media de-escalated violence by civil education, 75%(n=292) agreed that media has de-escalated violence by preaching peace, 76%(n=300) agreed that media has de-escalated violence by unity call, 53%(n=208) disagreed that media de-escalated violence by informing public on negotiation progress. Table 4.5 gives a summary of the findings.

Table 3.5

Impact of media in escalating and de-escalating violence

	Disagree		**Agree**	
	N	%	N	%
Media has escalated violence by promotion of propaganda	272	68.7%	124	31.3%
Media has escalated violence by forming a platform for hate speech	344	86.9%	52	13.1%
Media has escalated violence by miss-interpratation of information	96	24.2%	300	75.8%
Media has escalated violence by incitement	128	32.3%	268	67.7%
Media has escalated violence by airing violent scones	148	38.1%	240	61.9%
Media has escalated violence by being partisan or taking political sides	264	66.7%	132	33.3%
Media has de-escalated violence by civil education	280	70.7%	116	29.3%
Media has de-escalated violence by preaching peace	100	25.5%	292	74.5%

	N	%	N	%
Media has deescalated violence by unity call	96	24.2%	300	75.8%
Media has de-escalated violence by informing public on negotiation progress	208	52.5%	188	47.5%
Media has de-escalated violence by airing peace negotiations	44	11.1%	352	88.9%

The respondents were also asked if they agreed that media encouraged hate speech through broadcast and analysis and 71%(n=280) agreed, 64%(n=248) agreed that they thought media could have elicited hatred and animosity among the communities, 59%(n=232) agreed that media could act as a mouthpiece of politicians and opinion leaders in intercommunal conflict situations. 71%(n=280) agreed that Kenyan media could have acted as mouthpiece of politicians and opinion leaders in intercommunal conflicts, while 84%(n=332) agreed that to some extent mass media could have failed to provide adequate information or/and provided poor analysis of the situation which eventually caused anxiety and confusion among residents of Marsabit, 68%(n=268) agrees to some extent that unprofessionalism leads to or escalates intercommunal conflict among the Rendille and Gabbra communities in Marsabit Kenya. Table 3.6 gives a summary of the responses.

Table 3.6

impact of media reporting in conflict management for Rendille and Gabbra inter-communal conflicts

	N	%

Do you agree that media encourages hate speech through broadcast and analysis?	No	116	29.3%
	Yes	280	70.7%
what extent do you think this could have elicited ethnic hatred and animosity among your communities?	No	141	36.2%
	Yes	248	63.8%
Do you agree that media can act as a mouthpiece of politicians and opinion leaders in intercommunal conflict situation?	No	164	41.4%
	Yes	232	58.6%
Based on above issue, to what extend do you agree that Kenya media could have acted as mouthpiece of politicians and opinion leaders in intercommunal conflicts?	Small extent	116	29.3%
	Some extent	280	70.7%
	I don't know	0	0.0%
	Some extent	0	0.0%
	Small extent	0	0.0%
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?	No	244	62.2%
	Yes	148	37.8%
With reference to Marsabit County, 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 residents of	Small extent	64	16.2%
	Some extent	332	83.8%
	I don't know	0	0.0%
	Some extent	0	0.0%

Marsabit?	Small extent	0	0.0%
To what extent do you agree that this unprofessionalism leads to or escalates intercommunal conflict among the Rendille and Gabbra communities in Marsabit Kenya?	Small extent	128	32.3%
	Some extent	268	67.7%
	I don't know	0	0.0%
	Some extent	0	0.0%
	Small extent	0	0.0%

Community leaders also noted that media acted as catalyst for conflict among pastoralist. They said that successful warriors during raids were praised. On the other hand, majority of the respondents said that those considered under performers were ridiculed and regarded as cowards/low groups of people within the community (inferior) hence such practices really prompt warriors engage in cattle raids or other cultural activities that triggers conflicts.

Further most respondents said that, just like the way they play role in causing conflict by blessing warriors set for raids, media have great role in containing conflict whereby traditional council's leaders namely; Yaa (for the Gabra) and Gda (for the Borana) can meet to discuss ways of preventing conflict or solving problem of conflict and declaring cessation of hostilities. They further indicated that media should take part in the elders' meetings and concentration of community agreements, including opening up of grazing borders. They said media can also organize exchange forums where communities interact with each other so as to stay peacefully, and also encourage intermarriages between the pastoralists communities to achieve lasting peace

Bivariate association between role of media in the intercommunal conflicts and opinion on escalation or de-escalation of conflict

With regards to escalation of violence by promotion of propaganda, respondents who disagreed that media has escalated violence by promotion of propaganda were 7.3 times more likely to say the media doesn't play a role in intercommunal conflict compared to those who agreed the media had a role to play (OR: 7.3; 95% CI: 1.5 – 35.7; p=0.01). Respondents who disagreed that media has escalated violence by miss interpretation of information were 161.8 times more likely to say the media doesn't play a role in intercommunal conflict compared to those who agreed the media had a role to play (OR: 161.8; 95% CI: 29.5 – 885.7; p <0.0001). Respondents who disagreed that media has escalated violence by incitement were 21.2 times more likely to say the media doesn't play a role in intercommunal conflict compared to those who agreed the media had a role to play (OR: 21.2; 95% CI: 7.9 – 56.5; p<0.0001). Respondents who disagreed that media has escalated violence by airing violent scones were 80% less likely times to say the media doesn't play a role in intercommunal conflict compared to those who agreed the media had a role to play (OR: 0.02; 95% CI: 0.06 – 08; p=0.02). Other factors were not statistically significant. Table 4.7 gives a summary of the findings.

Table 3.7

Bivariate association between student participation factors and cross border trade participation

	Do you think media could have played a role in the intercommunal conflicts in Kenya?				
	No	**Yes**			

		N	%	N	%	Overall OR	95% CI	P-Value
Media has escalated violence by promotion of propaganda	Disagree	240	88.2%	32	11.8%	7.3	1.5 – 35.7	**0.01**
	Agree	104	83.9%	20	16.1%			
Media has escalated violence by forming a platform for hate speech	Disagree	300	87.2%	44	12.8%	0.2	0.03 – 1.2	0.8
	Agree	44	84.6%	8	15.4%			
Media has escalated violence by miss-interpratation of information	Disagree	84	87.5%	12	12.5%	161.8	29.5 – 885.7	**<.0001**
	Agree	260	86.7%	40	13.3%			
Media has escalated violence by incitement	Disagree	104	81.3%	24	18.8%	21.2	7.9 – 56.5	**<.0001**
	Agree	240	89.6%	28	10.4%			
Media has escalated violence by airing violent scones	Disagree	116	78.4%	32	21.6%	0.2	0.06-0.8	**0.02**
	Agree	220	91.7%	20	8.3%			
Media has escalated	Disagree	236	89.4%	28	10.6%	0.3	0.3-0.99	0.64

violence by being partisan or taking political sides	Agree	108	81.8%	24	18.2%			
Media has de-escalated violence by civil education	Disagree	256	91.4%	24	8.6%	0.2	0.1-0.56	0.54
	Agree	88	75.9%	28	24.1%			
Media has de-escalated violence by preaching peace	Disagree	84	84.0%	16	16.0%	0.6	0.1-0.74	0.45
	Agree	256	87.7%	36	12.3%			
Media has deescalated violence by unity call	Disagree	88	91.7%	8	8.3%	0.22	0.1-0.29	0.44
	Agree	256	85.3%	44	14.7%			
Media has de-escalated violence by informing public on negotiation progress	Disagree	192	92.3%	16	7.7%	0.67	0.34-0.6	0.84
	Agree	152	80.9%	36	19.1%			
Media has de-escalated violence by airing peace negotiations	Disagree	44	100.0%	0	0.0%	0.45	0.2-0.50	0.74
	Agree	300	85.2%	52	14.8%			

Despite having a great media accessibility; there has been uneven distribution and growth than initially anticipated. Having greater accessibility currently to different media platforms is in line with needs and wants of the current human for information on the different modes. This is informed by the competitive nature of different platforms as they address today's sophisticated person.

The most critical aspect is the utilization of these modes of communication; example, in mexico in the ancient times they did not have the privilege of having access to internet however during time of crisis they utilized the existing traditional modes to reach out to the international community. Through been able to make use of the exiting platforms in order to achieve to convey the intend message beyond the border it's a critical example that usage of he various channels of communication critical despite the current diverse changes in communication technology.

International media networks have made huge strides in their undertakings; they play a significant role in the dissemination of live broadcasting from everywhere across the globe. This practice of live coverage has given people from all lifestyles an opportunity to have a feel and be part of these events as they occur. These live broadcasts have been able to shape the different occurrence across the globe including how they unfold and conclude.

Drastic changes to technology in the communication space has greatly impacted on how warfare issues are undertaken and in addition how conflict resolutions is carried out due to the great efficiency, timely manner which is normally spontaneous as vents unfold. Another study by Howard[41] recommended that the regulatory authorities should design a tailored regulatory

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[41]Howard, Ross, and European Centre for Conflict Prevention. *The power of the media: A handbook for peacebuilders*. European Centre for Conflict Prevention, 2003..

mechanism for vernacular FM stations different from the conventional ones. This is so because of their immense influence and popularity, especially amongst the less educated members of society. In addition, a study by Some [42] recommended that media regulatory and law enforcers should design stern laws, rules and penalties for both media houses and personalities who use media for negative purposes. Social media played a critical role in influencing the Arab spring both in the Middle East and North Africa.

Africa has experienced numerous widespread inter-community conflicts despite the continent facing numerous challenges facing it; including high illiteracy levels, poverty, disease, poor governance, high debt levels among other externalities. Thus conflict tends to worsen an already bad situation in the continent. Ethnic conflicts in Africa have been evident in countries such as Rwanda, Kenya Liberia Somali and Congo. Kenya has experienced conflict within and outside its borders. However Kenyan media has been vastly blamed for most of conflicts due to biased reporting and unprofessional journalism in disseminating information. This was evident in the 2007-2008 post violence election where the media houses clearly had taken political positions each fueling conflict before during and after the election. This is a consequential outcome where media got manipulated and is used to cause ethnic animosity and fuel chaos instead of acting as a neutral player and report objectively and promote peace and cohesion. Despite these negative roles, media also played a positive role during the 2007/08 PEV. The most important role according to Mutua [43] was acting as a voice for the voiceless in the society.

[42] Barber, Benjamin R. "Participatory democracy." *The Encyclopedia of political thought* (2014): 2650-2654.
[43] Mutunga, Willy. "Human Rights States and Societies: A Reflection from Kenya." In *Human Rights in Africa*, pp. 19-57. Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2019.

4.0 Chapter Four; Ways of Improving Media Reporting in The Management of Intercommunal Conflicts

Globally and nationally media has a dynamic and critical role to play; despite more occasional its role has been undermined by the political class as we as military. However, media continues to shape and influence the society in a great manner. Impact of media is usually overloaded by political practioners in conflict related issues. This was depicted during a 1995 survey where 64% of military officers in USA strongly affirmed that media had a significant role when undertaking efforts in the Vietnamese war. From this context is critical to note that very scarce and limited resource have been put demystifying the role of media in armed conflicts or in democratization of states.

Media is an important tool in conflict resolution and management. These efforts of promoting peace have been evidently in Northern Uganda conflict; media used to report on the importance of peace among its citizens. One key media entity in spreading peace initiative was Mega FM since 2002. The radio station offered a platform where LRA would engage in government talk program. This platform engaged dialogue between opposing sides and commenced the peace building steps. Hence the role of the media cannot be over looked.

Countries have tried to find ways of improving the management of conflict through media. In Bosnia, led to the establishment of a media network with the aim of reduced conflict and promoting peace. The media network was a creation of Dayton Peace agreement of 1995. whose aim was to finish a long standing fight among the Serbs, Croats, and Bosnians. This was as a result of instituting the Office of the High Representative (OHR), Following the initial assessments of Bosnian conflict, propaganda through ethnic television stations played the

primary role in dissemination of information of hate, leading to incitement thus fueling more conflict. Hence, it formulated and established unbiased media format to combat persisting propaganda.[44]

Measures taken to improve the role of media reporting in management of Rendille and Gabbra Inter-communal conflicts in Kenya.

The last objective of the study sought to examine measures taken to improve the role of media reporting in management of Rendille and Gabbra Inter-communal conflicts in Kenya. Findings for this objective were found through interviews. To contain, the prevailing culture of cattle raids and pastoralists conflict, community leaders gave some suggestions as follows;

Media should play very critical roles of peace keeping in their communities. The media should mediate between the warring communities, imposes penalties on the offenders but not on community and offers amicably designed lasting solution. Pastoralists communities should recognize efforts and the role media in conflicts resolution mechanism. They should build on the existing traditional structures in dealing with conflicts, for instance Madogashe declaration. Media should ensure that traditional elders" council (Yaa) and Gda leaders from conflicting parties meet to discuss and come into lasting peace consensus. Respondents also suggested that media should educate people on ethical issues, in that moranism be considered as things of the past and never be thought of or cherished again. Media should advocate for pastoralists communities should ensure that resources are shared with mutual understanding for collective benefit to many but not selected few.

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[44]Sadkovich, James J. *The US media and Yugoslavia, 1991-1995*. Greenwood Publishing Group, 1998.

The media stakeholders observed that the advent of county politics has worsened the already delicate situation. Lately, the fight had moved to a political ground, where the two have put up a hostile fight in trying to capture the county elective position without the support of the other. They noted that during the campaign period, none of the candidates from the two opposing sides has toured an area which is predominantly occupied by the opponent unless under the disguise of presidential candidates when they traverse the County in search of votes. Many respondents said that rival ethnic populace was made to believe that failure to have one of their own in the County leadership means marginalization by the elected opponents from the other community. Such hatred and mistrust gave rise to a more complex ethnic rivalry. They recommended that solving politics would be the beginning on peace and in turn media would follow suit. Media stakeholder suggested that; The media ensures that fairness and transparency in their duties of serving the public. Politicians should educate local communities to interact positively and freely without fear. The system of legal owning of land as Kenyans" should be embraced accordingly. Media should encourage the use of bottom up approach to conflict management and resolution as majority of local people themselves involved. Politicians themselves should meet and discuss issues that might ignite conflict so as to ensure peaceful co-existence. Politicians should never dare inflammatory remarks that at later date cause conflict and blame the media for violence incitation.

The Kenyan mass media plays a critical role in economic, social, political, and educational issues affecting the nation thus contributing immensely towards development. However, this has come with disgust, especially in political matters resulting in violent conflicts[45]. The invisible role of media in Kenya cannot assume given its influential power. For instance, mass media could have

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[45]Ibrahim, Dekha, and Janice Jenner. "Wajir community based conflict management." In *USAID conference on conflict resolution in the Great Horn of Africa*. 1997..

played a positive role during the 2007 general elections by supporting the efforts of the Electoral Commission in undertaking ensuring the process was credible and above board by objective reporting and coverage of the same. Media plays a crucial role in molding and shaping the both the domestic and foreign public opinions, beliefs, public debate and conversation.

Indeed, the media shaped national and global public opinion, attitudes, and practices towards various political parties, presidential candidates and critical issues during election campaigns in Kenya through their extensive coverage and broadcasts[46]. In addition, mass media could have also played a crucial role as a tool for education by supporting the public education programs.

Kenya lags behind in utilization of media as a tool of conflict resolution especially on the community level. More efforts and energy are required to be channeled towards practioners in field, to boost media's effectiveness in promotion of peace. hence all those engaged in the media space should undertake their duties with utmost professionalism by reporting objectively, balanced and maintain high ethical standards at all times. Media should shine more light towards acts of injustice experienced and witnessed at the community level endeavoring to empower the people by educating them on their rights and rightful role as citizens in promoting peace.

The nexus of truthfulness and transparency brings forth an additional recommendation. As witnessed in Kenya during the post-election violence of 2007-2008; the media played a crucial role in reporting humanitarian crisis that was taking place during that time to the international community. This put in motion a series of events especially globally; Prominent personalities intervened in the conflict amongst them was the former secretary General of UN Kofi Annan who helped mediate ad bring to an end the bloody post-election conflict that had engulfed the

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[46]Cheeseman, Nic. "The Kenyan elections of 2007: an introduction." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 2, no. 2 (2008): 166-167

country. Through the outreach of the media it necessitated the global community to offer themselves to be part of the conflict management and restoration of peace in the country.

There was an increased upsurge call of peace by the Media council of Kenya through dissemination of peace advertisements on platforms digital and print giving prominence for citizens to maintain calm and embrace peace. In addition the council called out for journalist to exercise caution in their conflict reporting by maintaining and observing the highest levels of professional ethics of journalism. The medial through the respective media houses called out for humanitarian assistance for internally displaced persons across the country. These combined efforts by the local media culminated in easing tensions and bridging the gap that had emanated from the divisive politics. Hence peace and normalcy took over.

Corporate social responsibility activities are strategies through which corporates including media houses have used to strengthen and promote peace initiative coupled with conflict management practices. As the nexus social responsibility postulates; corporates have a moral societal obligation to play in the well been of the community in which they operate and serve. Kenyan media houses are no exceptions to the norm. This was well depicted in the 2008 post violence election in which they played a vital role in mobilization of aid relief for those affected in the crisis including the internally displaced persons in conjunction Red Cross of Kenya. These media houses include Royal media, Mediamax, Nation Media, Kenya Television Networks, Kenya Broadcasting Corporation among other media houses came under a common call for peace and national unity acting as glue to the nation at the time crisis.

Various scholars their works have drawn out several recommendations in reference to the utilization of media in conflict management. Through a study carried out by Otieno in 2002; he recommends that local media houses should harmonize their conflict reporting approach. He

further adds that in instances where differing views occur among the media houses he recommends that they should strive to achieve a consensus to have a common view on the issues at hand. This was driven by the urge to have consistency uniformity and objectivity in reporting s as to accelerate the attainment of peace. [47]

Another study by Howard[48] recommended that the regulatory authorities should design a tailored regulatory mechanism for vernacular FM stations different from the conventional ones. This is so because of their immense influence and popularity, especially amongst the less educated members of society. In addition, a study by Some [49] recommended that media regulatory and law enforcers should design stern laws, rules and penalties for both media houses and personalities who use media for negative purposes. Final Mutua[50] recommends that all the media practioners should undertake a mandatory course or training on conflict based reporting. This is geared towards equipping them with the prerequisite skills and knowledge on how to observe and maintain ethical professional standards when covering or reporting on conflict. This is to ensure that they remain objective to the core issues without been biased or escalating tensions of the conflict. Regular workshops and seminars by media stakeholders should be undertaken to train and refresh professionals in the field and equip the better with modern conflict reporting techniques in accordance to the law. This will aid in minimizing cases such as the Rwandan genocide where 800,000 people lost their lives a clear case of misuse of media. It heightened tension and was used to fuel hatred message across the country. The Kenyan post-election violence was partly fueled by unprofessional coverage leading to incitement of across the

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[47]Otieno, Isaack Okero. ",,Mobile Telephony and Democratic Struggles: A Case of 2002 Elections in Kenya"." *A RE: activism: Re-drawing the boundaries of activism in a new media environment* (2005): 14-15.

[48]Howard, Ross, and European Centre for Conflict Prevention. *The power of the media: A handbook for peacebuilders*. European Centre for Conflict Prevention, 2003..

[49] Barber, Benjamin R. "Participatory democracy." *The Encyclopedia of political thought* (2014): 2650-2654.

[50] Acayo, Consolata, and Nathan Mnjama. "The print media and conflict resolution in Northern Uganda." *African Journal on Conflict Resolution* 4, no. 1 (2004): 27-43.

country. Hence Mutua calls for adequate training of journalist across the broad to ensure such occurrence do don't occur.

In conclusion it evident that more policies and regulation are required to govrn the media space especially with the ever increasing platforms of information dissemination. If left on their own, this platform such as social can be a catalyst of fueling conflict if left unchecked. Hence both the state and non-state actors have a watchdog responsibility to ensure that the integrity and journalism ethical standards are observed at all levels. Media should be in used I promotion of peace in conflict related matter and open up conflict resolution platforms where warring parties are able to communicate amongst themselves.

5.0 Chapter Five: Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 introduction

The project attempted to investigate the role of the media reporting in conflict management of intercommunal conflicts as exemplified by the Rendille-Gabbra communities in Marsabit County. It also looked at the impact of media reporting in the management of intercommunal conflicts and the ways of improving media reporting so as to improve the management of intercommunal conflicts. Questionnaires and interviews founded the research methodology. Recorded material related to the topic of study was used to back-up the findings and analysis.

5.2 Summary of Key Findings

On the cause of intercommunal conflict among the Rendille and the Gabbra communities, it was established that community leaders inconjuction with media houses acted as catalyst for conflict among the two communities. They said that successful warriors during raids were praised so much on the local media. Many of the respondents said that those considered under performers were ridiculed and regarded as cowards/low groups of people within the community (inferior) and this triggers them to act with a lot of vigor in carrying raids to build their names causing conflict.

In terms of the law on media, the Kenyan law on media considers the promotion of civil as well as political freedom. The law however does not provide a strong distinction of what act to take in cases when the media unswervingly instigates violence activities, or merely reporting the encouragement of hate or conflict by political leaders and other influential persons. Marsabit County has two local ethnic radio   stations that are owned by the rich operated in the same way as the national stations. They are not well managed and are as well open to political influences.

Largely, this inquiry shows that political figures have progressively used hate speech to provoke the Rendille and Gabbra communities to intercommunal conflicts and to as well develop their political and individual agendas. It also occurred that media practitioners in Marsabit County and in Kenya in general are unprepared to handle violence, while media's top managers often sway the journalistic content.

Freedom of media is a key feature of any work related to journalism. It is not a source of pride, but a commitment for journalists to use media freedom sensibly so as to advance democracy as well as human rights. The findings show that the way in which media houses report the intercommunal conflicts among the Rendille and Gabbra communities revealed the antagonistic relation between the communities.

This study established that the media played a role in increasing intercommunal conflicts in Marsabit County and in other parts of Kenya. The findings of the study also showed that the resolution processes of intercommunal conflicts require determined efforts from media practitioners, social - community networks and the key opinion leaders. In principle, the owners of media houses, editors as well as journalists cannot just run away from the responsibility for their actions. The study findings show that media practitioners can be influential at both individual and collective level, but they can as well be used very effortlessly if they digress from core issues to trivialities.

Conclusion

The study also recommended that media should ensure that traditional elders" council (Yaa) and Gda leaders from conflicting parties meet on their platforms to discuss and come into lasting peace consensus. Respondents also suggested that media should educate people on ethical issues, in that moranism be considered as things of the past and never be thought of or cherished again. Media should advocate for pastoralists communities should ensure that resources are shared with mutual understanding for collective benefit to many but not selected few.

5.4 Recommendations

This study thus recommends that there needs to be restrictions put on the various types of media and the way they choose to cover conflicts. This should be done by creating policies which regulate the content in which media report ranging to speeches to images which they share. At the policy level, the study suggests that there should be a synchronization of laws on what constitutes speeches which can trigger hatred. It further noted that the media needs combined efforts from the global community down to the local communities and organizations to compel the ruling regime to have agencies which filter information. For instance, in Kenya MCK should be strengthened to ensure journalists follow professional code of conduct ensuring they don't sway in reporting conflicts, capacity building and self-regulation activities should also be encouraged and promoted among media practitioners. The process as proposed by the study should be methodical and operational in detailing all the indications of incitement and unprofessional conduct perpetrated through the media. The study finally recommends an improvement in the working conditions of the media practitioners. As stated by one of the journalists of the local Radio SIFA, sometimes the salaries are delayed and the working

conditions in the Marsabit County are unsafe. This may push media personnel to be bribed by factions in conflict on what to report during conflicts leading to more escalation of conflict.

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APPENDIX I

Respondent's Questionnaire for Locals who have experienced conflict, Government officials and key opinion leaders

SECTION A: **Researcher's Details**

I am Edward Muendo Muinde, a postgraduate student at the University of Nairobi, undertaking Master of Arts degree in International Studies I am conducting a research on "The Role of Media in Conflict Management of Inter-communal Conflicts: A Case Study of the Rendille Gabbra Communities". The information obtained and analyzed will help in policy makers formulate policies to help media reporting promote conflict management of intercommunal conflictd. 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 treated in strict confidentiality. Your cooperation will be highly appreciated. Thank you in advance.

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

SECTION A

Respondent's Details

1. What is your gender?

Male ( )

Female ( )

2. How old are you?

18-35 yrs. ( )

36-45 yrs. ( )

45-55 yrs. ( )

Above 55-85 yrs. ( )

3. What is your Marital Status?

Yes ( )

No ( )

4. Highest level of Education and training attained?

Primary ( )

Secondary ( )

College/University ( )

Others ( )

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

Yes ( )

No ( )

SECTION B:

Q. Normally how long do spend in any type of a media in a day?

No time ( )

Less than 15 mins ( )

15-30 mins ( )

30 mins – 1 hour ( )

1-3 hours ( )

3-6 hours ( )

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

Radio ( )

Newspaper ( )

Television ( )

Internet ( )

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

KTN

NTV

CITIZEN

K24

IJARA

Q. To what extent do you agree or disagree that media report influences most of your decisions or actions.

Strongly disagree ( )

Disagree ( )

Neither agree nor disagree ( )

Agree ( )

Strongly agree ( )

Q. To what extent do you trust the media to give reliable information on violent conflict issues?

Very large extent ( )

Large extent ( )

I don't know ( )

Small extent ( )

Very small extent ( )

Q. Which form of media or press do you trust to report on conflict issues fairly?

Radio ( )

Newspaper ( )

Television ( )

Internet ( )

Q. Do you agree Marsabit County conflicts are escalated by media reporting?

Very Large Extent ( )

Large extent ()

I don't know ( )

Small extent ( )

Very small extent ( )

Q13.Which form of media or press do you trust had extensively covered the Marsabit County violence?

a. TV ( )

b. Radio ( )

c. National newspaper ( )

d. Local newspaper ( )

e. Magazine ( )

f. Internet ( )

Q14. Do you think media could have played a role in the intercommunal conflicts in Kenya?

Yes ( )

No ( )

Q. What roles do you think media played or could have played in?

a. Escalation of intercommunal conflicts

i. ………………………………………………………………….

ii. ………………………………………………………………….

iii. ………………………………………………………………….

iv. ………………………………………………………………….

b. De-escalation of intercommunal conflicts

i. ………………………………………………………………….

ii. ………………………………………………………………….

iii. ………………………………………………………………….

iv. …………………………………………………………………

SECTION C

Provided below are questions that contain some of the roles that media plays in intercommunal conflicts. Based on your opinion and extent of agreement, rate them in a Likert scale as provided.

Q. Do you agree that media encourages hate speech through broadcast and analysis?

Yes ( )

No ( )

Q. If yes, to what extent do you think this could have elicited ethnic hatred and animosity among your communities?

Very large extent ( )

Large extent ( )

I don't know ( )

Some extent ( )

Small extent ( )

Q. Do you agree that media can act as a mouthpiece of politicians and opinion leaders in intercommunal conflict situation?

Yes ( )

No ( )

Q. Based on above issue, to what extend do you agree that Kenya media could have acted as mouthpiece of politicians and opinion leaders in intercommunal conflicts?

Very large extent ( )

Large extent ( )

I don't know ( )

Some extent ( )

Small extent ( )

Q. 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?

Yes ( )

No ( )

Q. With reference to Marsabit County, do you think that media reporting could have failed to provide adequate information or/and provided poor analysis of the situation which eventually caused anxiety and confusion among residents of Marsabit?

Very large extent ( )

Large extent ( )

I don't know ( )

Some extent ( )

Small extent ( )

Q. To what extent do you agree that this unprofessionalism leads to or escalates intercommunal conflict among the Rendille and Gabbra communities in Marsabit Kenya?

Very large extent ( )

Large extent ( )

I don't know ( )

Some extent ( )

Small extent ( )

Q. What should be done to improve the role of media reporting in the management of intercommunal conflicts in among the Rendille and Gabbra Communities.

Thank you.

APPENDIX II
 Interview Guide for Media Professionals

Introduction

The main objective is to obtain information on media reporting and conflict management from ....Television/Radio station of KTN, CITIZEN, Radio SIFA, Radio Jangwani (specify)……………………. in …………………. Location of ………………… sub county in Marsabit County.

Your views will be useful in influencing security decisions in the County and also for academic purposes and will be treated with confidentiality.

Section A: General Information

Your Title: ....

Age: ....

Gender: ....

Marital status: ....

Section: Interview Questions

Q1. When there is violence, what particular care should be taken about publication of the first incidents?

2. In mixed societies, editors should be aware of the danger of promoting selective reporting and common prejudicial stereotypes about groups.

a) To what extent do you concur with this statement especially with reference to the intercommunal conflicts in Marsabit in Kenya?

4. Where there is potential for ethnic violence there should be a constant effort to investigate and expose the underlying causes. How do the media practitioners ensure that underlying issues are objectively addressed and impartially reported during conflicts?

5. Factual accuracy in a single story is no substitute for the total truth. A single story, which is factually accurate, can nonetheless be misleading. You as a journalist;

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

6. Media houses run documentaries on intercommunal conflicts and even violence situations. Does such negative reporting be attributed to the intercommunal conflicts in the Rendille-Gabbra Marsabit Communities?

7. Words and phrases may have different connotations among different groups in terms of age, gender and status.

a) Can distortion in translation cause intercommunal conflict, given that most leaders give speeches in English which have to be translated for local reporting?

b) 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.

c) What can media do to mitigate word distortion that can cause or inflame intercommunal conflicts?

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

c) What should be done to improve the role of media reporting in the management of intercommunal conflicts in among the Rendille and Gabbra Communities.