THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN MAINTAINING PEACE AND SECURITY IN AFRICA: CASE STUDY OF KENYA 2007-2017

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A RESEARCH THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF POST GRADUATE DIPLOMA IN SECURITY AND STRATEGIC STUDIES

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Declaration

This proposal is my original work and not a duplication of published works similar to any school for academic purpose as a partial requirement of any university. Consequently, it has not been submitted to any other higher education institution aiming to receive any award. I also declare that all material mentioned in this paper that is not from my original works is fully and appropriately recognized.

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This proposal has been submitted for the review with my approval as University Supervisor.

Signature: ……………………………   Date: ……………………………..

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to my beloved wife, Arthoi Adandue to her unconditional love and support during many days I was away from home. I largely appreciate and express my love for my children because of coping with the lack of paternal deprivation during the time of this research. Most of all I pledge allegiance to the Lord Almighty for the gift of life and strength.

Acknowledgment

I would also like to acknowledge and prompt my genuine appreciation to the Kenya Defence Forces and the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies for giving me an opportunity to conduct this research. More specifically, I wish also to express by genuine gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Maluki, for his tireless efforts in providing me with direction and guidance in the course of my research. I would wish to thank my sponsor directing staff for the selfless devotion in shaping my research work despite having many other duties in the college. Lastly, I wish like to appreciate my friends and course mates for their support throughout the journey.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Acronyms and Abbreviations

BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CNN	Central News Network
EMB	Electoral Management Body
KBC	Kenya Broadcasting Corporation
KNCHR	Kenya National Commission of Human Rights
KRC	Kenya Red Cross
KTN	Kenya Television Network
LRA	Lord Resistance Army
NT	Nation Television
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement-Kenya (a political party in Kenya)
PEV	Post Election Violence
PNU	Party of National Unity (a political party in Kenya)
RTLM	Radio Television Librie des Millers
SFCG	Search for Common Ground
SMS	Short message Service
TV	Television

Abstract

This research was aimed analyzing the role of media in maintaining peace and security in Africa, a case study of Kenya 2007-2017. The main tasks were investigating the extent to which the media has been able to maintain peace and security in Kenya since 2007-2017, to establish accessibility level of media and the several forms of media coverage used in maintaining peace and security in Kenya since 2007-2017 and to determine how media could have influenced selected human factors towards keeping Kenya secure and peaceful between 2007 and 2017. Both the libertarian and social responsibility theories of media reporting were analyzed to explain media roles and to develop the conceptual framework. A secondary research design was be used. Secondary data was obtained through the review of studies, online journals and books and analyzed using content analysis. The information has been presented in tables, charts and graphs with a brief description thereafter.

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Background to the Study

The history of media and its impact dates in the 1950s. During this period about 90% of the homes in America had access to television sets.[1] Within the period of 1969/1970, a division in the United Nation was formed known as the Network of Documentation Centres on Communication Research and Policy (COMNET). The main role of this division was to facilitate research activities which surrounded communication and published a mass communication Thesaurus. Later in 1969 and 1981, UNESCO became a key actor promoting debate on international communication.[2]

Security issues have become more and more diverse and in many ways hence creating a bigger threat to the peace than in the past. In the same manner, comprehending of the main reasons of violence and the link of security and its management as a worldwide view is growingly becoming active.[3] Consequently, a substantial number of the present security difficulties are generated in individual societies and spread worldwide to the surrounding environment. Additionally, this is being fueled by dynamics in the region which are not positive caused by competitive power struggles in and among states as it has been witnessed in numerous developing nations especially in Africa.

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[1] Sterling and Kittross, *William Barlow, Voice Over: The Making of Black Radio*. Philadelphia: (1999). Temple University Press.

[2] Volkmer, I. News in the Global Sphere: A Study of CNN and its Impact on Global Communication. Luton: (1999). University of Luton Press.

[3] Morgenthau, J.H. and Thompson, K.W. Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace. McGraw-Hill Press: (1985). New York.

The advancement in technology of communication is extensively changing how conflicts and resolution of conflict is conducted. Comparing to individuals in the past, individuals all over the world are recently aware of major developments in international relations.[4]There are many worldwide networks for news coverage which air live events from the whole globe through the internet that provide instant opportunities for events to occur and, under specific conditions, influencing the way these events unfold, as well as the how they will end.

That has given rise to a general sensation of the media; more sore the mass media, and have grown the impact on Western security after the collapse of Russia.[5]The last few decades has seen awareness increase with regards to the role local civilians have in insecurity. They can't be any more considered endless because their interests and ideas clearly influence the success of the mission. Due to the rapid technological advances in the media, the data not only describe the events that took place on the scene, but also shape, perceptions, perspectives and credibility.[6] This is making information to becoming an important way of utilizing war by the international bodies and governments military and their leaders at all levels. Whereas this available information can be misrepresented for propaganda, it can also be used to foster security.[7]

The military policies, the mass media and people attitudes towards the coverage done by the media were greatly affected by the experience which was gotten in the war in Vietnam. The work of the mass media in war was clearly visible during the war in

[4]Gilboa, E. *Media and Conflict: Framing Issues, Making policies, shapingopinions.* NY, Ardsley: . (2002). Transitional Publishers Inc.

[5]Jakosben, P.V. The emerging Consensus on gray area peace operations doctrine: Will it last and enhance operational effectiveness? International Peace Keeping, (2000). 7, 36-56.

[6] Ibid

[7]Galtung, J. *Transcend and Transform: An Introduction to Conflict Work*, Pluto, London, 2004, at p. 189

Vietnam when the United States was involved in it owing the extensive growth in information technology brought about by the invention of television. During the war, the press was sent in two different directions. Also, the war led to the discovery that the U.S. government and military had always never told its citizen the truth concerning the progress of the war causing the public via press to accept that the U.S. foreign policies were featured with deception.[8]

Similarly, the African continent has faced many incidences of violence, in several the media has a significant part in. Many scholars have blamed Media to be a tool that promotes conflict. They have demonstrated that media contribute to conflicts by incision of violence, failure to pinpoint emerging conflicts and delay to report conflicts. In Rwanda, Rwanda Radio-Television Libre Milles (RTLM) assisted in promoting conflict as it encouraged the Hutus to end the Tutsi by calling them cockroaches which should be ended to have peace in the country.[9]Consequently, this brought the killing of about one million Tutsis and the dislocation of numerous others. There many violence incidences in the continent which are more so played against the negativity of poverty, being illiterate and poor governance which brings unfavorable trade terms, being in heavy debts and well as failures in administration.[10]Resource competition, political, socioeconomic, culture, way of life causes many of the election associated violence in the continent. Issues like politics, culture and international interferences, the economy and non-functioning government can largely explain the conflicts between nations such as the conflict

[8]Praeger, How Political Parties Work: Perspectives from Within. Edited by Lawson Kay. (1994).Westport, CT

[9] Mutua, A. N. *A study of Propaganda and the Press in Africa.* Retrieved from http://www.geocities.com/a_mutua/propaganda.html#references(2001).

[10]Zartman, W. The Timing of Peace Initiatives: Hurting Stalemates and Ripe Moments. *The Global Review of Ethnopolitics,* 1(1), (1995). pp. 8-18.

between Ethiopia and Eritrea.[11] Additionally, nations like Rwanda, Congo, Somalia, Sudan, Liberia as well as Kenya, have experienced ethnic conflicts whose influence go beyond the borders.

Recently, media escalated conflicts during the spring in the Northern Africa and the Middle Asia. The revolution brought overthrowing of governments of nations such as Egypt, Libya, Tunisia and Yemen by the citizens action catalyzed largely by the media. The Times Magazine aired that although the media channels controlled by the states did present one perspective of the conflicts in the country, the parties which were independent did present similar problems in the broadcasting and giving analysis.[12]There is insufficient analysis of the many issues which surrounded the conflicts, such as the creation of insurgent forces, the backward economic costs of the war and the future benefits of this war. He was disappointed with the media's dedication to non-conflict information, but joined a radical Islamist group to mobilize people against the government. Here, the media acted as a means of mobilization. Several countries like Saudi Arabia faced several challenges which led to changes in their government.

Media can either have a positive or negative role in causing or stopping insecurity and in encouraging peace building efforts.[13]Kenya has also faced conflict challenges as it has experienced both internal and across border conflicts concerning natural resources, tribal clashes, land and terrorism. The birth of elections of many parties in Kenya brought new dimensions of conflicts in election. Violence in election has been experienced during

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[11]Jhazbhay, I. (2008). Somaliland's post-war reconstruction: Rubble to rebuilding. *International Journal of African Renaissance Studies, Vol 3* (1), 59-93.
[12]Times Magazine (2010). Arab spring: Triggers and consequences. *Times Magazine* (September Issue).
[13]Amisi, B. (1997). Conflict in the Rift Valley and Western Kenya: *USAID Conference onConflict Resolution in the Greater Horn of Africa.* Nairobi: Sage Publisher.

elections period from 1992, 2007, 2012 and 2017 with the 2007 election being the worst in the history of the nation.

The 1992, 2007, 2012 and 2017 post-election violence (PEV) incidences was attributed to many factors among them being the media. The mass media could have precipitated the violence by showing a volatile political environment tarnished with abhorrence, violence, as well as a stiff race among two main protagonists[14] in case of 2007 PEV. The report from KNCHR established that ethnic based FM radio stations unprofessionally disseminated negative ethnic stereotypes, cultural chauvinism, maligning individuals as well as communities. Severally, the radio stations aired alarming call-in sessions, which were always peppered with undertones of the hosts. Additionally, worldwide media channels and the media stations in the nation such as BBC, Central News Network (CNN), Aljazeera, Nation Television (NTV), Kenya Television Network (KTN), KASS as well as INOORO predicted an inconsistent and greatly manipulated election to favor the ruling party. The Standard newspaper on 14th October, 2007 published an article on the likelihood of a government rigged election. Consequently, this made the perception of the citizens toward conflicts following a protagonist favored results.[15] Therefore, the invisible hand of media in maintaining peace and security cannot be ignored.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Since the clamor for and advent of multi-party democracy, the country has had experience of conflicts related to both politics and tribe matters. Kenya has experienced conflict episodes of both political and tribal dimensions. While this has been sporadic in

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

[15]Twawezesha Report. Elections campaigns, balance and the mass media. *(MayIssue).* Washington: (2008). World Bank.

the last fifteen years, it rose to disturbing levels after the disputed 2007 general elections when almost all of the major communities turned on one another at alleged instigation and support of political heavyweights.[16]

Until that time, the media had never taken initiative to play a part in education of the people regarding prevention of conflicts together with peaceful resolutions of conflicts. From 2009 onwards, the media has taken a very active part in designing, airing and being the sponsor of campaigns which are aimed at creation of awareness of conflicts, the main objective is to teach the citizens the significant of having peace in the country and also showing the importance of individual in identification and reporting of violent incidences and resisting calls for violent clashes.[17]

Whatever important role the media can play in keeping Kenya safe, academics and practitioners have not done extensive research on this issue. Compared to many African countries, the media community in Kenya is very active, competitive and democratic. Governments and individuals who want to protect their social image and always maintain political justice can use the media for personal gain. Therefore, the media in these environments must establish politics which are competitive and promoting democracy and keeping security. Although, this has not been the considering the last 2007, 2012 and 2017 elections in the country which brought conflicts that has never being experienced again in the country. This diversion prompted the researcher to determine the part played by the media in maintaining peace and security. Additionally, several researches have

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[16] Berger, G. Theorizing the Media- Democracy Relationship in South Africa. *International Communication Gazette*. SAGE(2002). Journal
[17] Bennett, L.W. and Entman, R.M. Mediated Politics: Communication in the Future of Democracy. (2001). Cambridge University Press.

being done out on the overall causes of insecurity in northern arid and semi-arid parts of the country (Ruto, Olaf, Ralf, &Wotzka, 2003; Masinde& Cranford, 2003). However, the studies did not investigate the role media played keeping the country secure and peaceful, especially from 2007 to 2017. Therefore, this study analyzed the significant of media keeping the country secure and peaceful, a case of 2007 to 2017.

1.3 Research Questions

1. To what extent has media reporting been able to maintain peace and security in Kenya since 2007-2017?
2. What are the accessibility levels of the media and the several types of coverage by media used in keeping the country secure since 2007-2017?
3. How can media influence selected human factors towards keeping the country secure since 2007-2017?

1.4 Research Objectives

1.4.1 General Objective

The general objective of the research is examining the role of media in maintaining peace and security in Africa and with a specific reference to Kenya between the periods of 2007-2017.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

This research further seeks to examine the following specific objectives:

1. Investigating the level to how the media reporting has being able to do to keep the country secure since 2007-2017.
2. To establish accessibility levels of the media and the several forms of the media coverage used in maintaining peace and security in Kenya since 2007-2017.

3. To determine how media could influence selected human factors towards maintaining peace and security in Kenya since 2007-2017.

1.5 Justification of the Study

There is need for this study to be carried out so as to unearth the different methods that has been utilized through the media keeping the country secure and peaceful. The information will therefore be important in strengthening the military as well as the local law enforcers in tapping into the strategic moves positioning of the media in peace and security maintenance.

In the academics, conducting this study is of great importance. This is because the study will be important in contributing literature that will be used by the students of research and scholars focusing on media.

Additionally to contributing to academics, this study will also contribute to the policy development on media coverage and peace and security maintenance. Policy developers in the media sector will be informed on what they need to integrate in the media policies so as to contributing towards keeping the country secure.

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The scope of this research is that it focuses on media and maintenance of peace and security. The study further examines methods used by the media as well the extent to which the media has been keeping security in Africa. Geographically, this research will be delimited to Kenya and within the period of 2007 and 2017. The limitation of this study is that it will only focus on the secondary data and no primary data will be collected. However, the researcher will ensure that current and legit studies which have carried in the error are reviewed extensively.

1.7Literature Review

This section reviews the relevant existing literature on media coverage from a peace and security perspective in assessing the role media plays or may play in the maintenance of peace and security. This chapter deals with the theory of media reporting related to the Liberals and the theory of social responsibility, and focuses on the conceptual model for developing the theory of social responsibility based on media reporting. It also addresses the analysis concerning the importance of media in keeping peace and security from a worldwide, states 'and that of the region's view. It concludes with the analysis of identified gaps in the reviewed literature.

1.8 Empirical Review

This section shows the literature review based on the following outline: the extent to which the media reporting has been able to maintain peace and security, accessibility level of the media and the several types of the coverage of the media used in maintaining peace and security and how media could influence selected human factors towards maintaining peace and security.

1.8.1 Media reporting and Keeping of security

The influence of media on the promotion of violence is more known than its influence on peace building. Media can act as a watch dog by being a third group which offers news to the public on issues happening in the country. Media brings stories which are hidden such as investigative reports out into the public.

Globally, media has been established to deescalate violence to foster peace and security. An investigation was carried out to provide information on why some war veterans became violent in the community. The Veterans Metrics Initiative investigation was

carried out in 2016 on 9566 within 3 months of separation of military and did complete 5 more assessments at intervals of six months in the same time. A journalist did show a veteran hospital which was decrepit and insensible.[18] Thus, the media did highlight a situation concerning how United States soldiers are treated during and after their service.

Considering Africa, Bensel[19] undertook a study to improving learning of violence in sexual abuse in the war through comparison of rationales for sexual abuse in armed conflict in Sierra Leone. The study uses a video clip describing the dangerous consequences and extent of sexual violence in the country. Human rights activists are co-producing the film, "Beautiful Girls' Operation: Rape Used as a War Gun in Sierra" with an international witness for NGOs.[20]The film shows how media production could have a significant pat with reconciliation of conflicts after elections.

In Burundi, the United States-based non-governmental organization Seek Common Land (SFCG) resolved the conflict and hosted Ijambu Studios in the year 1995 at the peak of politics based conflicts in neighboring countries such as Rwanda. The studio was supposed to promote reconciliation and understanding, and to resolve nonviolent conflicts. Since its inception, Igambo Studio has produced conflict resolution by using programs of radio which promote peace, reconciling and cooperation, as well as reliable,

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[18]Priest, D. & Hull, A. "Soldiers Face Neglect, Frustration at Army's Top Medical Facility." *Washington Post*. February18, 2007. P. A01
[19]Bensel, T. Collective Sexual Violence in Bosnia and Sierra Leone: A Comparative Case Study Analysis. *Int J Offender Ther Comp Criminol*, (2017). 61(10):1075-1098.
[20]Gregory, S. "Operation Fine Girl Exposes Sexual Violence Witness in Sierra Leone." In Van Tongeren, Paul, MalinBrenk, MarteHellema and Juliette Verhoeven (eds.) *People Building Peace II:Successful Stories of Civil Society*. Boulder, USA: Lynne Rienner Publishers. (2005).

unbiased programming (including news, feature stories, round tables, telephone calls, music, and popular maritime events).[21]

In North of Uganda, the camp of the Resistance Army has been here for decades, using the media to create common interests that promote peace for the citizens. Lord's Resistance Army, which was led by Joseph Kony, had killed many people in 14 areas between Lake Victoria and the southern border with Sudan, leaving many injured and displacing at least 1.5 million people. Magango conducted a study to determine how radio stations can help build peace in a conflict by taking advantage of the attractiveness and popularity of radio stations.[22] Also, Struges had a study concerning the significance of media in building peace in Uganda. He found that since 2002 Mega FM was promoting peace in the country with large influences. The station encourages L.R.A. supporters to get out of the woods, participate in talks in radio, as well as hold talks with the government and representatives of the civil society to build peace.[23] Also, Struges established that Open Broadcast Network (OBN) in Bosnia is among the biggest ambitious and the initial media that intentionally reduced violence. Up to date, it is the only station which was put up so as to foster peace.

In the country, mass media is playing a significant part in economic, political and educational matters impacting the nation thus contributing to immense development. Following elections from 2007 to 2017, the mass media may have played a positive part

[21]Slachmuijlder, L., &Nkurunziza, N. *Radio Isanganiro and Studio Ijambo inBurundi.* Retrieved from http://www.xs4all.nl/~conflic1/Newsletter/Newsletter_6=1.pdf(1972).

[22]Magango, S. A study on the role of communication in conflictresolutiona case study of mega Fm radio in Gulu District, Northern Uganda. University of Nairobi East Africa Collection. Retrieved from http://erepository.uonbi.ac.ke/bitstream/handle/11295/17523/abstract.pdf?sequence=2(2006).

[23] Struges, D. Third-Party Techniques for Preventing Conflict Escalation andPromoting Peaceful Settlement. *International Organization,* (2007). *No. 4:* 653-681.

in supporting the efforts of the Kenya Election Commission (ECK) to ensure a free and fair election. The mass media molded public understanding, during election campaigns in Kenya through their extensive coverage and broadcasts. [24] The most important role according to Mutua was becoming the voice of the weak in the community. This was achieved by showing injustice during the conflict before the international society to intervene, thereby providing awareness to the public concerning the impending and post-conflict condition. For example, the worldwide mass media largely covered 2007/2008 post-election violence calling on the global society to intervene by pressuring advocates to bring the conflicts to an end.

1.8.2 Media accessibility level and the various types of media coverage used in maintaining peace and security

With the coming of mass and social media, the globe is becoming a new era. Rawachana and Williams defend that the media includes a number of electronic devices both of analog mode and digital like radios, voice recording gadgets, video and the Internet.[25] These technologies offer big potentials to promoting peace and solving urgent issues. The rapid spread of the Internet and social media has helped them promote peace. These are effective platforms that can strengthen awareness, promote and build connections, as well as sustainability among citizens to promote positive change. Online platforms are used to analyze, warn, and prevent reporting of violence.[26]They have also mobilized to build a peaceful society, promoted stories of non-violence, and achieved virtual exchanges

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

[25]Rwashana, A. S., & Williams, D. W. Enhancing Immunization Healthcare Delivery through the Use of Information Communication Technologies. *InternationalJournal of Education and Development Using ICT*, (2008). 4(2), pp. 144-156.

[26]Howard, R. *Media And Peace building: Mapping ThePossibilities*; Hellmich, Phil Bob, (2001). pp. 12-14.

between countries around the world. These media can help develop dialogue among people in conflict and can help promote more positive interactions between conflict-ridden societies.

Millions of citizens go online to promote peace and create a new future for their own and their country. In recent, in some of the most complex and challenging environments, there are many Peacetech programs with millions of active users. These initiatives include crisis mapping, crowd gathering platforms, peace games, blogs, podcasts, WhatsApp groups, online petitions, technology first responders, and GIS-based security applications. This media is changing the relationship between the warring parties, and smart citizens from around the world are at the heart of that change. This is because they are easily accessible at homes, schools and working places by use of mobile phones. [27] However, Access to social media and other media platforms can increase participation and participation in various issues. Not all citizens benefit equally. There is an ongoing digital divide between gender, geography, age and income. About 4.2 billion people still lack the media; Systematic exclusion of poor families.

More positively, citizens are fighting online and counterattacks. They use their networks to treat and publish information to protect themselves. A study was carried out by Cave on the usage of twitter while fighting drugs in Mexico. The war was about the controlling flow of information in the country. So far, drug gangs appear to be controlling the mainstream media platforms by killings and corruption. Currently the country is the most dangerous country in the world for reporters. Studies show that about 1.5% of Mexicans give up the drug war, which accounts for about 5% of the country's population. Citizens

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[27] Galtung, J. *Violence, war and their Impact.* Retrieved from Forum for intercultural philosophy: http://them.polylog.org/5/fgj-en.htm(2004).

are battling criminal groups and using social media to broadcast and organize their opinions and increase their security.[28]

The media has also become a tool to support more effective humanitarian response, improving peacekeeping and an information platform for refugees in crisis. In refugee camps, social media is often the only source of news and information for refugees. Al-Rawi and Fahmy carried out a study on how the community of Syria living in Italy engages with their homeland and receiving country on social media. The work involves the analysis of over 17,000 comments and 894 posts in a specified page in the Facebook. A lot of refugees depended on applications like WhatsApp to filling up the gap in information.[29]

Literacy also limits media accessibility. Fergus, forged as a "genocide call," shows that many Rwandans are unable to read or write, and that broadcasting has become an important medium for governments and insurgents to disseminate information to the population. The most popular media in Kenya is radio, which also proves it. Batteries for radios are also more available in stores and less expensive comparing them to other gadgets and the cost of electricity. According to the findings, broadcasting is the most important source of peace and security information in Kenya.[30]This is because of their power of reaching the farthest corners of the country, free radio and free access comparing them to other platforms thus removal of the barrier of being literate in spreading of propagandas. . Due to the extremely low level of literacy, more so in the

[28] Cave, D. Mexico Turns to Twitter and Facebook for Information and Survival. *The New York Times*(2011).

[29] Al-Rawi, A &Fahmy, S. *Social Media Use in the Diaspora: The Case of Syrians in Italy*. Diaspora and Media in Europe: Migration, Identity, and Integration. (2018). 10.1007/978-3-319-65448-5_4.

[30] Des Forges, A. *Leave None to Tell the Story*. Gilles Press. (1999).

undeveloped area, having been affected by their broadcasts of radio based on ethnicity identity requirements.

1.8.3How media could influence selected human factors towards maintaining peace and security

Access to mass media is highly unequal between young and elderly, between rich and poor and between men and women within countries. Age, gender among other human actors levels affect using media in maintaining peace and security. Many of the mass media citizens are the youth between18-29. Two-thirds of Internet users worldwide are under 35 and half are under 25. Young people worldwide are the largest population group on the Internet. Coretti and Taki conducted a virtual study for ten months during the 2011 uprising of the Arab. They examined how the regime of Bahraini used social media in various ways to reduce online and offline opposition. Methods include online observance, avoidance and intelligent avoidance.[31]The 2011 event did bring the mass media to the front, with a big group admiring Facebook, blogs and Twitter as contributors to the revolution that has happened. It also shows how social media can be a powerful platform and tool to facilitate the proliferation of protest movements, which are often led by a young digital connected youth

Additionally, a study carried out by the Association Mexicana de Internet shows how the people in Mexico who could access media raised from17.2 percent to 34.9 percent. In 2010, an estimate of more than 30 million had access to internet. Partly due to its demography may of the internet users were youths. Most people with internet access

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[31]Coretti, L. &Taki, M. *The role of social media in the Arab uprisings – past and present*. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/316087357_The_role_of_social_media_in_the_Arab_uprisings_-_past_and_present(2013).

(61%) include social media, mainly Facebook (38%), YouTube (28%), and Twitter (20%). Many users did access twitter per day either at their homes or work places.[32]

However, the use of media in maintaining peace and security has been challenged with the gender digital divide issue. Women are socialized towards non-technical careers. Hence, it is wrong to accepting that mass media is working in every place and offers answers to peace and security maintenance by itself. Women are always left behind. Women on average have 30% less access to the media compared to the other gender. In a growly to be a connected community, where understanding of the internet is very important, lacking access of the media by the young people more so the women will affect them significantly on the long term.

Persistent practices as well as discriminatory measures such as education, tradition and economic inequalities[33]are preventing young women from access of key things such as education and freedom of speech making many disadvantaged when in terms of peace and security maintenance in the society. The UNSC resolution outlines that women are important and efficient contributors to the peaceful state of the world. The mass and social media is pushing a strong women movement internationally which is empowering the women and creating a bigger awareness and understanding of the importance of involvement of women in maintaining peace.

It is easy for a sophisticated woman to access the Internet compared to the normal woman in rural accessing a public phone, although they are women who are driven by different historical and social conditions which dictate their existence. According to Gurumurthy,

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[32]Asociación Mexicana de Internet. *RedesSocialesen México y L atinoamérica*. Mexico, D.F., Mexico. (2011).
[33] Ibid

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Men and women with the same social background may not have equal access to the media. Simple technology such as radios, for example, can be associated completely with male. In some cultures men can poses a radio for which mother has no free time to listen, and they are not allowed to sit outside the house like men. Some male parents leave the city to go to work, bring a radio or keep them safe and wait for their final return. "He participated in the guerrilla movement for a long time and waited for the radio to return." It is too late, which shows that radios, televisions and computers are of male origin, while microwave ovens and cooking pans are female. Technology has historically been preserved by men.[34]

Income levels have a significant impact on the use mass media in maintaining peace and security. Even as technology grows to be very affordable, internet access appears to be progressively pervasive between the poor and the rich. Those who are rich are more likely than the rest to have sufficient access to the internet resources.[35]. The divide in digitalization has more so many problems when it comes to keeping peace and security. For the individuals earning low in the society, lack of access to mass media can stop them from involving in initiatives that are geared towards the keeping the society secure and peaceful. The Pew study in 2012 of Differences in Digital indicates that about 62% of the individuals in different homes utilized the mass and social media. Thus, the low-income individuals are significantly disadvantaged in accessing a wide range of opportunities especially with regards to peace and security maintenance.

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[34]Gurumurthy, A. *Gender and ICT: Overview Report for Institute for Development Studies*, September 2004.
[35] Zickuhr, K. & Smith, A. *Digital differences*. Pew Research Center's Internet & American Life Project1615 L St., NW – Suite 700Washington, D.C. 20036.

1.9 Theoretical Framework

The discussion in this section is the theories of reporting of media basing on the theories of social responsibility and Libertarian.

1.9.1 Libertarian Theory

Liberal theory arose in European liberalism in the sixteenth century. Under the system of liberal government, the media plays an important role and plays the duties outlined in the constitutions and laws of these countries. The media is largely non-censored, except for the main responsibilities of information and entertainment, and it also plays a supervisory role in monitoring extremist governments. This means that a media which is both free and it practices its freedom with responsibility could prevent abusing its power by reporting facts, encourage open debate, create controversy, and protect individual rights.[36].

The theory can be applied in this study as it ensures the stated freedom is not abused in the country. The theory supports mass media in being self-governing in observing of tight codes of ethics and competence. Kenya by its courts has its own regulatory body which contains both the media and the government to oversee each other.[37]. Sometimes, the state nominates representatives in the main media platforms to exemplify its welfares. This independence of press as demonstrated by the theory of Libertarian was employed by media to keeping the country secure.

However, the theory is limited to exploitation since people seeking their own interests an use the freedom for raising insecurity lacking the intentions of the media. Given the

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[36]Siebert, F., Peterson, T., & Schramm, W. *Four theories of the press.* Chicago, London: University of Illinois Press Urbana. (1972).

[37]Communication Commission of Kenya. *Media Regulatory Framework in Kenya.* Nairobi: CCK. (2008).

situation experienced in the country after elections in the years 2007, 2012, and 2017, the main mass media platforms that is the royal media, standard media and nation media, and the report analyst, made the impression that the nation was polarized on the basis of races[38]. Social media, colloquial radio and news reports gutter are worse. Here, the impression of the media is that the main foundation of a political party is a particular race. Therefore, the influence and freedom of media reports through liberal theories laid the basis for post-election violence.

Also, the Libertarian theory fosters a freedom of the media by which the government lacks control over it completely. In this theory the government can't affect the editing or direction by which the media will use to report on specific matters to favor it. An instance, the mass media did support the process of starting talks between P.N.U. and O.D.M. though requesting a fast settling and solution of their conflicts in their discussions and various coverages. The mass media gets the freedom to function within that legal outline as well as reporting on its objective henceforth it discourages conflict and promotes living a peaceful state. [39]

1.9.2 Social Responsibility Theory

As of the theory of social responsibility, the media should take moral and legal responsibility for its actions that benefit the entire community.[40]The theory is a platform that makes media reports honest every time. Reliability creates this theory that requires media professionals to be social and protect privacy of all individuals. The media

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[38] GoK. *Report of the Commission of inquiry into post-election violence in Kenya* Nairobi: (2008). Government Printers.

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

[4040]Siebert, F., Peterson, T., & Schramm, W. *Four theories of the press.* Chicago, London: University of Illinois Press Urbana. (1972).

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highlight injustices in society and educate people about their rights and privileges. As a result, people will be more educated and pay more for their rights through the use of any available means, such as violence. Therefore, the theory is far-off from persuading individuals to face and face injustice.

The crisis following the2007, 2012 and 2017 post-election violence in the country forced the worldwide society intervention. Consequently, this resulted to the end of those conflicts. Worldwide personalities such as Kofi Annan, United Nations' Secretary General at the time intervened to create peace in the country. In addition 'Media Council of Kenya' (MCK) advertised telling the citizens to end the conflicts and did call the media integrate ethical standards.

Further, MCK requested peace from the ethnic groups and organized people and organizations to give assistance to those who had being displaced in the different places in the country. These media initiatives helped in maintaining order and peace in the country.

The theory intertwines with corporate social responsibility. Here, Companies have a moral obligation of ensuring social welfare. Major media agencies such as nation media and standard group have mobilized assistance operations in assisting those who were displaced during the post-election violence by partnering with other agencies like Red Cross to provide basic needs to those internally displaced.

1.10 Conceptual Model

The study utilized the theory so that it can develop the conceptual outline. This theory states that a unrestricted and an accountable mass media has the responsibility of

reporting accurately, fostering open debate, representing different opinions, and protecting individual rights. Using the studies of three reports; media reports, media accessibility and the types of media, and selected human factors as independent variable and peace and security maintenance as a dependent variable, the study did develop the concept framework as in the diagram1.1 shown below.
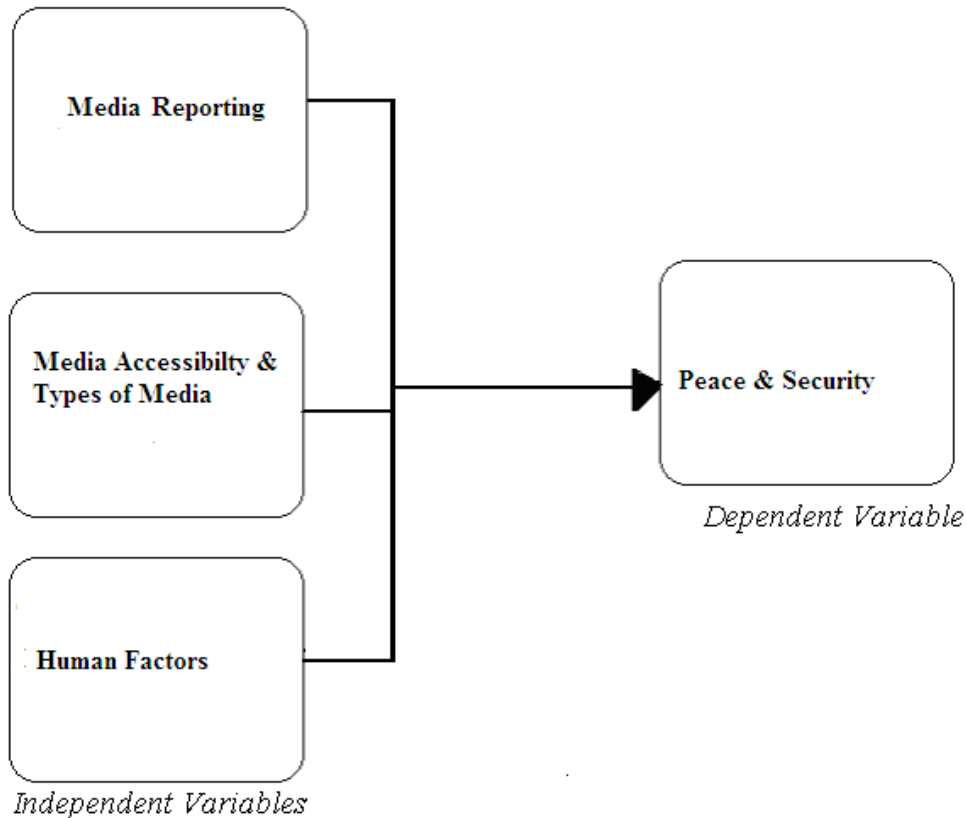
Figure 1.1: Conceptual Framework

Source: Author (2018)

1.11 Summary

Basing on the appraisal of literature, it appears that media does play a significant part in maintaining the country secure. From the appraisal of literature, it appeared that there are several related researches which have being carried on the roles of the media when it comes to maintaining peace and security. In relation to knowledge gap, the research

reviewed was limited. This study however covers all areas related to the roles of mass media in maintaining security.

1.12 Research methodology

This section does present the research design and methodology of this study on the significance of mass media keeping security in Africa: Case Study of Kenya 2007-2017. It has the following sections: research design, description of collection of data instruments, the instrument's reliability and validity used for collecting data, describing and analyzing the data collecting procedures.

1.12.1 Research Design

As of Gall and Borg a study method and design is the process of creation of an empirical method in supporting the claim.[41] The researcher used a secondary research design by which it did involve 'recording, analyzing, and describing the conditions which were there. That design was considered appropriate for the study because helped the researcher to have an in depth review of the role that media plays in keeping the country secure and peaceful. As such, through the reviewed content, the researcher was able to propose future research studies on the same area.

Study Site

The sight of this study was Kenya. The conflict experienced in the country had an effect on many people, towns and businesses and hence it also affected the economy. In the process of recovery, various platforms were utilized such as the media. Hence, the researcher examined the significant of the mass media in maintaining peace and security in the country.

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[41]Borg, W. R., &Gall, M. D. Educational research: An introduction (5th Ed.). New York, NY: Longman. (1989).

Targeted Individual

Targeted people for this research are all Kenyans who were affected by the conflict that erupted as a consequence of post-election violence. It also included reviewing materials which have been presented within the same period that the study focused on which is 2007 to 2018.

1.12.2 Data Collection Methods

This research utilized secondary data as its main source. Secondary data means data which is gathered by other people and it's then passed through process of statistics evaluation. The researcher took a study in the library by use of different books.it did involve analyzing by close reading and coming up with necessary ideas from different written books such as magazines and journals.

Validity and Reliability

For the sources which were employed in this research to be reliable and valid, the researcher ensured that all materials are published and not just articles which are posted by bloggers that have no backings by credited researchers and scholars. As such, various sites and university portals were used in accessing and/or retrieving the materials that were used in analyzing and answering the major research question of this study.

1.12.3 Data Analysis and Presentation Methods

The term data analysis is examination of the contents of documents, like the magazines, books used or any other oral materials used in the study such as recordings, or any other printed source. This research uses data analysis in desk and field research. The library's

research contains an extensive study of the existing literature concerning importance of the media in keeping the continent secure and peaceful. When it comes to field research, the most effective way to determine whether the media plays important part in keeping the country secure and peaceful is to study the effects of media programs. This is what researchers are trying to do by assessing the impact of media programming on listeners.

1.12.4 Ethical Consideration

Being a secondary research study, the key ethical consideration that was placed on this study was to ensure that all the resources which have been utilized in the study are appropriately acknowledged. Moreover, the originality of the document was assured in this research.

1.13   Chapter Summary

This chapter covers introduction and background of the Research, statement to the problem, objective of the study, review of literature, literature gap, study methodology, justification of the research conceptual framework and research methodology.

Chapter Two

Media Reporting, Maintaining Peace and Security in Kenya since 2007-2017

2.1 Introduction

The function of the media involves reporting facts objectively without being partisan. Part of the work of the Press is not only to protect the rights of the society investigating crime in the society but also to propel national agenda and discourse on the development of values concerning democracy. Media is technique propagating unity and stability within society. Citizens consider mass media a primary source of information regarding crime. Journalists are significant actors in the methods of formation of social definitions. They provide truths by ensuring hidden information are visible. They are not biased when giving information, but establish that characters are mentioned based on truth.[42] This situation can be seen during periods of insecurity. However, the media encounters numerous difficulties in accomplishing this role. Multiple trends jeopardize the media's capacity to professionally and ethically account on issues concerning insecurity.

2.2 Misuse of Media

Economically developing nations, in particular Sub-Saharan Africa, the use of mainstream media has been to safeguard the interest of those in power by oppress the citizenry or ensuring total submission to retain political power.[43] In the past, media stations in Africa were primarily state-owned and the news was often favoring current leadership. Nonetheless, that has changed. Government regulated has been infamously known for known for praising incompetent leaders and disregarding any information that

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[42] Otieno, Billy Paul A. "Influence of Poverty on Violent Extremism in Kenya: A Case Study of Mombasa County Between 2007 To 2017." PhD diss., United States International University-Africa, 2019.
[43] Ibid pp. 56-57

would taint their names. Recent developments have seen Africa shift from dictatorial leadership to democracy. This movement has resulted in substantial transition from a media outlet influenced by political motives to a more autonomous type of media.

In Africa, more specifically, Kenya, being reliant on politics of the media, adheres to Castells impression of 'what does not exist in the media does not exist in the public mind'.[44] Mainstream continues to be seen as playing a crucial function in political procedures and propagation of information which previously did not require the local citizens.

The growth of modern media has steered new types of political attendance. The cyber space has been welcomed in Kenya for both communication and involvement in politics hence creating the path to public participation.[45] The use of internet in Kenya has seen exponential growth. The latest tally indicates a total of 17.38 subscribers since the start of 2013. This value is large when compared to the less than 10 million subscribers in 2011 with phones being predominately used to access the internet.[46]

2.3 Media Reporting

Maintaining peace and security through media reporting is occasionally difficult and demanding to the extent of risking journalists' lives. The fascination to achieve "scoop" story reputation, newsroom tensions and efficiency in how the coverage is to be done are

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[44] Castells, Manuel. "Communication, power and counter-power in the network society." *International journal of communication* 1, no. 1 (2007): 29.

[45] Oser, Jennifer, Marc Hooghe, and Sofie Marien. "Is online participation distinct from offline participation? A latent class analysis of participation types and their stratification." *Political research quarterly* 66, no. 1 (2013): 91-101.

[46] Northrup, Hope, Darcy A. Krueger, Steven Roberds, Katie Smith, Julian Sampson, Bruce Korf, David J. Kwiatkowski et al. "Tuberous sclerosis complex diagnostic criteria update: recommendations of the 2012 International Tuberous Sclerosis Complex Consensus Conference." *Pediatric neurology* 49, no. 4 (2013): 243-254.

some of the dymamics and intricacies that journalists confront in their routine coverage of matters security. The importance of Kenyan media in structuring and clarifying public reasoning concerning nationwide unity and security legislations cannot be understated. Therefore, media personnel have to ensure that they conduct their activities in the most appropriate and professional manner, which embraces the set code of regulations within the profession.[47]

State security undertakings are constantly contemplated as sensitive, reactive and in rare cases evasive measures to reduce any kind of insecurity within a country or at the frontiers. In performing its operations, the state's organ of security has been formerly understood to restrain information access or pursue to absorb journalists; the media on the other hand, may compromise internalizing accepted opinions on recognized dangers to the security of a country. The dependence and preference to official statements and insufficient competency on matters security have been attributed to media failure in acting as guardian. [48]

In the case of Kenya, the situation is complex given that the media has repeatedly failed to embark on actual and extensive reporting of security to facilitate peace. Emphasis on extraordinary aspects of security in news reports has made the recipients to criticize journalist on how they execute their job. The regulations stipulating how a journalist should operate are clearly outlined in college trainings, discussions led by Media Councils, and in-house coaching, however, there continues to lie disparities in

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[47] Gichaga, Agather W. "Influence of Slum Settlements on Rape Crimes during And After General Elections In Kenya: A Case Study Of Kaptembwa, Nakuru County between 2007-2017." PhD diss., United States International University-Africa, 2019.
[48] Ibid pp. 78-79

performances. These gaps has raised eyebrows among stakeholders. Media practitioners and security personnel have frequently been at conflict regarding the attitude of reporting delicate security issues.[49]

2.4 Media's role in reporting insecurity

The media poses a great influence in modern society. They print, broadcast and disseminate findings about diverse insecurity cases that are a fascination to the public. [50] The media is praised for its contribution in safeguarding the interest of the community to instigate social transformation. This role presents to them a lot of responsibilities. It is mandated with the task of informing, correcting falsehoods and educating to create appropriate knowledge of a circumstance. Active news gathering requires the media to take charge of information flow by developing their personal news ideas, looking for events to report or giving a definition to the issues for coverage and program setting. Media can also collect information by asking questions to the source and researching reasons, outcomes and bases of frequent occurrences of incidents.

When conveying information about matters of national security, journalists in some instances, meet dilemmas on managing classified information or details that may be vital to victims intending to cause havoc within the country. Occasionally revealing the fatalities and deaths arising from insecurity uncovers a country's ineffectiveness in handling security. Additionally it belittles the strategies used in comparison to the terror groups. The media publications on crime and other hazards to national security are

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[49] Mattingly, Cheryl, and Jason Throop. "The anthropology of ethics and morality." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 47 (2018): 475-492.

[50] Baker, Andy, Carew Boulding, Shawnna Mullenax, Galen Murton, Meagan Todd, Ximena Velasco-Guachalla, and Drew Zackary. "Maintaining civic space in backsliding regimes." *Research and Innovation Grants Working Papers Series* (2017).

sometimes populist and dramatic. Journalists use diverse methods to capture people's attention. Their prejudiced reports about offenses do not recognize the nature and magnitude of the offence as pointed out in official statistics and victimization reviews.[51] The role of the media may be vital in preventing and handling conflicts that cause insecurity or circumstances, planned or unplanned that may tamper with safety If the citizens. Positive attributes in advocating for security and tranquility include: connecting the citizenry to the government; changing beliefs and attitudes; giving timely warnings of important issues or fluctuation; alleviating confrontations through proportional reporting; encouraging reconciliation. According to Jones, part of the anticipated media roles to foster security/peacekeeping include: improving the amount and quality of unrestricted communication because it connects to the attacks, more conspicuously how residents of the affected areas respond and behave to the situation. This turn of events provides early signs of circumstances that might steer conflict. Also, it alerts leaders and informed persons to the need of increasing understanding; motivating the use of strategies such as mediation, arbitration and negotiation for dispute resolution and administration and giving advice that enables these processes; supporting the creative of a climate which solutions will be readily sought and acknowledged; helping to ascertain or rally contacts among those concerns to get at agreeable solutions; and assisting to build understandings. [52]

According to a report titled Enhancing Urban Safety and Security by the United Nations Human Settlement Programme (HABITAT): Global Report on Human Settlement states

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[51] James, Al, Kavita Datta, Jane Pollard, and Quman Akli. "Building Financial Resilience." (2018).
[52] Jones Andrew "The Governance of Transnational Security Threats in Fragile States: The Case of the African Union Mission in Somalia (Amisom) 2007–2017." PhD diss., University of Massachusetts Boston, 2019.

that: "The perception of insecurity depends largely upon flow of information that residents receive many sources." It suggest that the content and method of the media, regardless of the conveyance technique, impact to a large extent public judgment of the situations that people assume are common in their atmosphere. Whether such perceptions are extreme or not, they are reliant on private media sources, the conveyance method of the and how public administrators respond. Moreover, in the age of international communications, to both regional and international community, the media plays a critical role understanding security. It is not right to regard the media as mere conveyors of messages. They are of more importance because they also formulate social truths. By concentrating on specific details, nature of crime and by implementing special reporting styles, the med have an impact on public views and pre-define discussions within the space.[53]

The media take advantage of public understanding of a given feature by over emphasizing on dangerous crimes, exemplifying them as continuous episodes and supporting the notion that crime is orchestrated by individuals and not the society.[54] In some instances the media simplifies insecurity issues. For the media, the primary focus is more on the amazing, strange and dangerous crimes. The demonstration of crime and other matters concerning security in the media is caused by the belief that crime is dangerous; also it mounts pressure on the public to fear it even more. Of the many tasks performed by the media, some of the most important ones include: providing information on crime prevalence, advocating for social responsibility to lessen crime activities,

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[53] Kriel, Robyn. "TV, TWITTER, AND TELEGRAM: AL-SHABAAB'S ATTEMPTS TO INFLUENCE MASS MEDIA." *Defence Strategic Communications* 4, no. 4 (2018): 11-47.
[54] Ibid pp. 45-46

creating an image of crime effects, and awareness creation among the people to avert crime.[55]

2.5 The 2007 Crisis in Kenya and the Constraints of Reporting on Ethnic Violence

Kenyan journalists are well connected to international media trends. Especially when it comes to the more successful newspaper reporters and editors, they are mostly active on online platforms with an array of contacts that traverses the African continent to other parts of the world. A large portion of the journalists had their training overseas. The training ranges from Master programs obtain in the United Kingdom as other courses that take a short time to complete operated by entities such as British Broadcasting Operations. [56]

In essence, the ideal journalist to the eyes of many is objective in the reporting style and unbiased. According to Broddason, it is the "Sacred side" of ethics as required in journalism. "*My role is to give the correct information as much as possible... be moderate, not cause alarm, fear and also not hide the information but package it well... So my role is to release the correct information but also not to cause alarm.*"[57]It is also evident that that majority of journalists in Kenya consider this approach as the standard requirement which is not easy to achieve because of the economic climate, political intimidation to favour the political party in power and social interests by the communities from which the journalists come from, based on their religion and ethnic affiliation, to report them positively.

[55] Karssen, Julian. "Building African Solutions to American Problems US Security Assistance to the African Union Mission in Somalia (2001-2016)." Master's thesis, 2019.
[56] Ibid pp.100-102
[57] WP4 Interview 1, 2009

"*…we don't actually interrogate issues, and I think it's both by omission and commission. Some of the issues are very sensitive such that it's a bit dangerous for the journalists to cover them. They involve very high profile individuals and the ruling class. Going by the environment in Kenya, the media plays safe.*"[58] The effects of these constraints we're evidenced during the "Kenya crisis" in 2007. Five years prior to the occurrence, the country was convincingly attaining democracy. The 2002 elections to many people including the diplomatic community was opined to be peaceful more especially because it facilitated the acquisition of presidency through voting. .

The winning party, National Rainbow Coalition (NaRC), however did not last long. There was a rift between the two individuals who led to its formation. President Mwai Kabaki was not able to commit to the promises to create a Prime Ministerial position as vouched for by Raila Odinga, who was his politically ally and main party in the agreement. Popular problems within the country continued to be addressed, however, ethnic tensions continued to pile up unnoticed. The uncertainties can be attributing to three factors. The first one was a result of NaRC, which changed the political landscape creating an impression that the Kikuyu community under President Mwai Kibaki was the main contestants in the upcoming elections against the other communities who were under the mantle of Raila Odinga. Secondly, the unwillingness of Kibaki to commit to the promises made in the run up to the 2002 elections followed by discriminatory appointments to state positions aggravated historical objections regarding the monopolization of economic opportunities and political favoritism by one community— the Kikuyu. The last one, is the incremental transfer of coercive ability that was widely

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[58] WP4 Interview 4, 2009

criticized from 1980. Opposition against this ability weakened the government's sole ability to legally use force. [59]

Some leaders who assembled ethnic battles against the leadership of the late President Daniel Arap Moi in the 1990's such as William Ruto alongside Raila Odinga were prominent once again in 2007. There command of a large following enabled them to effectively elicit uproar amongst everyone in leadership positions. These factors according to some newscasters instigated the "perfect storm" which brought forth historical injustices and existing frustration in the run up to an election clouded with major divisions. [60]

Moreover, the inability of the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK) to effectively handle the voting process, stirred by indictments of manipulation, firstly by opposition leaders, later on the international community observing the election, was sufficient to provoke episode of conflict. February 2008, saw the conflicts reduced after the death of more than 1000 people and displacements of over 500,000 families. Total halt of the violence led to inquest on whether political media did their part in curbing the conflict or instead propagated the social cleavage's. [61]

It did not take long to establish that portions of the media the media had taken part in in eliciting complicated areas of the election mainly because of the biases and frictions within society-at-large society who looked up to the media to represent their interest. Community radio stations we're seen as the main catalysts. In most cases they were

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[59] Ahlers, Dalien. "Exploring the meaning of community music activities: a collective case study." PhD diss., North-West University (South Africa), Potchefstroom Campus, 2018.
[60] Ibid pp. 167-168
[61] Killander, Magnus, and Michael Gyan Nyarko. "Human rights developments in the African Union (January 2017-September 2018)." *African Human Rights Law Journal* 18, no. 2 (2018): 732-757.

staffed by incompetent journalists with no regulations whatsoever. These media stations largely published stories favoring the candidate they feel is most fit with other reasons being monetary incentives offered by politicians. It can be said that "vernacular radio stations' coverage demonstrated a tendency to grant greater access to the parties and candidates with close links to the tribal and political affiliations of their listeners with few of these stations providing adequate balance in their coverage".[62]

Several vernacular stations, according Strategic Public Relations and Research, followed the journalist code of conduct as mandated by the Media Council of Kenya in just as the campaigns we're beginning to pick up. Nevertheless, everything changed once suspicions of vote theft began. As Caesar Handa puts it, moving forward *'we saw a very clear turn of events, we saw clear positions taken against particular ethnic communities ... and some of these stations clearly presented the position that certain communities were against their communities – and many of these bordered on hate and incitement by the local language stations.'* These allegations according to a report done by Department for International Development from the U.K. determined that interview shows in some of the local radio stations propagated hate speech.[63]

More prominently, the distress was that reporters with minimal training in how to handle disagreements tolerated negative chats from members of public. These chats were aimed at attacking rival ethnic communities. An example of this scenario is when one such reporter decried that: *"The ethnic hate our radio station was propagating about those*

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[62] BBC 2008

[63] Killander, Magnus, and Michael Gyan Nyarko. "Recent developments: human rights developments in the African Union (January 2017-September 2018)." (2018).

from outside the community was unbelievable ... The unfortunate thing is that we let these callers speak bile and laughed about it." [64]

When look at print media, the problem as prominent where standards of professional journalism remained, and internal protocols of practice guided against ethnic utterances that would result in hate [65] However, in these publications the mixture of inefficient institutions, fierce political contests, and the debates of ethnic identities integrated to impair any idea of impartiality. Although European Union observers [66] ultimately concluded that the coverage was "mostly balanced", this finding reflected the fact that the bias of different media sources cancelled itself out, and should not be taken to imply that each media outlet provided impartial coverage.

The way the media managed the presidential election gave rise to the post-election violence. Mainly because the media highly believed that opposing faction was going to energy victorious (sic).[67] Additionally, despite attempts by the mainstream media to take a more consistent role in responding to ethnic confrontations, avoiding blame games, it still was hard to give the approach of reporting the violence. Aware that they could circulate more of conflict, and certain taking internal conflicts into considerations as well, the leading media houses opted not to openly speak of the ethnic backgrounds of persons involved in post-election skirmishes. Even though such a technique had valid reasons, it was troublesome for a number of reasons. One challenge is that it allowed journalists and

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[64] Jaoko, Walter, Frederick N. Nakwagala, Omu Anzala, Gloria Omosa Manyonyi, Josephine Birungi, Annet Nanvubya, Farah Bashir et al. "Safety and immunogenicity of recombinant low-dosage HIV-1 A vaccine candidates vectored by plasmid pTHr DNA or modified vaccinia virus Ankara (MVA) in humans in East Africa." *Vaccine* 26, no. 22 (2008): 2788-2795.

[65] Cheeseman, Nic, Jacinta Maweu, and Seth Ouma. "Peace, But at What Cost? Media Coverage of Elections and Conflict in Kenya." In *Media, Communication and the Struggle for Democratic Change*, pp. 83-105. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2019.

[66] European Union 2013

[67] WP4 Interview 19/20

editors purposefully knowingly hide vital information from readers. To an extent, this strategy confounded efforts in clarifying catalysts to election dispute. The analysis and communication of ending the conflict was made difficult. It was hard to establish the productivity of this technique given that it was clear to anyone with a basic knowledge of the political dispute to distinguish communities being mentioned. International media made it more obvious.[68]

The partisanship approach of many platforms during the campaign, the collusion of community-based radio stations in circulating hate-speech, and the drawbacks that press faced when attempting to document the clashes led to an internal feeling that the media did not do it's had as expected. Reporters spoken to do not reject the notion that the "perfect storm" of a democratic crisis compounded by ethnic conflict had influenced their way of thinking as professionals [69] Media practitioners thought of the issue as going beyond the ethical considerations in their profession, they felt that their vulnerability to political influence propagated the propagated. The response of one practitioner is documented as follows: *'[we] contributed inadvertently to the conflicts probably by poor mediation and how we reported stuff ... that might have ignited the flames'.*[70]

2.6 The Election of 2013 and the Rise of Peaceocracy

Media inability to appropriately cover the elections and the political class in 2007, consequently affected how the press journalist came to comprehend their function and how they covered the subsequent general elections. Self-doubt and the remorseful

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[68] Sharma, Naveen. "Understanding the Meaning of Life in the Life of Madhavi." *International Journal of Indian Psychology, Volume 6, Issue 1,(No. 3)* 6 (2018): 63.
[69] Ibid pp. 17-18
[70] WP4 Interview 1, 2009

feeling of what happened in the past led to reflections as depicted in debates oh how Kenya should learn from the aftermath of the 2007 elections. The coalition government in 2008 was able to handle parliamentary issues and the political atmosphere was calm. Moreover, attitudes of parliamentarians, leaders, media outlets and international allies were molded by memories of what happened in the past and the unknown future, which spelled fear.

To better understand the impact this situation had on operations of the media, a closer look at the way in which the polls were conducted is core. The newly established election body, the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC), and subsequent introduction of political devolution in the 2010 constitution, the run up to the 2013 elections came after numerous investigations concerning post-election unrest in 2007/8 had been conducted[71]

This was extremely critical, because it eventually resulted in six well-known Kenyans facing indictment on crimes against humanity. The International Criminal Court took custody of the matter. The individuals arraigned included a local-based radio host from Kass, Joshua arap Sang. His charges were provoking chaos and hate-speech. William Ruto's charges included organizing riots against supporters of the state the Rift Valley. The other prominent figure was Uhuru Kenyatta who's arraigned on the suspicion of mobilizing crime games against opposition followers. The duration of the proceedings, which experienced periodic waits, implied that they were not going to be completed before elections. The contentious issues at the time within the country were who to hold responsible for the 2007 election skirmishes and what kind of punishment befits them. In

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[71] ibid

an interview, one journalist pointed out that "...the ICC was a major rallying point in 2013 and that affected the kind of campaigns that were being held, the kind of dialogue, and the kind of mobilization and the political divide ..." [72]

Compounded by concerns that the 2013 elections would be another close race and might ignite violence, testimonials provided at the ICC led to continual calls for unity, and combined actions form religious leaders, media houses, civil society, artists and other local organizations to marshal the public for them to grasp a culture of calmness during elections.

Popular politicians, mainly those aspiring to lead the country, were urged to engage in peaceful rallies and exhibit a sense of togetherness in live discussions. Gatherings to pray for the country were prominent. Multinational donors in conjunction with the Kenyan government commenced programmes developed to assist political parties, journalists, and administrators on the best approach they could use adjust their conduct to curtail the chances of violence. These groups were pinpointed of how they involvement in the Waki Report to find out the causes of the post-election violence and the ICC on goings.[73] For instance, the accusations the media in pushing the hate speech agenda and the involvement of Joshua Arap Sang as a suspect in the ICC, led to an understanding that the media requires reforms for them to be more responsible when covering political matter. Most serious problems ensued as a result of community-based radio stations; nevertheless, public objection of the media in general did not take factor in the method of

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[72] WP4 Interview 9

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

transmission. All types of media were blamed. Consequently, media outlets in Kenya began to find out their role in Kenya's politics.

In the 2013 elections, media houses critically examined themselves as everyone was careful with the submissions they make. The Media Council of Kenya took stretched their arm by co-operating with media owners and stakeholders in the sector such as the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission, the Kenya Human Rights Commission, and inter-news to organize training forums where journalists would learn more about on peace and reporting of conflict sensitive matters. Additionally, the just established National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) functioned alongside local administrators, associations and connected institutions to track down hate speech. To make journalists aware of their reports, they should not provoke emotions. They should be careful and avoid alarmist remarks.

However, the relentless reiteration of these statements infused a strong feeling that a journalist in his own initiative would "be the first person to be held responsible for any report published." [74] The journalists played an advanced role in advocating for peace. Senior editors received sophisticated training which looked at the broader picture that was against subversive reporting. Essentially, journalists were oftentimes cautioned about terms such as "us and them", to eliminate inflammatory wordings, and to think beyond commercial justifications. The challenge was that limited time was given for constructive components of peace in journalism. An example of such an element is the desire to give a voice to every party.

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[74] Cheeseman, Nic, Gabrielle Lynch, and Justin Willis. "Democracy and its discontents: understanding Kenya's 2013 elections." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 8, no. 1 (2014): 2-24.

In brief, the Kenyan media was encouraged to be more polite instead of engaging in election and electoral riots ways they deem creative and beneficial. . Accordingly, journalists were required to function as a "peacekeeping force", to fight tensions. Little emphasis was given to the positive approaches a reporter would take to deal with long-term propellants of conflict. These external procedures were proportionally strengthened by systemic processes, with varying levels of formality and influence within the main media houses. [75] Recently, the Nation Media Group undertook an internal scrutiny of its election coverage particularly concentrating on the election outcomes it printed during the tallying process. These types of internal examinations will enable senior editors and reporters to discuss media purpose and find out of their method of covering the poles was acceptable. [76]

Shame concerning past errors motivated journalists to approve the "peace" role as a logical option to a "professional" direction under specific circumstances, and those worrying aspects that different people thought would happen in 2013. The feeling was that stability and peace was more significant than upholding the characteristic of democracy by seizing political leaders and questioning them of their ills. Indeed, polls administered at the time established that for many people the words peace and democracy implied the same thing

Previous elections that led to violence taught many people lessons with the journalist not being an exception.[77] The readiness of reporters to lead peace initiatives formed the

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[75] Cheeseman, Nic, Jacinta Maweu, and Seth Ouma. "Peace, But at What Cost? Media Coverage of Elections and Conflict in Kenya." In *Media, Communication and the Struggle for Democratic Change*, pp. 83-105. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2019.

[76] Ibid p. 50

[77] Ibid p. 76

actions of media houses in significant ways. Sessions of "peace training" prompted journalist to appraise stories not only in terms of accuracy or nationwide interest, but also the way they would contribute to political uproar. The obvious indication was that radio talks, newspaper articles and TV reports promoted anger among the public thus contributing to instability. The preference towards less questionable stories introduced by this provision was stirred by journalist desire to resist state criticism and internal ethnic distress faced by media houses between 2007 and 2008. [78]

Consequently, many newspapers avoided asking important questions about the quality of the elections and the qualities of the main parties and candidates. Provisions of peace were blended by two components concerning journalist and stringers situated outside the capital city. Also, the huge financial insecurity of stringers, whose payment was computed depending stories published became more responsive on national matters. The fear that editors would reject their articles if they did not abide to the new procedures made them to scrutinize their pieces, and in many cases simply did not write up their notes on local allegations of electoral manipulation.

Additionally, journalists in the countryside generally felt secluded and susceptible to pressure by local political leader's security personnel. In areas where the country was badly hit in the 2007 elections, the ICC trials induced tension. In some instances affected communities believed certain individuals assisted to provide evidence.

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[78] Tsarwe, Stanley, and Admire Mare. "Journalistic framing of electoral conflict in a politically fragile society: a comparative study of the Zimbabwean weekly press." *African Journalism Studies* 40, no. 1 (2019): 18-35.

Because correspondents had the chance to always access the sort of information sought by the prosecution, they were the number one suspects, and in many scenarios, suspected journalists we're issued with death threats, in an effort to sabotage the ICC cases. Conclusively, these tendencies considerably made Kenyan journalists to lose interest in composing delicate stories that draw public attention.

2.7 Towards the 2017 elections

The nominations of 2017 we're marred with fears of bribery and irregularities. Violence, harassment, poor coordination, vandalism of voting items and planned raids against the minority and marginalized community muddied the entire process.[79] A report done by the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR) determined the areas where violence occurred in all 33 counties overseen. The forms of violence included attack on candidates and their followers, exchange of words during rallies, arm-twisting, attempted rape, suspected kidnappings, and intimidating the candidates using guns. The mayhem can possibly be associated to the intensified pursuit of elective positions in 2017 due to devolution.

The 2017 elections has seen an increased number of candidature. A total of 15,082 candidates were allowed to compete, of those, 3,752 went to the ballot as independent candidates.[80] The allocation of resources to the wards and counties has resulted in neck throat competition for the respective positions (South and CHRIPS 2017). In some cases this contestation has led to violence as witnessed in Kisumu, Migori, Nairobi, and Meru.

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[79] KNCHR 2017

[80] Mutahi, Patrick, and Brian Kimari. *The impact of social media and digital technology on electoral violence in Kenya*. IDS, 2017.

County level politics have been smeared with ethnic rivalry and may flare up if left unresolved.[81]

2.8 The growing impact of media on the political and electoral landscape

Through the Media, the government and non-government institutions have benefited with similar air time to track down and eliminate violence in areas where it is prevalent to necessitate quick response. This strategy enables policy makers to utilize the media not only as a channel for advertising but also a means of preventing crime before it happens.

2.8.1 Mobiliser against electoral violence and hate speech

Since the 2007/08 election violence, the role of the media in the subsequent elections has been to advocate for peace and provide protection against speculations of hate-speech. An example of media influence was the use of re-tweets to allow users to comment on the significance they affixed to a piece of information.

Tweets from well known brands circulate quickly and those promote peace [82] The elements of social media hashtags played an important part in online discussion. Traditional media was earned a reputation due to this influence. C Counter speech response from social media users discredited extremist remark as witnessed in 2013 largely by corporates and media personalities. There was rampant use of online platforms such as Facebook to convey messages of hope and for the citizenry to maintain patience and defined. [83]

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[81] Ibid pp. 105-109
[82] Odinga, Petty Christa Awuor. "Use of new media during the Kenya elections." (2013).
[83] Ibid p.71

Short messages were also used to preach peace. A number of companies used online pavilions to disseminate peaceful messages. The drive by Crown Paint saw participants awarded peaceful information in form of messages, pictures or videos that was shared online. The drive was initiated in Kibera, which was diversely affected during the 2007/08 election violence. A partnership between Safaricom and a local NGO known as Sisi Ni Amani was arranged to convey peace messages using SMS. The drive was aimed at curbing derogatory remarks that could heighten prospects of violence.[84]

The build-up to the elections of 2013 witnessed Safaricom tissue instructions for Political Mobile Advertising on their platform. These guidelines required submission of a written request by political players to Safaricom to allow them send of bulk messages. The telecommunication company would assess the content to ensure it had no provocative language that would promote hate.[85] Additionally, Communications Authority of Kenya issued provisions for sending bulk SMS through any platform within Kenya. Each network provider was to screen political content before consumption to the public for the Prevention of Transmission of Undesirable Bulk Content/Messages via Electronic Communications Networks which were to be applied by all mobile network operators in the country. In reaction, the networks installed software that would detect inappropriate wordings and flag them off for further examination.[86]

Evidently, network providers were shutting off thousands of text messages daily, which were presumed to include inflammatory remarks. However, the procedure of halting or

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[84] Kamau, Samuel C. "Democratic engagement in the digital age: youth, social media and participatory politics in Kenya." *Communicatio* 43, no. 2 (2017): 128-146.
[85] Kithome, Obadiah Mutinda. "Factors influencing sustainability of county funded projects in Mbooni sub county, Makueni county-Kenya." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2015.
[86] Ibid p 17

eliminating content was not clear and convenient for public inquiry. The findings of these service providers were not accountable to evaluation by civil bodies to facilitate democratic review and to guarantee that rights of citizens were not infringed upon.

Manipulation of technology to stimulate peace had some challenges. Cost of the devices alongside the irregular distribution of technological infrastructure in the country suggests that a proportion of the population cannot access the internet. Undoubtedly, the different income levels have contributed to how social media is use.[87]

Arguments presented by some people suggest that multiple online and short messages used to drive messages of peace in 2013 accepted the idea that citizens had no valid justifications to be part of violence. The complaint of programs such as PEACETXT was that the message could agitate violence[88] by not giving lasting solutions to the complaints deemed to be triggers of conflict.[89] Pundit's comments on actions taken by media in 2013 were far-reaching to the extent of censoring valid statements because it could ignite conflict.

During the election period in 2013 and 2017, self-censorship was the norm for Kenyan media while also avoiding sentimental issues such as vote count. The media lauded efforts by IEBC to administer credible elections. Reports suggest that the media formulated techniques of circumventing divisive language used by politicians. They achieved this feat by editing recorded speech before airing.   Additionally, media house opted to name individuals in instances where they were thought to have used inciting

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[87] Mayaka, Melphon Angwenyi, and Haushila Prasad. "Tourism in Kenya: An analysis of strategic issues and challenges." *Tourism Management Perspectives* 1 (2012): 48-56.
[88] Ibid p. 45
[89] CIPEV 2008

language. The strategies were developed as a result of the remarks made against the media in 2007, which portrayed them as insensitive and directed towards aggregation tension and anger.[90]

This complaint was intended for minor media organizations that were not appropriately regulated, such as the community-based radio stations, more especially those that with talk shows. Such shows allow people to make provocative remarks. Nevertheless, media in general took the initiative to streamline their method of reporting in the 2013 elections. Self-censorship adequately responded to in the run-up to those elections when the Inspector General of the police, at the time, denounced coverage of cconvention content that would arouse violence. [91]

Self-censorship in itself revealed country's own fear to engage in violence. The 2013 general elections demonstrated a battle between the obligation of the houses to hold aspirants responsible and their duty to foster unity. Consequently, the media gave little leeway for the populace to express any displeasure. This restricted their capacity to question their leaders. Nevertheless, social platforms provided the path for the public to willingly engage in discussions pertaining election concerns, a conversation, which appeared to be lacking in mainstream media.

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[90] Mayaka, Melphon Angwenyi, and Haushila Prasad. "Tourism in Kenya: An analysis of strategic issues and challenges." *Tourism Management Perspectives* 1 (2012): 48-56.
[91] Allcott, Hunt, and Matthew Gentzkow. "Social media and fake news in the 2016 election." *Journal of economic perspectives* 31, no. 2 (2017): 211-36.

The mood was afferent and taken a major shift in its demands. Social Media did not only peaceful elections but also campaigned credible elections. This situation was evidenced in Twitter where online user's peaceful elections were connected to its credibility. [92]

2.8.2 Media as a Documenter and forecaster of electoral violence

Media reporting has been used to facilitate the progress in timely warning strategies that aim to prevent unprecedented disruptions. Media allows for response at lowest level to curb conflict. This reaction in turn allows stakeholders at those levels to intervene before it escalates. The bottom-up technique appears to be extra effective than top-down or government centered approaches, which require concerted efforts. Digital technology enables efficient response to facilitate a people-oriented warning strategy. Consequently individuals will feel empowered to deal with threats. [93]

Through crowdsourcing citizens were motivated to report violent events happening after the elections through social media. Videos, shared messages and photos were used to track and examine structural pressures, flash points, and, social ridges. Furthermore, it yielded ways for 'digital humanitarians' to assist. The Ushahidi platform, initiated in 2008, was purposefully designed to file reports pertaining to violence after elections. In 2013, the entity was enhanced to collect data in large quantities. Such data could be vital in preventing violence. Social media platforms like WhatsApp, Facebook, and Twitter provided an avenue of collecting real-time data concerning happenings at the polling stations and country in general. Reports comprised personal ordeals such as bribery, vote buying and violence. Ushahidi was able to encompass regions that reporters could not

[92] Kamau, Samuel C. "Democratic engagement in the digital age: youth, social media and participatory politics in Kenya." *Communicatio* 43, no. 2 (2017): 128-146.
[93] Ibid p. 111

approach.[94] In 2017, Ushahidi formed alliances with civil societies and youth networks advocating for peace. Majority of players in the civil society were engaged in advocacy initiatives incorporating messaging techniques to spread statements of peace [95]

Ushahidi developed a tool called Uchaguzi to monitor elections. The device achieved this by sourcing information from the locals about the electoral process .It has allowed other networks with the same interest to converge and report incidents of violence and incitement. Users connect to the Uchaguzi platform by sending it an SMS, an analysis is then done to provide quick response in preventing early signs of conflict. In the next stage, verification is done and information relayed to concerned authorities for action. Areas with insufficient internet access present a challenge, however, Uchaguzi foresaw the situation and issued a toll-free number for registering cases. This platform functions as required. Therefore, the effectiveness of social media cannot be underestimated in tracking down perpetrators of violence when used by the right people through defined structures.

Another platform advocating for peace is Uwiano. The program strives to document any form   electoral violence and has been in operation since 2010. Peace Net Kenya on the other hand uses the online platform for reporting, tracking, and obtaining evidence from utterances conceived to be alarmist and can cause provocation. It evaluates other traits of violence in pictures, texts, videos and voice recordings.[96] Using the program, citizens could were transmit messages of possible riots or violence-related circumstances using

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[94] Cheeseman, Nic, Karuti Kanyinga, Gabrielle Lynch, Mutuma Ruteere, and Justin Willis. "Kenya's 2017 elections: winner-takes-all politics as usual?." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 13, no. 2 (2019): 215-234.
[95] Ibid pp. 404
[96] Communication Initiative Network 2010

the toll-free SMS code 6397.[97] The National Steering Committee (NSC) and PeaceNet received these alerts. Moreover, these messages received were categorized into many levels scilicet threat, hate speech, informative, positive, provocation to violence or encrypted message. For reasons of validation, the team operating the program would phone senders of the messages. Additionally, concerned authorities would be contacted in case action needs to be taken.[98] The program functioned in liaison with a team of monitors located all over the country; The main priority being regions prone to chaos. To effectively attain its planned goals, a media movement was employed to educate Kenyans on the means of reporting violent incidents.

Executing partners would assemble each week and briefly converse with the media on developing trends from data obtained and synthesized. Moreover, the conventional meetings were geared toward strengthening reports and assessing headways made by the program whilst underscoring acceptable practices.[99] The punitive criteria involved the summoning of offenders. This process was done openly to act as a lesson to those accused in propagating vicious political remarks. The use of Facebook was prominent as pages to assess user experience during the elections such as 'Kenya Elections 2013' were created. These pages also helped create a witness account of what is transpiring on the ground. [100]

Several online sites also authorized sharing of images and videos illustrating violence. This approach allowed for easy location of the affected area and captured the attention of

[97] Communication Initiative Network 2010
[98] Communication Initiative Network 2010
[99] Communication Initiative Network 2010
[100] Cheeseman, Nic, Karuti Kanyinga, Gabrielle Lynch, Mutuma Ruteere, and Justin Willis. "Kenya's 2017 elections: winner-takes-all politics as usual?." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 13, no. 2 (2019): 215-234.

the public for quick action to be taken. WhatsApp facilitated video sharing during a crisis in different parts of the nation. Umati, which is another program initiated in 2013, was tasked with digging through the internet to find any statement that is provocative. The project combined efforts and scrutinized comments, tweet, blogs, newspaper articles, among others to find speech that could trigger violence in the country.

Findings from monitoring administered in 2012 indicate that more than 25% of the 792 samples collected from different online platforms contain 'dangerous speech'.[101] Umati recorded a surge in the cases of 'dangerous speech' as the election period neared. The aftermath of elections was depicted as eventful yet polarized considering the fact that a majority of Kenyans were waiting for an electron ruling. Umati applied different tactics to monitor violence. This action gave them the capability to be more expansive. The program effectively utilized Trends map, a tool to understand current twitter trends, to identify the exact location of each tweet made. In addition, Umati, through the use of different applications and search engines, was able to track live incidences of violence. [102]

In 2008, Popular Community Forum founder, Mashada developed a website known as '*I have no tribe*' . This platform conveyed peaceful messages and motivated Kenyans to unite against any form of protection. The website 'was a tryout to propagate speech aimed at to curtailing hatred and commotion'. Similarly, Umati members alongside other

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[101] Gathege, Duncan, and Hilda Moraa. "ICT Hubs model: Understanding the key factors of the iHub model, Nairobi Kenya." *Source: www. research. ihub. co. ke/uploads/2013/may/1367834943__374. pdf (23.02. 2017)* (2013).
[102] iHub 2013: 7

professionals launched an initiative dubbed '*Nipe Ukweli*', which was geared toward disputing false hearsays and appealed to Kenyans to decrease dangerous speech.[103]

The experiences of 2007 to 2013 has brought forth the realization that players in government and non-state have built connections to monitor elections and curb any form of violence. In the 2017 elections, the iHub Research and Sentinel Project created "*Una Hakika*", phone-based approach that was meant to track down gossips and other acts that could instigate violence, and find a means of containing them. Subscribers to the initiative can report gossips by means of texting or phoning their able agents to have a one on one discussion. Preference is given to gossips that are concerning real events of violence or chaos and are immediately reported to regional authorities.[104]

Additionally, to access information from users and community representatives, the, platform team has also developed connections with leaders within the community, local authorities, clerical leaders, and local NGOs in the area. These connections provide fundamental evidence to ascertain if the rumors are true for instant, pertaining to unintended disasters; the Red Cross would be consulted.[105] To guarantee investigation and action against suspects of inflammatory language, the ODPP established a structure for inter-agency alliance that comprised of its office,, the IEBC, the NCIC, and the Directorate of Criminal Investigations (DCI), for productive detection, inquiry and rapid prosecution of offences concerning elections. The team included a group of secretariats

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[103] Benesch, Christine, Simon Loretz, David Stadelmann, and Tobias Thomas. "Media coverage and immigration worries: Econometric evidence." *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization* 160 (2019): 52-67.
[104] Alliance for Building Peace 2017
[105] Alliance for Building Peace 2017

who were tasked with coordinating and informing the prosecution team round the clock.[106]

Such actions epitomized the realization by the government and other actors that online platforms play a crucial role in timely warning and reactions. However, the primary challenge in using online platforms to predict violence is confirming the authenticity of the evidence collected before it escalates to violence. An informer specializing on monitoring of elections through the internet clarified, that the only aspect to combat is fictitious results, as it causes emotions to flare. Discussions on results ought to be handled with utmost care. Documentation of results requires complete verification. Monitors at every polling station are significant in ensuring that information is verified to counter results that are not genuine and ought to be removed.[107]

Another course for worry is the power of police and investigative departments to give attention to the cases concerning incitement and issues raised from online just before elections. The use of force may make hard to approach the situations systematically. Research has found out that technology has the capability of notifying on conflict and best ways to mitigate it's affects. However, its success depends on the method of employment, whether it is appropriate and directed towards concerned authorities. Using the wrong type of technology would result to distinct data hence comprising the results. Actors involved in prevention of disputes should take into consideration the type of technology being used and how it will fit the intended purpose.

[106] Standard 2017

[107] Aviv, Richard I., Adam G. Kelly, Babak S. Jahromi, Curtis G. Benesch, and Kate C. Young. "The cost-utility of CT angiography and conventional angiography for people presenting with intracerebral hemorrhage." *PloS one* 9, no. 5 (2014): e96496.

Chapter Three

Accessibility Levels of the Media and the Several Forms of the Media Coverage

Used In Maintaining Peace and Security in Kenya since 2007-2017

3.1 Introduction

Media may have accepted an unfavorable role in flattening the cruelty witnessed after the elections. However it likewise assumed the positive part in lecturing peace after the brutality broke especially in 2007/2008 violence.[108] Media failed to totally appreciate the extent of the uproar. It lagged behind in exploring the primary cause of the presidential election disagreements. The media reduced the violence to a two-man politics. When violence broke, international media was reporting this made the world to watch what was unfolding in the country. With this Kenyans in diaspora and even ambassadors urged the public through the internet to maintain peace. This also invited heads of foreign bodies to visit the country and mediate between the Kibaki and Raila. The media took their time to broadcast the mediating process chaired by Kofi Anan.[109]

Media assisted a lot in playing conciliation though from varied motives. Media Owners Association (MOA) joined forces to backing peace-building initiative. Media houses committed airplay and space to convey messages of peace and peacebuilding discussion asking the two foremost leaders to beseech their followers to avoid the bloodshed and called them to arrange a settlement. Be that as it may, the emergence of violence, the vernacular radio stations additionally assumed vital parts in advancing peaceful co-

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[108] Anyende, Diana Akinyi. "Print Media Coverage Of The Land Reform Agenda During Elections In Kenya: A Comparative Content Analysis Of The Standard And Nation Newspapers." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2019.
[109] Ibid p 105

existence.[110] An activity of Pamoja FM is a conspicuous case of media impact in toning down the violence. Media Council of Kenya (MCK) asked columnists to cling to moral principles and a few media faculty were offered honours to respect their tranquillity activities amid the violence time frame.

Aside from covering elections the media also took part in sensitizing the public, covering the election campaigns and carrying out voter education and advertisements: certain gatherings or articles plainly brought sides with aspirants in the race; some media house were particularly established by parties they endorsed; journalists even challenged for positions in the elections. This made the 24 media turn into a political actor in every way possible.

When it came to election coverage the radio, television and print media al played a significant role. The vernacular radio stations conceded more prominent admission to the political parties and aspirants with close relations to the ethnic and political alliances of their audience members. The print media utilized amid the race time frame was daily papers. Daily paper scope exhibited a somewhat consistent pattern over every one of the titles checked.

3.2 Media accessibility and Maintaining Peace

Multi-party politics that began 1990s channeled the road to remarkable progress in Kenya's democratic space. After thirty years of single-party rule, the political space is more competitive, characterized by closely fought elections and winner-takes-all politics. Though the opposition divide have demonstrated they can consistently garner 35% of the

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[110] Daxecker, Ursula. "2. Disaggregating Measures of Political (In) stability: Lessons from Electoral Violence." *Approaches to Regional Stability and the Outlook for NATO* (2019): 28.

total votes; an incident that is not common even in the neighboring countries, the privileges enjoyed by the incumbent regime coupled with a weak institutions that oversee elections implies that competition for political seats is not always fair. Consequently, Kenya has only once experienced successful handing over of the presidency by way of voting. Elections in the country are frequented by bouts of chaos and allegations of rigging. Therefore, Kenya according to democratic ratings is classified as being "partly free." These institutions view Kenya as a rather "competitive authoritarian", where ancient authoritarian systems have been broken down without modern democratic replacements. [111]

Regardless of the challenges, the perception of Kenyan media by plaudits is that it is energetic and dynamic. A significant number of highly rated media outlets provide coverage of Kenyan politics such as, Royal Media Services, Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC), Mediamax Networks Limited, Nation Media Group, Ebru Africa, Radio Africa Group, and Standard Group Ltd. Moreover, many citizens read the dailies and other magazines. An understanding of the news is brought forth through radio stations and TV broadcasts. Social media is also taking centre stage in effective delivery of information in urban settings. Many Kenyans, just like the rest of Africa, receive news from radio stations (47%), want estimate that is doubles that of television. Extensively, 10% use social media and 5% regularly read the dailies. However, these numbers require the right interpretation. Mainly because publications are frequently reviewed in TV stations and radio. Articles in newspaper are shared in the internet. The dailies are vital in

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[111] Gichaga, Agather W. "Influence of Slum Settlements on Rape Crimes during And After General Elections In Kenya: A Case Study Of Kaptembwa, Nakuru County between 2007-2017." PhD diss., United States International University-Africa, 2019.

constructing the media terrain. However, despite its dynamism and growth, the media has encountered myriad of challenges when proving information concerning disputes in the democratic journey. [112]

In 2007/2008, when the country endured rampant ethnic rivalries ensuing a contentious election, it came to the realization of the media that prevailing systems were incapable of handling their riposte to the political situation. Moreover, quite a number of newsrooms were divided based on their ethnic inclination. The attempt of dissuading the citizens to believe that they were rationale by not mentioning tribal affiliations encountered accusations that the presentations was a fabricated version of the actual reality. To make it worse, community-based radio stations were against the move by mainstream media. Accordingly, the 2007/13 elections illustrate the challenges that led to politicization of ethnic communities that are core to media progress. By 2013, the complicated role played by the media the 2008 conflicts was well understood. This public scrutiny also took into account the trial of radio presenter, Joshua Sang at The Hague concerning crimes against humanity.[113]

Partially as a consequence, three interrelated processes occurred that re-shaped the political and media landscape including internal media investigations, a tide of "peace" initiatives formulated to reeducate the media practitioners in Kenya, and a campaign by Kenyan civil society groups aided by political leaders with their own agendas that

[112] Williams, Paul D. *Fighting for Peace in Somalia: A History and Analysis of the African Union Mission (AMISOM), 2007-2017*. Oxford University Press, 2018.
[113] Dwyer, Maggie, and Doctor Thomas Molony, eds. *Social media and politics in Africa: democracy, censorship and security*. Zed Books Ltd., 2019.

implied that political conflicts should be dismissed to attain ethnic unity.[114] The collective impact of these trends was to progress the impression that unity comes first and must be encouraged. The advancement of this "peaceocracy" is meaningful for discussions pertaining to media influenced by politics and connections between conflict and media. Firstly because it constructed the type of responses politicians, reporters, and civil activists would give concerning elections.[115] This description illustrates the incredible influence that discussions on peace have reporters, editors, and other media professionals. Another reason is that it promoted conversations about Kenyan journalists, in determining if their reporting of the 2013 general election was guided by experiences of 2007 and whether it was right.[116]

3.3 Mainstream Media and Peace Campaigns in Kenya

Television stations, local and international newspapers, and autonomous radio stations form part of main stream media. Before the 1900's, the government took charge of Kenyan media. That late 20th century saw Kenyan media oppressed through torments and unexplained arrest on journalists doing their work. Kenya has more than 6 daily newspapers weekly editions. The common ones include Daily Nation and Taifa Leo, which are affiliate to the Nation Media Group, People Daily, the standard, which is affiliated to Standard Group, among others.

Royal Media Services is establishing itself in the world of Media. It boasts of much radio and a television stations. Most media outlets use English and Swahili in its broadcasts.

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[114] Dwyer, Maggie, and Doctor Thomas Molony, eds. *Social media and politics in Africa: democracy, censorship and security*. Zed Books Ltd., 2019.
[115] Gichaga, Agather W. "Influence of Slum Settlements on Rape Crimes during And After General Elections In Kenya: A Case Study Of Kaptembwa, Nakuru County between 2007-2017." PhD diss., United States International University-Africa, 2019.
[116] Ibid p. 199

The television aspect covers 40% of the public while newspaper estimations are at 30%. During conflict, mainstream media turns to self-monitoring to avoid government reprisals. The challenges, however, do not limit mainstream in shaping the democracy of Kenya and acting as a caretaker of society. Mainstream media in the country has earned special recognition for uncovering graft cases, facilitating public opinion, and engaging in human rrights advocacy. Mainstream media safeguards interests of the citizens from state power.[117]

Availability of information can enormously affect community interactions. It constructs reasoning and subsequent access to information can change an environment that was once fogged with insecurity. At the time post election violence was taking its toll on Kenyans, a large portion of the blame was meted on radio stations for invoking ethnic tensions. A decade after the massacre, radio stations are used to preach peace. According to Stellah a media profession with local radio station Mugambo, "We have to keep speaking truth to the people." "Politicians will say whatever they want to say and disappear behind their gated communities leaving us going at each other's neck," she concludes. Mugambo is stationed at Meru County and uses the Meru language to convey information. It's coverages extends to the Northern boundaries.[118] Weeks before the elections in 2017, Stellah host to a morning show talking about current affairs. "My guest and I talk about politics, health and peace," she continued "our aim was to make peace part of the political conversation."

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[117] Williams, Paul D. *Fighting for Peace in Somalia: A History and Analysis of the African Union Mission (AMISOM), 2007-2017*. Oxford University Press, 2018.
[118] Ibid p 67

A research done by Kenya Audience Research Foundation concluded that radio are integral in relaying information. Still, they remain the best choice of obtaining news for many Kenyans in afferent town set-ups. Nearly 52% Kenyans consider radio the regular source of receiving, the report suggests. One fundamental factor that Stellah and her colleagues aim to achieve is to prove to the contrary particular misconceptions witnessed during the campaign trail.[119]

Assistant County Commissioner for Imenti North, Mr. Gabriel believes that broadcasts play a vital role in taming violence related to politics and elections "For the first time we saw restraint and responsible reporting from radio stations in the region. They focused on issues and debunked rumors. This helped us very much," Gabriel says. A discussion concerning an election period that is calm was not foreign in Meru. For Mombasa Country, radio stations such as Rahma were key to ensuring that the public got information on promises made by their leaders. Rahma is host to live debates with politicians pursuing political positions.[120]

According to the executive director of Human Rights Agenda, an NGO working on human rights administration within Mombasa, the intention aims at shifting the perspective of people to be more development oriented through the election process and maintain peace and unity. Moreover, politician after a very long time got to explain matters pertaining their connection with violence, and how they intend to achieve their promises.[121]

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[119] Daxecker, Ursula. "2. Disaggregating Measures of Political (In) stability: Lessons from Electoral Violence." *Approaches to Regional Stability and the Outlook for NATO* (2019): 28.
[120] Ibid p. 40
[121] Zanoni, Kathleen Louise. "Peace Education in Kenya: Tracing Discourse and Action from the National to the Local Levels." PhD diss., University of San Francisco, 2018.

3.4 Ethnic Radio and Peace Campaigns in Kenya

Due to its combination of affordability and accessibility, radio continues to be the most popular and widespread form of information transmission in Kenya most Counties despite a growing youth population that embraces the online world. Community-based radio stations those which broadcast content in local languages, apart from Swahili and English. Radios stations that so not fall under this category are national. Vernacular radio stations operate in more than 20 ethnic languages. In general, the extent of radio coverage of the population is estimated 90%[122] The state-owned media outlet, Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) has more than 19 sister stations. Seventeen of these stations do their presentation according to tribal affiliation. National stations are more than 10 in the country. Radio sets are estimated at 7.5 million with active listeners totaling to an estimate 16.7 million.[123]

Kenya's radio sect radio sector largely comprised of international broadcasters, community-oriented, public, religious, private, and pan-regional radio outlets. The population of Kenya favors active radio listening in both the cities and countryside. More than 40% of Kenyans receive news through radio, particularly in rural settings. A proportion of community and religious radio stations utilized their fora to ease pressures and advocate for in the aftermath of 2007 elections, during 2013 and 2017 election

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[122] Cheeseman, Nic, Gabrielle Lynch, and Justin Willis. "Democracy and its discontents: understanding Kenya's 2013 elections." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 8, no. 1 (2014): 2-24.
[123] Ibid pp. 56-60

period. Notable examples comprised of Waumini Radio, Milele FM, Pamoja FM, and Koch FM, [124]

In Kenya, the outcome of the 2007/2008 post-election violence were devastating with many internally displaced families remaining in IDP camps for fear of returning to their farms to encounter hostile neighbors. Although the violence was resolved through mediation and a coalition government formed, the situation remained unpredictable particularly in areas referred to as conflict-prone as signs of recurrence of conflict of such magnitude remained real. This is because the underlying problems which were said to be the main cause of the dispute such as uneven distribution of resources, negative ethnicity and corruption remained unaddressed. As such tensions, mistrusts and fears among societies residing in the conflict-prone regions persisted. However many organizations, institutions and government agencies rose to the occasion to contribute towards restoring the country through peace-building and reconciliation. [125]

The organizations which included the media came up with strategies that encouraged the affected communities to dialogue as a way of bringing about healing, reconciliation and peaceful co-existence. The media particularly radio stations played major roles in peace-building after the violence through enlisting civil society interactions and dialogue. The interactions offered the communities avenues where they could voice and express their concerns where information was disseminated and shared to generate solutions to the issues that had the potential to trigger the conflict again. The media used peace-building approaches to demonstrate that despite having the ability to spur ethnic hatred and

[124] Lynch, Gabrielle. "The fruits of perception:'ethnic politics' and the case of Kenya's constitutional referendum." *African Studies* 65, no. 2 (2006): 233-270.
[125] Ibid p. 103

political conflicts, the same media has the ability to restore peace and reconcile communities in what Gilboa, described as 'double edged sword' role of the media. This means that media provided a platform where conflicts emanating from differences in goals and aspirations among communities could be openly articulated and solutions generated through media programs. By so doing, stalemates were broken and dialogue and negotiations initiated in search of a common ground in the conflict. The media as a platform of information sharing and interactions has therefore a critical role to play to facilitate the establishment of lasting harmony and peace and prevent recurrence of violence among communities.[126]

Radio plays a big role in conflict resolution and peace-building in conflict-prone areas and help to reverse the damage done by conflicts. Several radio stations especially National radio organized phoning programs which incorporated daily participation of the listeners.[127] A good example of such radio programs was done by the Sauti ya Rehema (SAYARE) which run a variety of call-in peace programs Use of direct telephone call-ins and SMS text were used in response to 18 the theme under discussion. The informative programs saw important personalities brought on board and listeners given the chance to make phone calls and contribute towards the topic of discussion. The audience is also allowed to ask related questions. The discussion topics topical were also enabled text messaging. Music relevant to the theme of being discussed, rich with peace messages, unity and reconciliation was played between sessions of the dialogue. These shows were

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[126]Gilboa, E. *Media and Conflict: Framing Issues, Making policies, shapingopinions.* NY, Ardsley: . (2012). Transitional Publishers Inc.
[127] Sterling and Kittross, *William Barlow, Voice Over: The Making of Black Radio*. Philadelphia: (1999). Temple University Press.

geared toward sensitizing the listeners on matters concerning reconciliation, unity, and cordial relationships. [128]

The text messages delivered to the radio stations were required to be concise and specific as instructed by the program orator to fully utilize the time and enhance transparency while minimizing opposition and misinterpretation. During and after the post-election violence, listeners messages of animosity that had the ability to ignite further confrontations and accelerated hatred. The statements by individuals from these communities confirmed that they were still offended. However, presenters of the show restrained such messages by eliminating such utterances and avoiding texts which had provocative wordings. The presenters underlined tendencies of the audience that stimulated reconciliation and unity.[129]

Koch FM relayed information of peace, compassion and reconciliation among the Kikuyu and Luo community. Groups is civil society that comprises International Rescue Committee, through the indulgence donors from America for agency. In addition, the organization successfully utilized radio to spread messages of hope.[130]

The International Rescue Committee achieved this feat through Swahili plays in radio shows prior and after the elections of 2013. Amani FM, a community based radio station in Tana River Country also played its part by frequently preaching peace just before the

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[128] Volkmer, I. News in the Global Sphere: A Study of CNN and its Impact on Global Communication. Luton: (1999). University of Luton Press.
[129] Morgenthau, J.H. and Thompson, K.W. Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace. McGraw-Hill Press: (1985). New York.

[130] Jakosben, P.V. The emerging Consensus on gray area peace operations doctrine: Will it last and enhance operational effectiveness? International Peace Keeping, (2000). 7, 36-56.

2017 elections. Amani which means peace if translated in Swahili, ensured that it stood up to its name in advocating for peace in the whole county, historically believed to be politically divided.

3.4.1 Radio and Community Participation

Religious radio stations runs in a similar way with National. In most cases, these stations operate as non-profit organizations that attends to the interests of a specific target community. Therefore, the radio station should function towards enabling the community concerns and motivating them to have a part in the choice and outlay of programming. The radio gives prominence to information transmission components of the sender and recipient as a fraction of the same social policy of the community.

National uses the same structure for common interest and understanding. The radio outlet communicates and gathers mutual experience. In as similar manner, religious radio is controlled by the community through different religious unions.

The term community is frequently understood in terms of originality or common concerns. This definition emphasizes the disparity between those who are factor the community and those who are not (we and they). National or religious radio stations hence are distinguished by people ownership, level of admission to people participation, not for profit and in most cases, independent from government control. Public participation is fundamental to both National and Religious radio stations because it

creates a feeling of entitlement among the community by allowing flexibility in the communication process to drive social transformation and democracy. [131]

Participation in radio station to the community means that they are getting involved in change advocacy. In radio shows, the community plays a role in the creation and transmission of information. In this case, the media gives an opportunity to the community to air out their concerns and take charge of the distribution of their thoughts and virtues. This freedom allows people to be more proactive in discussions concerning their daily life and exercise their right to speech. This further enhances public participation in wider society by empowering the society members to participate in democratic processes and civic activities. Public participation through media means community members being able to participate in public debates and discussions, for example talk shows, that can help them come up with home-grown solutions to their problems.

Many national radio stations within Africa have different owners aside from the community. However, the kind of participation that radio fetches creates a sense of ownership by the community.[132] As a result of radio influence on mass communication, they play a crucial role in promoting unity through everyday programming. Through radio transmissions it is possible to create public confidence, carry out negotiations, encourage peace arrangements and break standoffs in disputes. Such actions enable the communities to settle disputes themselves. The personalization character that radio brings

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[131] Galtung, J. *Transcend and Transform: An Introduction to Conflict Work*, Pluto, London, 2014, at p. 189
[132] Berger, G. Theorizing the Media- Democracy Relationship in South Africa. *International Communication Gazette*. SAGE(2002). Journal

to the community, extensively makes it captivating and convenient. In so doing, radio promotes participatory communication.

Community based radio stations were recognized as a crucial path for building peace because of their relationship with communities. The approach by these radio stations was facilitating diversity, compassion among community, and intercultural conversation. Berger, recognizes four critical areas that show how the media is involved in peace advocacy including media actions that comprehensively enrich media environment to stimulate media projects that convey information and materials that allow learning on peace-building initiatives. Facilitating a culture of common beliefs and unity to equip reporters and aid the advancement of extensive communication procedures. [133]

 To enable peace amongst the community regardless of the ethnic background, the media should use acceptable wording and convey suitable information that will reduce hatred and anxiety among communities. [134] Radio stations, especially the religious ones like Amani, through its programs, greatly participated in handling disputes in Nakuru County. These programs provided the community with a chance to talk about issues troubling them and best ways of solving them. Although several people may agree that it is impossible for the media to encourage peace, the outlets can achieve this by improving the number of partnerships with professionals dealing with dispute resolution and NGOs advocating for peace.[135] However, the ability of religious based radio stations to avoid politics is their where. This capability allows them to focus on the daily activities and

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[133] Ibid pp. 162-164
[134] Bennett, L.W. and Entman, R.M. Mediated Politics: Communication in the Future of Democracy. (2001). Cambridge University Press.
[135] Bensel, T. Collective Sexual Violence in Bosnia and Sierra Leone: A Comparative Case Study Analysis. *Int J Offender Ther Comp Criminol*, (2017). 61(10):1075-1098.

deviate from the conflict itself. Media of this nature can facilitate community transformation concerning their beliefs by giving alternative news about their culture, to assist them recover after the conflict. [136]

The role of religious based media in Kenya post the 2007/2008 election violence assisted in facilitating peace. The stations closeness and spiritual nourishment to the communities gave them an advantage to communicate and dialogue with the communities through various programs. An assortment of these programs encouraged the people to be caring about each other. Through these programs, interaction is more open and the community can freely articulate their viewpoints concerning peace-building and resolving disputes. Therefore, radio gave the opportunity for the community to converse common interests, under the supervision of a moderator. A number of religious radios including religious based and Islam radios organized call-in programs to facilitate communities in areas that were affected by 2007/8 post-election conflict dialogue with each other.

This action allowed people in the community to propose remedies that improve unity among them. Call-in programs involve phone calls from the community members to facilitate active participation in the daily shows.[137] These sorts of programs may also use text messages to deliver suggestions to the moderator or presenter on the topic being discussed. The message typically responds to main issues such as peace initiatives. In these programs allow the listener can opt to give their suggestions on what is being discussed or pose a question to a professional, presenter, invited guest to get expert

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[136] Gregory, S. "Operation Fine Girl Exposes Sexual Violence Witness in Sierra Leone." In Van Tongeren, Paul, MalinBrenk, MarteHellema and Juliette Verhoeven (eds.) *People Building Peace II:Successful Stories of Civil Society*. Boulder, USA: Lynne Rienner Publishers. (2005).

[137] Otieno, Billy Paul A. "Influence of Poverty on Violent Extremism in Kenya: A Case Study of Mombasa County Between 2007 To 2017." PhD diss., United States International University-Africa, 2019.

opinion. The presenter producers can also opt to invite political analysts, counselors, community leaders, and other professionals to shed more light on the subject being discussed.[138]

3.4.2 Radio and Peace Programming

In general, radio programs comprise of activities within the stations that are tailor made for a specific audience.[139] In religious or national radio, the aim of these programs is to entrust people in the community to appreciate their environments this contribution enables social and emotional change. Nevertheless, radio programming is the method of selecting and organizing aspects of presentations that include shows, music, news, and other factors that build the program. The format should be pleasing and appealing to the listeners to attract their attention. In a religious or national radio, a good quality development program needs to be relevant to the audience or community in addition to relating to the mission of the station. [140]

For these programs, configuration is dependent on community interests. In many cases the programs adapt a uniform strategy. This element facilitates different layouts including dialogues, talk shows, and inquiries to make the programs more informative. The 2013 elections witnessed a section of national and religious based radio stations within Nairobi

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[138] Priest, D. & Hull, A. "Soldiers Face Neglect, Frustration at Army's Top Medical Facility." *Washington Post*. February18, 2007. P. A01

[139] Howard, R. *Media And Peace building: Mapping ThePossibilities*; Hellmich, Phil Bob, (2001). pp. 12-14.

[140] Ibid p. 47

County in liaison with communities to offer an avenue where the people can point out their isues.[141]

For example Koch and Pamoja FM stations collaborated with other peace players to air peace-promoting programs. By so doing, these stations enabled the community to converse with diverse groups and also reach a greater audience. The conversations reinforce ability of the public to join in finding solutions by giving community members freedom of expression to chat the way forward. [142] Amani radio was in the year 2008 successful in advocating for peace in Nakuru.[143]

Since then, Amani has been focusing their discussion on fostering peace through their programs. The media house does this by ensuring that disputes similar to that of 2007/2008 do not happen again. Research done has established that *Amani* call-in peace and programs aid in promotion of unity. The evidence of this contribution by Amani radio was primarily in Nakuru County. [144]

3.5 Print Media Coverage General Elections

During all elections in Kenya, most political aspirants rely on the media to influence thousands of their supporters. Print media is one of those ways that the politicians passed information to the voters. The print media as one of the sources of media that was used to

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[141] Northrup, Hope, Darcy A. Krueger, Steven Roberds, Katie Smith, Julian Sampson, Bruce Korf, David J. Kwiatkowski et al. "Tuberous sclerosis complex diagnostic criteria update: recommendations of the 2012 International Tuberous Sclerosis Complex Consensus Conference." *Pediatric neurology* 49, no. 4 (2013): 243-254

[142] Gichaga, Agather W. "Influence of Slum Settlements on Rape Crimes during And After General Elections In Kenya: A Case Study Of Kaptembwa, Nakuru County between 2007-2017." PhD diss., United States International University-Africa, 2019.

[143] Ibid p 34

[144] Rwashana, A. S., & Williams, D. W. Enhancing Immunization Healthcare Delivery through the Use of Information Communication Technologies. *InternationalJournal of Education and Development Using ICT*, (2008). 4(2), pp. 144-156.

cover the general elections have established an influential role in Kenyan politics and elections. Further, the 2007 general election was not exclusion with the print media used to reach the people. Both international and local print media covered the 2007 general elections. Politicians got the media to air their own political interest at the time an editor with largest newspaper Daily Nation said that politicians spent a lot of billions so that the media would be on their side.

Print media was the go to for most people when they are not in the house. Print media assumed a part in the covering of the general elections though through their writing some of the journalists seemed to have no experience thus their reporting standards proved wanting. Given this poor reporting standard by a portion of the media houses fanned the post-race brutality. A report by the media monitoring suggested that, newspapers reporting demonstrated a continuous trend across the mainstream media. For instance, political parties received different coverage from different dailies during the election period. [145]

Contrary to the 2007 general election resulted in ethnic violence with the media acting as the catalyst, the subsequent elections saw a switch on how print media in Kenya announce issue of election. The reason for this is the education of media practitioners in Kenya. The aim of these trainings was to intervene in media operations to ensure that the violence witnessed in 2008 does not repeat itself. For instant, an organization that has its roots in East Africa called Peace Journalism Foundation performed several trainings for media professionals in Kenya just before the commencement of the 2013 elections.

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[145] Jones Andrew "The Governance of Transnational Security Threats in Fragile States: The Case of the African Union Mission in Somalia (Amisom) 2007–2017." PhD diss., University of Massachusetts Boston, 2019.

The fact that some community based radio stations instigated hate speech amongst the community in earlier elections suggested that the trainings had to capture violence mitigation strategies. In these trainings, media professions we're taught how to conduct themselves in call-in programs and moderation techniques to avoid statements that could trigger conflict or spread ethnic hatred. Editors of newspapers and other print media were taught on the importance of paying attention on content before publishing to avoid involuntary provocation. [146]

The Media Council of Kenya administered trainings to media professional in areas that were vulnerable to conflict. The entity attained this by working together with stakeholders in the sector. Even though the elections that took place after 2007 were to some extent fogged with problems, minor progress was made. The media who were viewed as transgressors to the conflicts in 2008 were more careful in the subsequent elections. Moreover, the media were more dependable, as they informed the public on the importance of unity and the effects of engaging in violence. While the peaceful elections cannot entirely be credited to the media, the fact that they had a hand in advocating for peace through the various trainings by stakeholders cannot be ignored.

3.6 International Media Coverage during Post-Election violence in Kenya

In any election than happens in a sovereign state, the international community sends in observers to witness how the election is being conducted. In the case of Kenya, international observers were there from the beginning to the end of the elections. Moreover, they witnessed the violence that ensued after. The role of international media

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[146] Ibid p.100

is to assess if elections are credible. In Kenya the following foreign media outlets covered the 2007 elections in substantial parts of the country: BBC, CNN and Al Jazeera.

Through foreign media, Kenya received extensive media coverage all through the duration of elections in 2007 and violence following. Subsequently, the eruption of the violence the then Internal Security Minister John Michuki banned live media coverage of what was occurring in Kenya, the mainstream media simply reinforced live messages through social media platforms where the international media including BBC, CNN and Aljazeera got the scoop. International media had the upper hand given that the Kenyan media was banned. Still the country was not in total media blackout given the role of the global media.

The international media role was to mainly assist the local media to layout international view of the political emergency in the nation. This role foreign media allowed other freelance reporters to join in the coverage using various techniques that they deemed appropriate. They, however, verify the content which they aired to a large audience either through the internet, TV, or radio. They revealed images of violence to the public. One such journalist is Ross Kemp.

Kenyan media has been a serious critic to the techniques use by foreign media journalist reported the 2007/2008 crisis. Critics argued that foreign media magnified the extent of violence further arousing conflict in the country and heightening tension. Moreover, international media did not use the 'right' language in explaining events leading to the turmoil. The words included terms like 'genocide'. The question befell majority of Kenyans is whether such reporting was appropriate. In instances where the foreign

journalists had no proper knowledge of what happened, they gathered information from locals whose explanations were sentimental. This kind of reporting made reports given by international journalists unconvincing despite their function to wider community. [147]

At the time, local media was temporarily banned. For international media, this meant that they could cover the crisis with minimal restrictions from the state. Other international broadcasters also played their roles and believed it made an important contribution. This is so because when the local media was banned the people still got news from the international media that was available in the country at the time or the public would turn to the internet to get informed.

3.7 Social media and peace campaigns in Kenya

Development in technology has seen social media influence the transmission of messages among people of different age groups. In relation to how mainstream media compares to social media, the latter is more flexible because of its availability. Social media is a powerful source of passing and accessing information. Social media is faster than the mainstream media. Online platforms can either act as catalysts to violence or motivators of peace. These platforms have the capacity to reach people quickly. Moreover, it is affordable. The youth command a large portion of social media users. They are also key players in propelling and quelling violence. In Kenya, the media was used for both reasons.[148]

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[147] Karssen, Julian. "Building African Solutions to American Problems US Security Assistance to the African Union Mission in Somalia (2001-2016)." Master's thesis, 2019.

[148] Kithome, Obadiah Mutinda. "Factors influencing sustainability of county funded projects in Mbooni sub county, Makueni county-Kenya." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2015.

The purpose of social media in the violence succeeding the elections was important for political lobbying. Social media passed news information through Facebook and Twitter platforms. Kenyans using Facebook used the platform to spread unsubstantiated information. These kind of allegations reached people instantly through cascades. Aside from the international media that the Kenyan public used to get information after the media ban, the public also had social media that is Facebook and twitter to get and give information without the government monitoring. Other means included the use of short messages services (SMS).

Majority of Kenyans at the time possessed mobile phones and could send messages easily since they are affordable. Online platforms prevented shortcomings of mainstream media. Through these platforms, bloggers and political experts could express their opinions. They achieved this by either preaching peace or criticizing certain aspects of the process. Moreover, online platforms created a different environment for the public to openly discuss national issues. Due to the impact of the meant, online platforms provided a means for analysts, reporters, among others to deliver information

CHAPTER FOUR

MEDIA INFLUENCE ON THE SELECTED HUMAN FACTORS TOWARDS

MAINTAINING PEACE AND SECURITY IN KENYA SINCE 2007-2017

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of the media in advocating for unity and democracy is cannot be disregarded. [149] The functions of the media in this context has been a topic of discussion, more so the "caretaker" role. Concerning the failure of electoral bodies, governments, candidates, the media has the mandate of informing the public for them take responsibility.[150] Nevertheless, the media's role goes beyond being a "caretaker", it also educates citizens on their rights and importance of participating in democratic processes. Also, the media allows politicians to communicate with their electorate. By allowing the public to participate in discussions and make known their demands, the Electoral Management Body (EMB), voters, state,, and other parties can conveniently deliberate on the way forward. Comprehensively, the media allows interaction, performs investigations on electron processes to detect if there are flaws, and reports vital news on the same to determine overall efficiency and effectiveness. They do this

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[149] Mutahi, Patrick, and Brian Kimari. *The impact of social media and digital technology on electoral violence in Kenya*. IDS, 2017

[150] Kamau, Samuel C. "Democratic engagement in the digital age: youth, social media and participatory politics in Kenya." *Communicatio* 43, no. 2 (2017): 128-146.

by ensuring that the language is appropriate, and transparent to avoid production that would cause violence.[151]

Essentially, the media is not the only avenue which the public can use to access information; however, the fact that today's society is relies heavily on this platform to access news, means that they can define the political agenda.[152]

According to studies done by the Cairo Institute for Human Rights Studies; the purpose of the media includes keeping nationals informed about prevailing events. Also they educate the public of numerous issues within the society. Actions of the media define how the public will ultimately view a given situation. Media forms the primary method by which public views get to shape discussions on a given matter. In normal instances, this definitions is what is expected of the media, in unprecedented occasions such as that of election malpractice, the media is becomes even more important. Elections present a certain constraint to the media by testing its objectivity in different scenarios. The assignment of the media, specifically those reporting on national issues does not include speaking for the state or any organ related to a certain politician. It should strive to educate the public without any bias while maintaining its purpose. Additionally, debates should be fair to enhance overall security of its citizens and create a peaceful environment for elections.

[151] Ahlers, Dalien. "Exploring the meaning of community music activities: a collective case study." PhD diss., North-West University (South Africa), Potchefstroom Campus, 2018.
[152] Odinga, Petty Christa Awuor. "Use of new media during the Kenya elections." (2013).

4.2 Media as a watch dog

Society in general expects media to protect their interest by acting in a transparent and impartial way that is not subjective. This kind of role is commonly referred to as the 'watchdog' role. The significance of transparency cannot be dismissed because when it comes to accountability, information access, legitimacy, processes, and unbiased selections to debates or other discussions, the public will need some form of clarity. [153]

When it comes to elections, the definition of transparency stretches to cover the citizens. The implication is that the electorate are given access to vital information for them to make appropriate decisions and also hold stakeholders and institutions taking part in the process responsible for any systemic failures.   This kind of encompasses both legal and structural issues of the process. Additionally, information about the officials and institutions in relation to the process should also be made public. The EMB for instance has the responsibility of enlightening the public about their plans, decisions, and actions. The EMB is a public office and people appointed in these positions are answerable to the citizens. It is for this reason the information about their history, affiliation and achievements are at the disclosure of the public. [154]

To ensure that planned elections are peaceful, the media assumes the role of a watchdog. Peace during election period media has to act as a watchdog. In Kenya during election period 2013, 2017, media functioned as a tool for circumventing and questioning of suspicions of offenses. This watchdog or caretaker role evolved from responsibility of officeholders to operations within the entire process. This

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[153] Odinga, Petty Christa Awuor. "Use of new media during the Kenya elections." (2013).
[154] Kamau, Samuel C. "Democratic engagement in the digital age: youth, social media and participatory politics in Kenya." *Communicatio* 43, no. 2 (2017): 128-146.

phenomenon is evident when media attend electoral processes at the polling centres to prevent electoral malpractice. Furthermore, this provision was catalyst by the freedom of speech, which ensured that the media could act without interference. [155]

Moreover, an election is only as effective as the processes which led to its fnality. If the process is marred with confusion, then its not democratic. As such, during election period 2013, 2017, media were important in guaranteeing the public participates in conversations. Additionally, with a clear process in registration, nomination, vote submission and subsequent tallying, the voter will feel more protected.[156]

4.3 Media as a Campaign platform electorate

Political parties and aspirants have the conclusive right to inform the electorate their virtues, suggested plans, and, political agendas. Politicians do not necessarily need to meet with the electorate in person, in most cases; they achieve this through their campaigns. Such engagements are very important to the citizens and it is prudent that politicians and aspirants are given the opportunity to achieve this through the media. [157]

In Kenya during election period especially, 2007, 2013, 2017, candidates and political parties took advantage of media to do their campaigns through, paid for advertisements, social media subscriptions, televised discussions, and other strategies. It is their wish that the media will freely give them airtime because their activities are core to the

[155] Killander, Magnus, and Michael Gyan Nyarko. "Human rights developments in the African Union (January 2017-September 2018)." *African Human Rights Law Journal* 18, no. 2 (2018): 732-757.
[156] Kithome, Obadiah Mutinda. "Factors influencing sustainability of county funded projects in Mbooni sub county, Makueni county-Kenya." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2015.
[157] Ibid p. 78

public. Politicians and others stake holders use a significant amount of money on facilities and personal to engage media in their campaign trail. [158]

To maintain peace the media have several roles: Establishing a middle ground is the initial role. This role aims at giving equal opportunities to media in accessing government resources. If the playing field is not level then the prospects of autocracy will reflect. To international observers, an unbalanced field can rarely be seen, in contrast, electoral malpractice is easily recognizable. By not finding a middle ground, democracy is constricted.[159]

Finding a middle ground for campaigns explains why the state often limits the media during elections. The media's role in advocating for peace means that their reporting should be balanced. This reason justifies why the media should strongly monitor processes to ensure credible elections. Media practitioners acting professionally are also vital for this process to be successful.

Media as a Public voice

In as much as political parties need to be heard during elections, the voices of other parties should also be heard by the public in open discussions. As stipulated in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, everyone has the free will to assert contrary beliefs and opinions.[160] In the attempt of attaining peace, the media plays a crucial role by conducting debates and conversations. Media brings forth strategies that

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[158] Mutahi, Patrick, and Brian Kimari. *The impact of social media and digital technology on electoral violence in Kenya*. IDS, 2017

[159] Ahlers, Dalien. "Exploring the meaning of community music activities: a collective case study." PhD diss., North-West University (South Africa), Potchefstroom Campus, 2018.

[160] Northrup, Hope, Darcy A. Krueger, Steven Roberds, Katie Smith, Julian Sampson, Bruce Korf, David J. Kwiatkowski et al. "Tuberous sclerosis complex diagnostic criteria update: recommendations of the 2012 International Tuberous Sclerosis Complex Consensus Conference." *Pediatric neurology* 49, no. 4 (2013): 243-254

the public can us for them to be heard. Through such provisions, citizens can have an impact in campaigns, political agenda, and decisions made by politicians or fellow voters. Examples of such groups are: experts, lobby groups and aspirants. Other forms like social media, radio forums and websites address specific matters. Additionally, protests held by the populace, news reports, surveys researching on opinions of the media, private investigations debate in online platforms and freelance articles are avenues of fetching views that are contrary to the expected. [161]

In Kenya during election period especially, 2007, 2013, 2017, attaining this feat in regards to public discussions after the conflicts was difficult. The reason for this was the complexity is creating a distinction between a debate and conflict. In often cases, the intervention of professional journalism was needed, which at the time was not available. The findings of a report studying media activities during elections and subsequent violence in East Africa established that through the media, citizens have alternatives to what kind of leaders they wish to elect, also, politicians get the chance to compete. This kind of scenario has both advantages and disadvantages. It is advantageous because through such an avenue, the media becomes a platform for reconciliation and discussions between political actors with different ideologies. If used as required, the possibility of polarization is drastically reduced and unity enhanced.

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[161] Tsarwe, Stanley, and Admire Mare. "Journalistic framing of electoral conflict in a politically fragile society: a comparative study of the Zimbabwean weekly press." *African Journalism Studies* 40, no. 1 (2019): 18-35.

However, the inability of some countries to handle such discussions effectively and facilitate an equal platform to parties involved is a disadvantage.[162]

4.4 Media as a Public Educator

The role of media in educating the public involves a mixture of the other roles, however, as a public educator, there are some added details. in Kenya during all general and presidential elections period, media has been used

as a strategy for clarity. It allows voters obtain information that can assist in evaluation of officers' behavior and the whole process. As a campaign tool, the media ensures that the public is enlightened on political proposals and candidates. Media facilitates a transparent forum where dialogues and debates allow voters to educate politicians, officials and other voters. [163]

In addition, media can educate by way of voter transmission. This is achieved through consultations with NGOs and bodies such as IEBC. Such consultations do not need to be direct. For instant, in reporting elections proceedings are supposed to reveal why voting is significant, location of voting stations, and many other factors. It is for this reasons that EMBs should provide sufficient communication through various media outlets concerning figures and other details that are necessary to the public. [164]

Media take part in analytical processes. By so doing, their ability to act as watchdogs is improved and also discussion forums. When a media outlet continuously communicates information from the EMB through social media, informing the public the same news

[162] Cheeseman, Nic, Gabrielle Lynch, and Justin Willis. "Democracy and its discontents: understanding Kenya's 2013 elections." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 8, no. 1 (2014): 2-24.
[163] Karssen, Julian. "Building African Solutions to American Problems US Security Assistance to the African Union Mission in Somalia (2001-2016)." Master's thesis, 2019.
[164] Ibid p.67

through mainstream media may be difficult if the details are not comprehensive. Insufficient analysis of information as captured in the ground may leave out contrary opinion and present inaccurate results. Hence, information obtained by the viewer can be unstructured. To attain the level of satisfaction that the public demands concerning information, media houses should apply strategic analysis techniques. The procedure may include investigate journalism, professional opinions, inspection of reports, community participation and assessing if promises made by politicians were actually fulfilled.[165]

4.5 Media and training of all participants in election

A defining factor to professional journalism in how they cover elections through media platforms is effective training and advancement of EMB workforce; interim task force appointed to investigate certain events; and a sufficient number of field officers that operate on larger events. Incompetent officials if employed may lack basic knowledge of how to go about vote tallying, registration, and education. Technical errors that are executed during the citing process may influence the outcome of an election in one way or the other. These errors are destructive and can affect the credibility of the elections. [166]

Traditional media campaigns allow diverse political alternatives provides to withstand the political positions of antagonists. This phenomenon extends to both developed and emerging democracies.

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[165] Gustafsson, Jessica. "Media and the 2013 Kenyan election: From hate speech to peace preaching." *Conflict & Communication* 15, no. 1 (2016).
[166] Gichaga, Agather W. "Influence of Slum Settlements on Rape Crimes during And After General Elections In Kenya: A Case Study Of Kaptembwa, Nakuru County between 2007-2017." PhD diss., United States International University-Africa, 2019.

Political discussions encouraged by media outlets have been vital in providing instructions to voters in matters concerning policy selections. Whereas media is viewed as an avenue important discussions and altercation of political controversies, In most instances, campaigns dome through media degenerate to platforms of inflammatory remarks. Insults towards women in many communities concentrate on underrating their ability to lead in contrast to their male counterparts. Such stereotypes believe men are innate leaders. In some instances, political parties abuse privileges given to them by the media to convey lies and threats to galvanize support. These kinds of strategies often result chaos. To political parties, elections mean a lot and that's why the competition for related offices is stiff. [167]

In all levels of elections, the media should portray equality on its depiction of gender. Discussions should not be biased but informative and inclusive. Lack of proper knowledge by reporters, journalist and politicians in decision-making, and technical attributes if the process may lead to sporadic attacks. Therefore the media should report such instances and not use them to create news. If they dismiss such behaviour, the possibility of aggravating will go up. [168]

Violence instigated by the state is perhaps the most common when it comes to elections. Governments achieve this by suppressing those who oppose them or demonstrating against their initiatives. Although the police take commands from their bosses to oppress citizens, some actions are as a result of ignorance and insufficient knowledge about the electoral processes, or laws pertaining to the same such as rights to picketing. In Kenya,

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[167] Sharma, Naveen. "Understanding the Meaning of Life in the Life of Madhavi." *International Journal of Indian Psychology, Volume 6, Issue 1,(No. 3)* 6 (2018): 63.
[168] Ibid p. 45-50

when it comes to appropriate police conduct in discharge of duties, they forces have failed terribly. Kenyan police do not use the correct expertise, equipment, and guidelines to contain crowd protests lawfully. [169]

4.6 Media and voter information campaign

Voters require all the tools the needs to appropriate conduct their democratic right in voting. The desire of voters rightfully take part in this process means that the media should aid them access the knowledge required. The media can inform the voters on events, candidates, and political parties. This process should also cover the vote tallying and announcements. Moreover, voters need information and media should clarify to the citizens the right way of voting and why it is significant. [170]

Creating awareness to the electorates on how to vote is coordinated by the EMB concerned. This enables the citizens to access basic knowledge. Consequently, they can decide to vote or go for a political office. The EMB looks into the location, eligibility, location, and registration processes. These sort of campaigns if not properly managed will fail to reach the targeted population especially the vulnerable community such as the physically challenged and elderly people in the countryside. As evidenced all over the world, the unfair treatment of women in the electoral process degrades women consciousness hence ability to obtain information.[171]

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[169] Cheeseman, Nic, Jacinta Maweu, and Seth Ouma. "Peace, But at What Cost? Media Coverage of Elections and Conflict in Kenya." In *Media, Communication and the Struggle for Democratic Change*, pp. 83-105. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2019.

[170] Jones Andrew "The Governance of Transnational Security Threats in Fragile States: The Case of the African Union Mission in Somalia (Amisom) 2007–2017." PhD diss., University of Massachusetts Boston, 2019.

[171] Sharma, Naveen. "Understanding the Meaning of Life in the Life of Madhavi." *International Journal of Indian Psychology, Volume 6, Issue 1,(No. 3)* 6 (2018): 63.

Therefore, voters are unable to discern what is required concerning the procedure of registering for an election, voting method, and poll station location and documentation requirements. If not properly informed, the voters will consume more time in the entire process and use resources inappropriately.

4.7 Electoral campaigning: Unequal media access and favouritism

During election, in advocating for their shows and confronting political rivals, political parties use more resources and connections. Campaigning gives the citizens the opportunity to understand varied political possibilities and ultimately the candidate to elect. The campaign period, sees political parties utilize various methods to contact voters and request their support. Many parties use their resources to mobilize crowds, advertise their manifestos through banners and publications, participate in debates, among other strategies. Appearances on media shows are significant as studies indicate that they are catalysts of election victory. Nevertheless, media access that is not balanced in terms of gender and diverse political factions, demeaning messaging, assertive campaigning and rebellious actions have in different ways, resulted in commotion such feminist remarks. [172]

Messaging during campaigns to political parties, involves using different media outlets to woo supporters. [173] Whereas social media is commonly used to send messages and advertisements, mainstream media such as TV for many countries still present a great deal in conveying information. In the Kenyan context, the bias towards the government in

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

[173] Jones Andrew "The Governance of Transnational Security Threats in Fragile States: The Case of the African Union Mission in Somalia (Amisom) 2007–2017." PhD diss., University of Massachusetts Boston, 2019.

power by state-owned media stations in terms of reporting, party discrimination, victimization, and unethical practices means that politicians often have to find alternatives to avoid tensions or conflict of interests. Private media may look to be the best alternative; however, in some instances, they embrace strategies of their state-owned counterparts to endorse their candidate thus morph into political players rather than facilitators. These kind of actions in the past have led to frictions and triggered violence aimed at reporters and politicians, eventually stifling peace initiatives. [174]

4.8 Media, vote counting, tallying and announcing of the results

Transparency during these processes through media is very vital for all democratic states. The tallying and successive release of figures is usually delicate and susceptible to manipulation and mishandling. [175] This activity happens after the citing process. Considering the strenuous nature of the process, it is possible that some errors can be made and therefore, reporters ought to be careful. Such errors work to the disadvantage of other political parties in comparison to another and present a challenge in determining whether it was a voluntary or involuntary mistake. By not allowing agents to polemical parties, international observers, and members of the civil society to oversee the process, uncertainties are bound to arise and can result in unprecedented disputes superseded by violence. [176]

Electoral bodies are mandated wit the obligation of announcing results at the very end. Initial the initial stages, results act as a pointer of what is to be expected and regime

[174] Rwashana, A. S., & Williams, D. W. Enhancing Immunization Healthcare Delivery through the Use of Information Communication Technologies. *InternationalJournal of Education and Development Using ICT*, (2008). 4(2), pp. 144-156.
[175] Ibid p. 102
[176] Cheeseman, Nic, Gabrielle Lynch, and Justin Willis. "Democracy and its discontents: understanding Kenya's 2013 elections." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 8, no. 1 (2014): 2-24.

probably to follow. It is challenging for the incumbent government to handover political tools, where they have lost elections. Moreover, even accepting the defeat is difficult. Politicians who feel the results do not reflect the real outcome will, in all means possible, find a way of making their disappointment known for further determination. In many cases, the desire of these politicians is that result should be changed to favour them. Delays, inconsistencies, transparency issues on entities supposed to handle electoral disputes gives more room for anxiety. In regions where a party has no chance of winning, they resort to violence to avoid the shame of losing. In such cases media reporting is a complex task which calls for professionalism in order to maintain peace.[177]

In the context of Kenya elections under the previous constitution in 2007, irregularities that escalated tensions among the citizens were due to a lack of transparency. The EMB at the time, Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK) was not clear in its tallying process immediately the voting process was concluded. Upon scrutiny of the results to ascertain their arrival from different constituencies, there was clear indication that something was amiss in the tallying process. The allegations of unethical behavior from ECK and use of fraudulent means to count votes led to disconnect upon presidential release of results. This factor contributed to the election violence, witnessed in the year 2007/2008 which caused loses of lives in the hands of rebel groups and ruthless police. Moreover, the police were accused of neglecting their responsibility in ensuring the safety of it citizenry and being part of the perpetrators. [178]

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[177] Ibid p.56

[178] Tsarwe, Stanley, and Admire Mare. "Journalistic framing of electoral conflict in a politically fragile society: a comparative study of the Zimbabwean weekly press." *African Journalism Studies* 40, no. 1 (2019): 18-35.

For EMBs, it taints a bad picture if election results are disputed as this shows either perceived or actual lack of transparency and integrity in the process of selecting representatives and thus violent consequences. Comprehensively, if a political party decides not to take part in an election they perceive to be murky, their democratic right would have been denied. The consequences of such an action are often detrimental to the nation with the likelihood of protests and violence being at their peak.

Killander, Magnus, and Michael Gyan Nyarko. "Human rights developments in the African Union (January 2017-September 2018)." *African Human Rights Law Journal* 18, no. 2 (2018): 732-757.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This project has embarked on analyzing the role of the media in peace-making as demonstrated in the events of the post-2007, 2013 and 2017 election periods in Kenya. Additionally, this study is directed at investigating how media reporting has been able to keep the country secure since 2007-2017; establishing accessibility levels of the media and the several forms of the media coverage used in maintaining peace and security in Kenya since 2007-2017 and determining how media could influence selected human factors towards maintaining peace and security in Kenya since 2007-2017. The research was informed by social responsibility and Libertarian theories.

5.2 Key Findings

The findings indicated that in essence, the media functions as a catalyst. The reflective action of the media indicates how it aggravates tensions during elections and the area affected. Media operations should not be influenced by third parties; however, this entitlement to allow media operate freely can influence how the state regulates content fed to its citizens.

On Media Reporting, Maintaining Peace and Security in Kenya since 2007-2017, the findings were that Kenyan media is extensively influenced by political dynamics. In specific situations, the media follow certain political doctrines relying on its stakeholders and the team that define its operations. Political parties have vested their resources in different forms of media and used them as a channel to make known their aspirations, hence allowing sovereignty of the media as a condition to be in question. Community-

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based radio outlets operate in a similar way. The management of these radios outlets is not stringent enough and as such prone to political manipulation. The findings also reveal that hate speech is a common phenomenon amongst politicians. The use of inappropriate language by reckless politicians is on the rise, and as the case maybe, resulted in to incitement and chaos amongst the community. The revelations deduce that Kenya journalists are insufficiently equipped to report incidence of violence within the country and that their autonomy us largely influenced by the owners. Whereas the media's role in setting the political agenda and advocating for citizen's rights is evident, more ought to be done by stakeholders in the sector when it comes to actions defending interests of the public. The study determined that media has a hand in intensifying violence and promoting peace through different initiatives. However, the study identifies political factors as the main indicator of violence instead if ethnic differences in the country. Human rights violations were quite noticeable before and after elections. The likelihood of such an incident reoccurring should be contained. The media speaks for the public and as such have the responsibility of protecting, preserving and promoting human rights.

On accessibility levels of the media and the several forms of the media coverage used in maintaining peace and security in Kenya since 2007-2017; the study established that

The accessibility of information has tremendous effect on community interaction with the relationship being interrelated. Information availability defines opinions and beliefs. Moreover, areas that were previous hotspots for chaos can turn to peaceful havens through information access. In Kenya, several media outlets with diverse political interests are freely available to Kenyans. They are: Royal Media Services, Kenya Networks, Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC), Standard Media Group, Radio

Africa, and Nation Media Group. Additionally, there exist several print media in the form of periodicals, newspapers and the radio which has several stations to its name. All these complemented by the rapid rise of social media in urban settings. Due to its combination of affordability and accessibility, radio continues to be the most popular and widespread form of media in Kenya most Counties despite a growing youth population that embraces the online world. Radio has played a role in management of conflicts and peace-building in conflict-prone areas and help to reverse the damage done by conflicts in Kenya. Several radio stations, especially those that are religious based, made use of daily phoning programs enhance community integration and promote peace. Messages sent to the presenters or moderator had to be concise and direct as instructed to ensure effective use of time and limit the possibility of misinterpretation. Print media is one of those ways that the politicians passed information to the voters. The print media as one of the sources of media that was used to cover the general elections have established an influential role in Kenyan politics and elections. After 2007/2008crisis print media was used to preach peace even in 2013 and 2017 general election. Politicians got the media to air their own political interest at the time an editor with largest newspaper Daily Nation said that politicians spent a lot of billions so that the media would be on their side. Print media was the go to for most people when they are not in the house. Print media assumed a part in the covering of the general elections though through their writing some of the journalists seemed to have no experience thus their reporting standards proved wanting. Given this poor reporting standard by a portion of the media houses fanned the post-race brutality. A report by the media monitoring suggested that, newspapers reporting demonstrated a continuous trend across the mainstream media. For instance, political

parties received different coverage from different dailies during the election period. Social media passed news information through Facebook and Twitter platforms. Kenyans using Facebook used the platform to spread unsubstantiated information. These kind of allegations reached people instantly through cascades. Aside from the international media that the Kenyan public used to get information after the media ban, the public also had social media that is Facebook and twitter to get and give information without the government monitoring. Other means included the use of short messages services (SMS).

On how media Could Influence Selected Human Factors towards Maintaining Peace and Security in Kenya since 2007-2017; the research illustrated that media towards maintaining peace during election period acts as: watch dog, Campaign platform, Public voice, Public Educator, training of all participants in election, voter information campaign and is project process of vote counting, tallying and announcing of the results. Media has the mandate of conducting its activities in a professional way. They have the liberty to report any issues concerning elections in the country. The coverage can entail: policies, duties of elections officials, candidate profiles and party blueprints, events of violence in different regions of the country and announcement made by the Election Management Boards. This implies that media is in a good position to influence many human factors towards maintaining peace in election period.

5.3 Conclusion

Through the media both government and non-governmental agencies have been able to track and seclude areas that are prone violence. Also, media has facilitated provision of information that is vital in mitigation of crisis effects. The implication is that the media

offers an array of opportunities for stakeholders in the security sector and policy makers because of range of coverage and efforts to promote peace. Further, media functions as channel for reducing electoral frauds, hate speech. The study noted that maintaining peace and security through media reporting is a tiresome and complicated process that puts the lives of reporters at risk. The fascination to achieve "scoop" story reputation, newsroom tensions and efficiency in how the coverage is to be done are some of the dynamics and intricacies that journalists confront in their routine coverage of matters security. The importance of Kenyan media in structuring and clarifying public reasoning concerning nationwide unity and security legislations cannot be understated. Therefore, media personnel have to ensure that they conduct their activities in the most appropriate and professional manner, which embraces the set code of regulations within the profession.

Various media platforms are used in Kenya have been used towards maintaining peace including: radios, television Channels, print media, social media among others. These media have great influence in modern society. They print, broadcast and disseminate findings about diverse insecurity cases that are a fascination to the public. [179] The media is praised for its contribution in safeguarding the interest of the community to instigate social transformation. This role presents to them a lot of responsibilities. It is mandated with the task of informing, correcting falsehoods and educating to create appropriate knowledge of a circumstance. Active news gathering requires the media to take charge of information flow by developing their personal news ideas, looking for events to report or giving a definition to the issues for coverage and program setting. Media can also collect

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[179] Baker, Andy, Carew Boulding, Shawnna Mullenax, Galen Murton, Meagan Todd, Ximena Velasco-Guachalla, and Drew Zackary. "Maintaining civic space in backsliding regimes." *Research and Innovation Grants Working Papers Series* (2017).

information by asking questions to the source and researching reasons, outcomes and bases of frequent occurrences of incidents.

Positive attributes in advocating for security and tranquility include: connecting the citizenry to the government; changing beliefs and attitudes; giving timely warnings of important issues or fluctuation; alleviating confrontations through proportional reporting; encouraging reconciliation. According to Jones, part of the anticipated media roles to foster security/peacekeeping include: improving the amount and quality of unrestricted communication because it connects to the attacks, more conspicuously how residents of the affected areas respond and behave to the situation. This turn of events provides early signs of circumstances that might steer conflict. Also, it alerts leaders and informed persons to the need of increasing understanding; motivating the use of strategies such as mediation, arbitration and negotiation for dispute resolution and administration and giving advice that enables these processes; supporting the creative of a climate which solutions will be readily sought and acknowledged; helping to ascertain or rally contacts among those concerns to get at agreeable solutions; and assisting to build understandings.

5.4 Recommendations

The results of this study show that media's role in strengthening attitude cannot be understated. Consequently, the press should be allowed to conduct their work freely with minimal restrictions so that their right is not overstepped. This expression should be clearly defined to ensure it does not limit or go beyond what is allowed in law.

The coverage of a crisis is a delicate process. Moreover visual presentations through television are bound to raise emotions. This study proposes that guidelines concerning

visual broadcast ought to be thorough. Essentially, reporters should be able to screen information or content they get in their studio to see if they merit. The reason for such an action is that people tend to believe what they see, hence the action they will take.

According to the findings the kind of news or information conveyed by different media outlets tends to be different. This situation is strange considering the fact that the topic is specific. Therefore, the study suggests that media houses should approve a common approach in how they cover conflicts. In so doing, gaps that arise due to divergent views will be eliminated. Furthermore, information will be more objective and directed towards finding solutions.

Media professionals ought to be equipped with the right skill-set when reporting matters concerning violence. Therefore, media houses in Kenya should put in resources that will help journalist understand their role more clearly in conflict reporting. In the matter of elections,, policies that address entire coverage by media house will need to be improved. Moreover, advice on the same will be beneficial. Cooperation with institutions that conduct elections will ensure that results aired are authentic and that interest of the public are safeguarded.

Dialogue between different stakeholders in the sector should be encouraged. Through inter-media talks, media houses will work in liaison to provide information that is viewer sensitive. As such, consumers to their content will receive information that is relatively similar. Disparity in information conveyed is capable of instigating violence. With inter-media dialogue media houses come together and opt not to support one party rather broadcast the same kind of news that is bias free.

Opinion polls on elections conducted by various bodies require to be extra vigilant. In predicting the most popular candidate and possible victor to a given election, such bodies create a perception within the public. Whereas the findings are based on feelings of the public, it is unrealistic to think that each registered voter partook of the survey. Moreover, under certain circumstances, the polls do no not reflect the real outcome of elections and can be a recipe for chaos.

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

5.5 Suggestions for Further Study

Regarding media operations and conflict resolution techniques, this research cannot fully cover opinions from other sources due to its range. Regardless of the strides made through this study, certain topics within the study and other sources need to be addressed. Advancement in technology has resulted to social media being a significant form of communication. The study proposes that research be done on the areas pertaining to social media and other online platforms in facilitating peace.

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