UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM AND MASS COMMUNICATION

M.A COMMUNICATION STUDIES

THE ROLE OF KENYAN PRINT MEDIA IN CONFLICT SITUATION:

A case study of how the Nation Newspapers covered the inter-ethnic clashes in Rift Valley province during the period January, 1 to June 30, 1992 general elections year

A Research Project submitted in partial fulfillment for the Requirement of the Award of the Degree

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BY

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Declaration

I declare that this project is my original work and has not been submitted either wholly or in part to any other University for the award of degree or diploma.

Signed   _Quz_   Date   _23| 11| 2009_

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This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the supervisor, on behalf of the School of Journalism and Mass Communication of the University of Nairobi.

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Sign   _Doris Binger_

Date   _23rd November 2009_

Dedication

I dedicate this project firstly to my daughter Joy who has given me consistent love, for her patience and unconditional support and loads of humour throughout this project and to my late son Tito Nigel whose little hand never tired of waving me off and feet running to welcome me back.

Acknowledgement

I recognize my brother Kalystus and my sister-in-law Mercy for moral support and hosting me during my study.

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And to you all who saw me through the research project may God bless you; and finally to the Greater Glory of God.

Thank you.

Abstract

Until the process to restore democracy to Africa under multi-party gained momentum Africa leaders claimed infallibility, weakened parliament and suppressed their subjects. Even the slightest criticism was viewed as subversive. Multiparty certainly swept in the wind of change in Africa and the phenomenon was quickly picked up in Kenya in 1991. Multi-party democracy was seen as change and an opening for freedom of expression, protection of human rights and equal distribution of resources. However ethnic conflicts have dominated this process becoming more passionate during Kenya's general elections that are held after every five years.

The purpose of this study was to find out the role of media in conflict situation a case of the inter-ethnic clashes in Rift Valley between January 1 to June 30th 1992 general elections year by analyzing the *Nation Newspapers* coverage of the inter-ethnic clashes. The Analysis attempted to answer question on how the Nation Newspapers framed the conflict, space given in the *Newspapers* on issue of conflict and the perpetrators of the conflict. The analysis was executed by use of the questionnaires and findings presented in the table forms.

The major findings of the study indicated that land, ethnic animosity, politics and impunity were major causes of the inter-ethnic clashes in Rift Valley in 1992 general elections year and that the *Nation Newspapers* reported the news events objectively and accurately giving the background to the issues of inter-ethnic clashes and refocused on clashes as opposed to campaigns and elections that were expected in December of 1992 despite the authoritarian rule under which it operated.

The research concluded that the print media has a social responsibility to promote unity among different ethnic groups living in the Rift Valley region by steering away from ethnic based style of politics to idea based style of politics. The study

recommends that both political leadership and media ought to be cautious in their coverage and utterances and impunity which the perpetrators of violence operate should draw the attention of the government.

Some of the factors emphasized in the ethnic conflicts and role of Nation Newspapers in Rift Valley province may not be wholly generalized for media in Kenya. Some parallels can be drawn on some cases. Therefore the study proposes further case specific and comparative studies on role of print media in conflict situation in line with democratization especially the element of elections with the purpose of drawing more parallel and variations.

Acronyms

KANU	Kenya African National Union
DP	Democratic Party
NARC	National Alliance Rainbow Coalition
ABC	Audit Bureau of Circulation
KAMATUSA	Kalenjin, Masaai, Turkana and Samburu
KCA	Kikuyu Central Association
FORD	Forum for Restoration of Democracy

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Until the process to restore democracy to Africa under multi-party gained momentum, African leaders claimed infallibility weakened parliament and ruthlessly suppressed their subjects. Even the slightest of criticism was viewed as subversive and seditious. Multi-party certainly swept in the wind of change in Africa. The multi-party phenomenon was quickly picked up in Kenya. Kenya's democratic change began in 1991 due to local and international pressure that forced the Kenyan government to give in to re-introduction of multi-party elections, a shift that had been opposed by the Kenya African National Union (KANU) that was in power then. The re-introduction of multi-party was seen as a change towards democracy and an opening for freedom of expression, protection of human rights, and equal distribution of national resources. On the contrary ethnic conflicts have dominated this process becoming more passionate during Kenya's general elections that are held after every five years.

In Kenya the media and civil society had been a key force in the process of freedom of speech and to a larger extent, democratization. Kenyan media has played a considerable role in mediating relationships between citizens and government. Kenyans have become more reliant on the media believing the information given than any other source of information. But as things unfolded in 2007 general elections one could not help but wonder whether the Kenyan media could have done better.

This study sought to find out the role of media in conflict situation during the 1992 general elections. The case study was a content analysis of how The *Nation Newspapers* covered the conflict situation in Rift Valley Province during the 1992 inter-ethnic clashes. The choice of *The Nation Newspapers* is because its Newspapers are among the major newspapers in Kenya and have a wider circulation and readership in the country. Audit Bureau of Circulation (ABC) an independent body based in United Kingdom rated *Daily Nation* and *Sunday Nation's* circulation figure for the period of July to December 1991 as 201,164 and 98,837 respectively. *Nation Newspapers* are among the Kenyan media that have existed under the *KANU* one party regime

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and been in forefront in highlighting stories on democratization that included freedom of expression. The actors in transition period who included politicians, religious groups, and diplomatic community made statements that were highlighted in the print media among them the *Nation Newspapers*.

The choice of Rift Valley Province for this study is because Rift Valley Province is one of the provinces that are inhabited by many ethnic groups and coincidentally has experienced more tribal turbulence since the introduction Multi-party politics. The conflict centered in Rift Valley province whether within or some of its districts bordering other provinces revolves around new settlers who replaced white settlers or purchasers who through their economic ability acquired land beyond their border. In Rift Valley this conflict exploded at the height of political force that lead to era of multi-party democracy culminating in the general elections of 1992 and running into 1993. Since then save for 2002 general elections, the region has been faced with the challenge of conflict every election year which is held after every five years. The Rift Valley[1] region suffered the most violent upheaval after the 2007 general elections that seriously affected this agriculturally productive land and resulted in massive displacement and migration of people from their farmlands.

Ethnic conflicts in Kenya have economic, social and political consequences on the progress of the country. Many lives are lost, people displaced and property destroyed when conflicts erupt. Rift Valley province which has oftentimes been affected more by the ethnic clashes forms an important transport connection between Kenya and neighbouring countries such as Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, the Great Lake Region and the Southern Sudan.

The 2007-2008 post-election violence and ethnic tones that dominated the results show that ethnicity in Kenya is still a force within the multiparty democracy. It is also notable that most of the politicians use the media to air their grievances thus the way the media reports would have a direct impact on the prevailing attitude of the public. This prompts the need to research and find out the role of the media in conflict situation.

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[1] Rift Valley, Western and Nyanza province form some of former 'White Highlands' during the colonial rule under British (Human Rights Watch/Africa Watch, November 1993 p.1)

1.2   Background to the problem

The role of the media in shaping public perceptions and opinions about significant political and social issues has long been the subject of much speculation and debate (Maeroff, 1998; Spitzer, 1993; Wilson & Wilson, 2001; Wimmer and Dominick, 1991). It is widely accepted that what we know about, think about and believe about what happens in the world, outside of personal first-hand experience, is shaped, and some would say orchestrated, by how these events are reported in newspapers and communicated through the medium of Newspapers, radio, and Television.

Few people experience first-hand a terrorist attack, most do not know what it is like to be held in a foreign prison while undergoing a trial for suspected drug trafficking. Thankfully, relatively few of us are the victims of a violent crime or are close to those who are the victims or even the perpetrators of such acts. The reality of those events and our responses to them are experienced vicariously through the word pictures created by journalists and the visual and auditory realism of television reports. The mass media brings simulated reality into our lives and we find ourselves relying on those sources to provide a conceptualized image of the real world.

This view of the influence of the media is elaborated on in what is called 'Cultivation Theory' (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1980). Television, in particular, is our major source of information today and has become a part of us and part of our family life. George Gerbner likened it to a "key member of the family, the one who tells the most stories most of the time" (Gerbner et al 1980, p. 14).

When a society is faced by conflict, the media encounters difficulties since opposing sides seek to control it. In this environment media are supposed to educate the public, promote political and social co-operation and present in a fair manner competing political messages (Bennett, 1998). Information can be unreliable or censored. Therefore to provide reliable information to the public in time of conflict requires that the media refocuses its coverage to promote a culture of conflict management.

Wimmer and Dominick (1991) explain the role of media as to educates, corrects misperceptions, identifies underlying interests and humanizes the parties to the conflict. It provides an emotional outlet and enables consensus-building between the parties in a conflict. By disseminating information about the parties in a conflict the media make the public more informed about underlying causes of conflict and can assist in resolving it. They elaborate that media is often the most important channel of communication that exists between two sides in a conflict. The differing parties speak to each other through the media. Each side needs to know about the other's difficulty in moving towards reconciliation and this is highlighted in the media.

Lack of trust is a major factor contributing to conflict and is explained by 'Cultivation Theory' critics, particularly those who argue that the capacity of the mass media to shape our thinking is exaggerated. Another explanation of the influence of the media, 'Agenda-Setting Theory', places somewhat less emphasis on the impact of the media on public opinion and more emphasis on what issues are actually covered in the media (Dearing & Rogers, 1996).

Bernard Cohen was one of the earliest authorities to pick up on this in respect of the print media when he stated "the press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about" (Cohen, 1963, p. 13). The media can reduce suspicion between conflicting parties by digging into issues and bringing them to the fore so that there are no secrets to fear. The media also provides news that show resolution is possible by giving examples from other places and by explaining local efforts that are being made towards achieving reconciliation.

Cohen (1963) explains further that in a conflict both sides need to understand the bottom line interests of the other side. Media seeks to find out the meaning of what the leaders say. It does so by looking beyond interests of the leaders and seeks larger group's interests and elaborates that media is also an outlet for each side to express their grievances or anger. Many disputes can be fought through the media and conflict addressed before it turns violent. Media provides space and airtime to the leaders to talk to their supporters to calm their fears.

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Similarly the role of the media in democratization process cannot be overlooked. The argument that the media play a role in democratization has not only been advanced by government officials but also by political science and communication science. Berman and Witzner (1997) argue that the free access and exchange of information is central to the concept of democracy. The very nature of democracy suggests that free and open communication through different channels is vital in practices found in democratic societies. According to this argument the mass media in a stable democracy are principal institutions from which members of the public can understand their society well. The media contribute to the public field by presenting information, fostering debate on various issues and exposing inner-workings.

1.3   Statement of the problem

The media brings to the fore knowledge of conflict through hard news, features, and images captured on television and newspapers. The media mirror society and bring to the public attention the impact of conflict on society. The media's main source of information in conflict related issues are drawn from experiences of eye-witnesses, victims and observations. These are reported according to the media's perception of importance to the audience.

In conflict situation, the media often create and facilitate arguments for conflict such as opposition descriptions of "Us" versus "them" linked to interior or exterior issues. This may fuel conflict and thus raises the question on the role of media in a conflict situation in which the media could enhance or contribute to potential conflict situation.

The media by making the general public know of the happening should perform their role ethically by enhancing transparency. But the problem is that they know of these but tend to relate to one party in the conflict situation hence not covering both the parties.

The media has been accused of not reporting fairly thus polarizing the society. It has also been accused of reducing the number of parties to a conflict into two while more actors are involved in a conflict. The media is accused of portraying one side as good and the other as evil and presenting violence as inevitable while omitting alternatives. The accusations have come from

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people of all walks of life including constant debates in parliament. The media is supposed to provide society with hope by talking about the issues so that it sets the agenda for the society.

Therefore the research intended to find out if the media is performing its role in conflict situation and how effective is their response to conflict. In that as a part of the society the media has a social responsibility to analyse the news that it gives to the public in order to know the impact it will have on the public. Through the news given to the public the media create transparency to the general public on what's happening in their environment and incase of conflict they should help in the management of conflict by educating on how to manage conflict. But do the media meet these roles?

1.4 Research Objectives

1.4.1 Overall Objective

To find out the role of the Kenyan print media in conflict situation during inter-ethnic clashes in Rift Valley in 1992 general elections year

1.4.2 Specific objectives

a)   To find out how the *Nation Newspapers* responded to inter-ethnic conflict in Rift Valley Province during 1992 general elections.

b)   To find the impact of *Nation Newspapers'* response in Rift Valley in 1992 general elections.

c)   To understand the role of *Nation Newspapers* in conflict situation in general elections of 1992.

d)   To establish effective the newspaper group was in meeting its role in highlighting issues during conflict situations in Kenya

Working on the above objectives requires a careful analysis of various factors which would play a key role in understanding the role the Kenyan media plays in a conflict situation. These include the type of story, framing, and fairness of article and tone of writer.

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1.5 Research questions and assumptions

(a) Research questions

Based on the above objectives and factors of analysis, the following questions guided the research.

1) What is the role of Kenyan media in conflict situation and why do ethnic clashes go along with general elections?

2) How effective are Kenyan print media in meeting their role in the conflict situation?

3) Do Kenyan print media give fair analysis and portrayal of conflict?

4) How did the Kenyan print media frame conflict situation in Rift Valley Province during 1992 general?

5) Who were the perpetrators in the conflict in Rift Valley province in 1992 general elections?

In addition to the objectives and questions the research was based on the assumption that:

1. Elections which is one of element of democratization is likely to trigger conflicts in Kenya where ethnicity is used as a tool for mobilization for political power

2. The print media can alleviate conflict through it analysis and portrayal of issues in the conflict

1.6 Structure of the paper and scope

The study focused on content of *The Nation Newspapers*. It was a content analysis of how the Newspapers covered the inter-ethnic clashes in Rift Valley between January 1st and June 30th, during 1992 general elections.

The research is divided into six chapters. Chapter One introduces the research and presents the problem, objectives and research questions. Chapter Two encompass the literature review and theoretical framework. The theories in this chapter comprise Authoritarian theory, Social Responsibility theory of the press and Agenda setting theory. Chapter Three discusses the Background to the ethnic clashes in the Rift Valley and the Media in 1992. Chapter four discusses content analysis that was applied to the research. Chapter five presents findings and

discussion of the findings and Chapter six covers Conclusion and Recommendations for action and further research.

1.7 Operational terminologies

This study adopts the meaning for the following terminologies:

Media in this study refers to the medium or channel used in an organized form to communicate information to groups of people as a service to the public. These comprise Newspapers, magazines, radio and Television. *Press* in this study implies print media.

Journalism is the gathering and dissemination process that includes reporting, commentary, opinion, and analysis. Journalist and reporter are used interchangeable to refer to a person who gathers and dissemination information for the media.

Conflict is state of instability in which two or more individuals or groups pursue goals that they believe they cannot share. In this study it includes hate speech, one group blaming the other for the difficulties or problems it is suffering.

Ethnicity in this study contains objectives characteristics associate with common ancestry, such as language, territory, cultural practices that are perceived by both insiders and outsiders as important indicators of identity so that they can become the base for mobilizing social solidarity.

1.8 Conceptual Framework
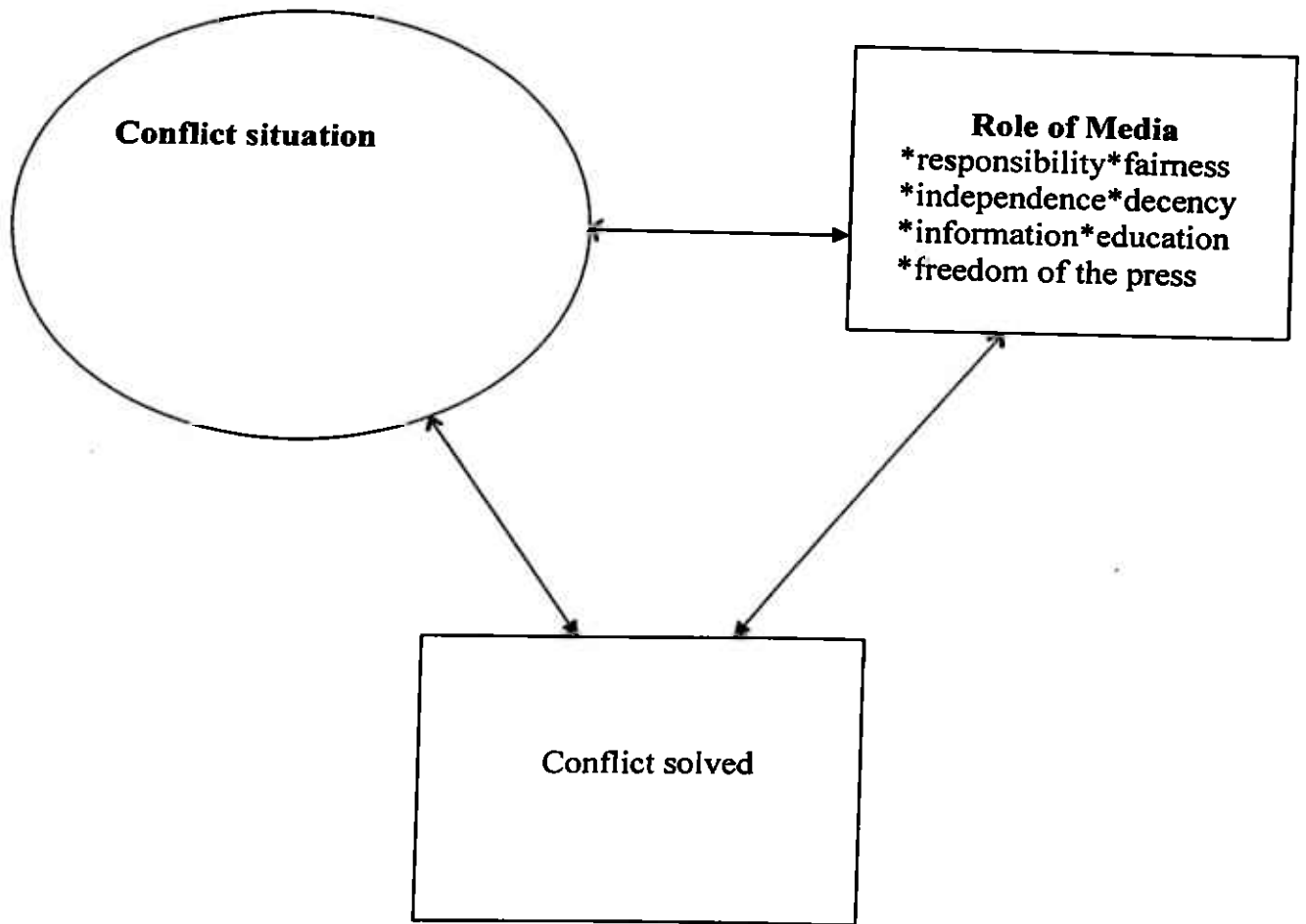
Source: author

Conflict situation and solved situation both influence the way the Kenyan media gives out information. However, the media is supposed to be fair, independent, responsible and accurate in the way it gives out information in order for the public to have clear picture of what is happening and solve the problem amicably.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0   LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Literature review focuses on democracy, ethnicity, and media while theoretical framework is related to three theories namely Social Responsibility theory of the press, Authoritarian and Agenda-setting.

2.1 Theoretical Framework

The media more often than not takes on the form and shade of the economic, social and political structures within the environment in which it operates. It reflects the system of social control whereby the relations of individual institutions are adjusted.

This study relates to three theories of the media namely the Social Responsibility theory of the Press, Authoritarian and Agenda setting.

2.1.1   The Authoritarian Theory

Authoritarian theory's guiding principle is summarized by Dr. Samuel Johnson, 18th century writer, "Every society has a right to preserve peace and order, and therefore has a good right to prohibit the propagation of opinions which have a dangerous tendency (Siebert et al., 1956, p.36). Johnson posit that it is not the magistrate that has such a right but society, and he adds that the restraints of opinion may be morally wrong but is "politically right" (McQuail, 2005, p.177).

The Authoritarian Theory holds that the wise men direct fellow men in society and not the media. For instance, the rulers of the late Renaissance used the media to inform people of what the rulers thought the public should know and the policies the rulers thought they should support (Siebert, Peterson, Schramm, 2000). Only by special permission was private ownership of the media permitted, and this permission could be withdrawn any time the obligation to support the royal policies was considered to have been dishonoured (ibid). According to this theory the right to license, and some cases the right to censor was carried out by those in power.

Dominick, (1993) public dissent and criticism were considered harmful to both government and the people and were not tolerated. Authoritarian used various devices to enforce co-operation of the press including licensing, censorship of material before publication, the granting of exclusive rights to favoured units of the press, and swift harsh, punishment of government critics (Dominick 1993, p.64,Dahl 1989).

Under Authoritarian *theory* the media as an institution is controlled in its functions and operation by organized society through another institution, government. Scholars point out that when authoritarian turns to the functions of the mass media, he arrives at a position where it is clear that dissemination of information, ideas, and opinions among members of the community must have an effect. The media is supposed to support the policies of the government in power in order for the government to change its objectives (Siebert, Peterson, Schramm, 2000, pg 18).

In Kenya, for example, during the single party system this purpose was usually carried out in its negative aspects through control of the media. The state utilized the media through its national broadcast organization, The Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) as instrument for accomplishing its purposes. The print media suffered major drawback under former President Daniel arap Moi and his one party state. Journalists were arrested and newspapers and magazines impounded as officials were worried about the media's influence on the public (*Daily Nation* June 18, 1992 p.3)

Generally, in *authoritarian* systems, one way of ensuring favourable treatment for government policy is to grant special permits to selected individuals or organizations. Siebert, el (2000, Dominick 1994) the state required published works in specified areas such as religion and politics to be submitted for examination by its representatives. This applies to Kenya situation in the existence of the Books and Newspapers Act 1976.

Authoritarian states also employ prosecution as method of censoring the media. Siebert,Peterson, Schramm (2000) the use of prosecution before the courts for violation of accepted or established legal rules of behaviour is one such way of censorship. Two tradition areas of the law - Treason and Sedition were the basis for prosecution of persons accused or

suspected of disseminating information or opinion unfavorable to the authorities. Dahl (1989) notes that in speech and press freedom of expression was seriously restricted, particularly if it was exercised to criticize the king. During the one party system such publications were seen as threatening the stability of the state as thus treason (Odhiambo, 2002). Journalists were quizzed over stories they highlighted in the press (*Daily Nation* March 31, 1992). When Kenyan parliament on March 25, 1992 passed a motion to curtail what the members viewed as 'excessive' press freedom it effectively put our fledging democratic reform process on 'reverse gear' (*Daily Nation* March, 1992).They further say that control of the press under authoritarian government was facilitated by the development of a branch of law known as seditious libel or sedition.

Authoritarian practices are still found to some extend in many parts of Africa. It was practiced in Kenya during the single party system in which the power to license fell in the hands of government.

2.1.2 The Social Responsibility theory

On the other hand the media is no longer a free market of ideas as Mill and Jefferson have defined it (Siebert, Peterson, Schramm, 2000). The owners and managers of the media determine which facts, persons, and the type of version of the facts that reaches the public.

The *Social Responsibility theory* holds that the near domination and power of the media impose on them a duty to be socially responsible to ensure that all sides are fairly covered and that the public has enough information to decide. It further states that if the media do not take on themselves such responsibility it may be necessary for some other agency of the public to enforce it (Siebert, et al 2000).

The problem with any system of society is to determine who has the right to use the media. During the one party system in Kenya, this was done by granting monopoly to Kenya Broadcasting Corporation which was charged with giving the public the activities of the government (Odhiambo, 2002). The corporation was not impartial in its coverage of news. In

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its coverage it censored proponents of multi-party thus relegating its professional objectivity and promotion of the freedom of the press (*Daily Nation* April 13, 1992 p.13).

Social Responsibility theory emphasizes that freedom has an affiliation of responsibility to society for carrying out essential functions of mass communication in today's society. It further states that if the media does not exercise its responsibility then some other agent must ensure that the essential functions of mass communication are carried out (Siebert, Peterson, Schramm, 2000).

According to the *Social responsibility theory of the press*, the media is supposed to service the political system by providing information, discussion and debate on public affairs, enlighten the public so as to make it capable of self-government, safeguard the rights of the individuals by serving as a watchdog against government, serve the economic system bringing together the buyers and sellers of goods through advertising, and to provide entertainment and maintain its own financial self-sufficiency so as to be free from the pressure of special interest(ibid).

Although the theory accepts the six functions of the press indicated above, it points out dissatisfaction with the way some media owners and operators interpret and the way the media carries them out.

The theory accept the role of the media in serving the political system in enlightening the public in safeguarding the liberties of the individual but it represents the opinion that the press has been lacking in performing those tasks (Siebert, Peterson, Schramm, 2000, p. 74)

The authors observe that the themes of the criticism of the media have been the media wields enormous power for its own ends. They note that the owners of the media and operators have publicized their own opinions at the expense of opposing views. They further note that the media has been compliant and sometimes have let the advertisers control editorial policies and editorial content. They say that the media has often paid attention to the superficial and sensational than to the significant in its coverage of current happenings. They also say that the media has been lacking in substance when it comes to entertainment.

The Social responsibility theory illuminate that the canons of Journalism adopted by American society of Newspapers Editors in 1923 called on newspapers to practice responsibility to the general welfare, sincerity, truthfulness, impartiality, fair play decency, and respect for the individual's privacy (Siebert, Peterson, Schramm, 2000,p.85).

McQuail (1987) adds that objectivity is a central value for journalists themselves underlying their own claim to professional expertise in the practice of responsibility to the general welfare. He says that objectivity is one correlate of independence valued under conditions of declining external diversity and is necessary to maintain credibility. Objectivity is based on truth, relevance, balance, and neutrality (McQuail 1987, p.129).

McQuail, the academic and writer of communication theories, explain that objectivity's main focus is on factualness and impartiality where factualness refers to a form of reporting which deals in events and statements which can be checked against sources and are presented free from comment. He points out that factualness involves several other truth criteria for instance completeness of report, accuracy as checked against independent accounts, the lack of intention to mislead or to suppress, all of which contribute to the quality of information (McQuail 1987). He clarifies that relevance is a value that is looked at in factualness in that it relates to the process of selecting rather than to form or presentation and requires that selection take place according to clear and coherent principles of significance for the potential receiver. On impartiality McQuail (1987) refers to first of all the adoption of neutrality attitude by the reporter, in the sense of suspending any personal or subjective preference of judgment for the purpose at hand.

The 1947 Commission on freedom of the Press (Hutchins, 1947)[2] came up with key journalistic standards that the press should seek to maintain. The report holds that a responsible press should 'provide a full, truthful, comprehensive and intelligent account of the day's events in a context which give them meaning.' The commission says that a responsible press should serve as a forum for the exchange of comment and criticism and be a common carrier of the public expression. In addition to that the pres should give a representative picture of constituent groups

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2 American Commission on the Freedom of the Press

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in society and present and clarify the goals and values of society. The report criticized the sensationalism of the press and the mixing of news with editorial opinion. Laitila[3] (1995) posits that a responsible press should be accountable. Laitila reasons for press responsibility are based on:

- Truthfulness of information

- Clarity of information

- Defense of the public's opinion

- Standards of gathering and presenting information

- Respecting the integrity of the sources

McQuail (2005) the media has a frame of public responsibility by the fact that the media organizations are also social institutions that fulfill with varying degrees certain important public tasks that go beyond their immediate goals of making profits and giving employment(McQuail 2005, p.213). He adds that the public opinion in open societies expect the media to serve the public interest in matters of information, publicity and culture. And that where the media are seen to be failing they may be called to account by public opinion or other guardians of the public interest, including politicians.

Social responsibility theory of the media is the main focus of this study in that over a period of 15 years since the multiparty were introduced in Kenya, the media has played a substantial role in mediating relationships between citizens and state, and in shaping democratic dispensation. Kenyans have become reliant on the media and trusting the information given than any other source of information. Media has been seen as a principle indicator of democratic vitality in Kenya. The media have been in the forefront of moves to transform Kenya from one party state to multiparty democracy.

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3 Laitila T. (1995) *"Journalistic codes of ethnics in Europe"*, *European Journal of Communication*, 10(4):513-26.

It has gained reputation for fostering public debate, seen as the guardian for public interest against the state power (BBC world service report, 2007 elections in Kenya).This reputation is now being challenged following the 2007 post-election violence (ibid).

When violence exploded all over the country following the election declaration, the media was one of the sectors to make immediate and determined effort to unite to calm the public. The media houses in Kenya splashed the message of *"Save our Beloved Country"* across their front pages (Daily Nation3, January 2008).

2.1.3. Agenda-setting theory

The Agenda Setting Theory places less emphasis on the impact of media on public opinion and more emphasis on what issues are actually covered in the media (Dearing & Rogers, 1996).

Walter Lippmann, in *Public Opinion* (1922, cited in Baran &Davis, 2006, p.316) argued that the people do not deal directly with their environment as much as they respond to "pictures" in their heads. He said that the real environment is too big, too complex, and too fleeting for direct acquaintance. The public is not equipped to deal with so much subtlety, variety, permutations and combinations (Baran&Davis, 2006, p.316). Lippmann (1922) pointed out that although the public has to act in that environment, it has to reconstruct it on a simpler model before it can manage with it (Lippmann, 1922, p.16)

Lippmann's view is that the average people cannot be trusted to make important political decisions based on these complex pictures. The average people have to be protected, and the important decisions have to be made by technocrats who use better models to guide their actions (Baran and Davis, 2006).

Cohen (1963) argues that the press is significantly more than a purveyor of information and opinion. It may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is successful in telling its readers what to think about. Further he says that it from these that the world looks different to different people, depending not only on their personal interests but also on the map that has been drawn for them by writer, editors and publishers of the papers they read(ibid, p.13).

McCombs and Shaw(1972) articulate their interpretation of Agenda-setting that in choosing and displaying news, editors, newsroom staff and broadcasters play an important part in shaping political reality. Readers learn not only about a given issue, but how much importance to attach to that issue from the amount of information in a news story and its positioning (McCombs and Shaw, 1972, p.176).

Iyengar and Kinder (1987) in their research on Agenda-setting found that lead stories had a greater agenda-setting effect. This was because people paid more attention to the stories at the beginning of the news and that people accepted the news program's implicit designation of a lead story as most newsworthy. They found that people cannot consider political issues but they consider the things that came easily to mind. The research demonstrated that through priming (drawing attention to some aspects of political life at the expense of others) television news helps to set the terms by which political judgement is reached and political choices made (Iyengar and Kinder, 1987, p.114).

In a later study, Iyengar (1991) says that while agenda-setting reflects the impact of news coverage on the perceived importance of national issues, priming refers to the impact of news coverage on the weight assigned to specific issues in making political judgments (Iyengar1991, p.133).

Griffin (1991) McCombs and Shaw believe that the mass media have the ability to transfer the salience of items on their news agenda to the public agenda (Griffin 1991, p.332). They say that the public look to news professionals for cues on where to focus attention. "We judge as important what the media judge as important (McCombs and Shaw 1974, p.28)[4]. In their analysis of 1968 presidential election in America, McCombs and Shaw established position and length of story as the two main criteria of prominence.

For newspapers, front-page headline story, a three-column story on an inside page and the lead editorial were counted as evidence of significant focus upon and issue. Prominence in the

4 Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw, " A progress Report on Agenda-setting Research", a paper presented to the Association for Education in Journalism, Theory, and Methodology Division, San Diego, Calif., on April 18-27, 1974, p.28

television news format was defined by placement as one of the first three news items (Griffin 1991, pp.334-335).

Edogbo[5] (1994) says that although many opinions and attitudes of any society are directly derived from material experiences of its people, the media reports give weight and confirm such experiences. More often issues for public discussion come from the coverage provided by the media. By influencing the topics and issues of public discussion the media sets the agenda for the people. McCombs and Shaw (1972) the media through its patterns of selection and relying daily of news presents the public with a continuous stream of information about the relative importance of various topics and events. Newspapers communicate salience through page placement, headline size, and the amount of space accorded to the item.

The power of the media in setting the agenda has the implication of negative influences when journalists try to define reality by their presentation of some news events as more salient based on random rule. Edogbo in *Reporting Politics and Public Affairs* says that this has led some critics to argue that the media distorts political reality. He points out that most media institutions engage people who are not properly trained to report adding that such people are not aware of their social responsibility. He says that people with professional training should report on issues such as politics.

The combination of *Authoritarian, Social Responsibility theory of the Press* and *Agenda setting* is important to this study because there are four stages when assessing the media practice in democratization process namely during pre-transition, transition, consolidation and stable or mature. It is important to consider the role of media under previous regime, in Kenya the one party system was like the authoritarian rule, as that will have an effect on the rate of media evolution towards independence and ability to gain credibility with the public during the transition and consolidation phases.

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5. Edogbo in Reporting Politics and Public Affairs (1994) edited by Charles Okigbo p.35-36

Social responsibility theory is important because the media has played a substantial role in mediating relationships between citizens and state, and in shaping democratic dispensation. Kenyans have become reliant on the media and trust the information given than any source of information. The Kenyan media has been seen as a principle indicator of democratic vitality. *Agenda-setting theory* is important in that the Kenyan media highlights the issues that they perceive to be importance to the audience by the air time given or space accorded in the newspaper and by placement on the newspaper and first issues in the electronic media.

2.2 Literature Review

Literature review is based on issues around Democracy, ethnicity, and Media. The literature adopted link democracy with the recurrence of ethnic conflicts and the role of the media.

2.2.1 Democracy

Democracy has been defined in various ways. It has always been linked to struggles for popular participation in decision-making. American Author and Social critic Gore Vidal once commented that: A democracy is a place where numerous elections are held at great cost without issues and with interchangeable candidates (id21 insights 74, August 2008). Nzongloa-Ntalaja (2001, pp.10-15) sees democracy in three basic ideas namely democratic culture, democracy as a moral imperative, as a social process and as a mode of governance. Democracy as moral imperative implies inspiration for human beings to have freedom, better social and political order a democracy that is more human and more or less open. Democracy as a social process refers to continuous process of promoting equal access to fundamental human rights and civil liberties and finally Democracy as a political practice, or mode of governance based on the principle of popular sovereignty, the rule of law, accountability, participation, and periodic alteration of rulers.

Smith (2000, p.24) links democracy to political liberalization and takes political liberalization as an increase in civic liberties that result from the relaxation of political control by authoritarian leaders. Another element of democracy that the study connects with is elections. Elections are one of the elements of democracy and a significant precondition for modern democratic societies. Although overlooked by policy-makers elections can provide opportunities for conflict

resolution or mitigation when they force an open discussion of divisive issue among the parties involved. This open discussion is usually done through the media. Electoral environment pose a political challenge in that there is presence of conflict and insecurity (Id21 Insight 74, August, 2008). Africans have fought hard to ensure that democratic elections are the preferred way for government representatives to give up political power (ibid). As a result of this competition elections have become a rule where the competition most of the time draws support from ethnic group (Osamba, 2001).

Dahl (1989) definition of democracy embodies a minimal set of essential requirements. That means basic elements to distinguish political regimes especially in situation where democratization has just begun. Dahl's (1989, p.221) definition encompasses:

- Elected officials
- Free and fair elections
- Inclusive suffrage
- Right to run for office
- Freedom of expression
- Alternative information
- Associational autonomy

Dahl's emphasis on free, fair and frequent election is that if we accept political equality, then every citizen must have an equal and effective opportunity to vote, and all votes must be counted as equal. For equality in voting is to be implemented, means that citizens are able to go to the polls without fear of reprisals and fairness implies that all votes must be counted as equal and citizens ought to control the agenda of elections through frequent elections.

He explains that freedom of expression is required in order for citizens to participate effectively in political life. Freedom of expression enables citizens to air their views and hear what others have to say. Dahl pin points that to acquire civic competence, citizens need opportunities to express their own views, learn from one another, engage in discussion and deliberation, read, hear and question experts, political candidates, and persons whose judgments they trust and learn in other ways that depend on freedom of expression. He argues that without freedom of

expression citizens would soon lose their capacity to influence the agenda of government decisions noting that silent citizens may be perfect subjects for an authoritarian ruler and a disaster for democracy.

Like freedom of expression, Dahl argues that there should be alternative and relatively independent sources of information as basic democratic criteria. This is because citizens need to acquire information in order to have an enlightened understanding of issues and this may not be possible if the government controls all important sources of information or if a single group enjoys a monopoly in providing information.

This study adopted Dahl's definition of democracy since it encompasses most element of essential where democratization has just begun such as the case for Kenya.

2.2.2 Ethnicity

Political mobilization along ethnic lines began during the struggle for independence as the African elite had to mobilize the masses behind their social and political demands in order to win concessions from the colonialists (Nzongola-Ntalaja 2001, p.18). In many colonies, ethnic and ethnically based mutually aid associations were the only avenues for political action in the absence of viable political parties and trade unions. Although the major nationalist parties were multi-ethnic mass movements, the tradition of ethnic political mobilization did allow politicians to make use of the ethnic card when it served their interests, particularly in electoral politics and for high state positions.

Abdullahi (2003)[6] expounds that under this system of governance the state and ethnic groups of the current ruler merge, forming a tribal state controlled in all spheres by the tribe for the time being in power.

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6 Abdullahi, Ahmed Nassir M., (2003) "*Intra-state conflicts in Africa, providing a Constitutional Mediation for Ethnic Rivalries and conflict in Africa,*" The University of Nairobi Law Journal (UNLJ) vol. 1(2003) 27

In regard to Nzongola-Ntalaja's point this ethnic based mobilization for political gain sometimes results to violence. Numerous cases of inter-communal violence consist of rebellions by oppressed minorities. They have as their bone of contention, conflict over land tied to the problem of identity and the recognition of the group's political, economic, social and cultural rights (Nzongola-Ntalaja 2001).

Ethnic politics and violence reappeared with advent of political pluralism in Kenya in 1991. The violence adversely affected Kenya's most fertile region of the Rift Valley, Nyanza, and Western provinces. According to Osamba (2001, pg43) the farms acquired by non-Kalenjin in Rift Valley were the focus of violence. The Kalenjin laid claim to all the land in the province based on what they called rights of previous ownership in pre-colonial times. The Kalenjins turned against other ethnic groups, whom they viewed as supporters of the political opposition (ibid).

Oyugi (1997) argues that tribalism is often used as an ideological tool in economic competition and political conflicts. This statement could confirm what happened during 1992 elections, when the Kalenjins and their kinsmen opted to defend the ruling Party Kenya African National Union (KANU) that was in power then, against the possibility of deprivation by potential challengers who were mainly Kikuyus, Luhya, and Luo. On the other hand Magubane (1969) and Nzongloa-Ntalaja (1997) point out that the condition for ethnic conflicts in Africa was created historically through colonial and post-colonial government policies. Osamba (2001) observes that key cause of disagreement in most African ethnic conflict is control of the state apparatus and the national resources to which the state has access.

In Kenya, access to state power is regarded as an opportunity for various groups because the state controls almost all aspects of economic and political life. That explains why each ethnic group tries to mobilize itself to safeguard the access. This in turn heightens ethnicity and ethnic consciousness (Osamba, 2001). The struggle for political power in Africa was interpreted in ethnic terms. As ethnic consciousness thus increases in scope and intensity, the socio-economic and political atmosphere becomes charged with tension (Nnoli 1989, pg 66).

2.2.3 Media

The role the Media plays in democratization has not only been advanced by government officials but also by political science and communication science. Berman and Witzner (1997) argue that the free access and exchange of information is indispensable to the notion of democracy. The very nature of democracy suggests that free and open communication, through various channels is vital to foster critical practices found in democratic societies. According to this case the mass media in a stable democracy are principal institutions from which members of the public understand their society. The media contributes to the public sphere by presenting information to the public about their world, fostering debate about various issues and by encouraging informed decisions to be made about available course of action. They further point out that the media are also a site of contestation in which diverse views are presented, opinions heard and inner-workings exposed. Through the media debate is encouraged.

The media are also supposed to keep an eye on government and society a role commonly referred to as "watchdogs (Curran, 1991). Gunther and Mughan (2000) call mass media the "connective tissue of democracy". They contend that the tradition view has been that the media play contrasting roles in the establishment and maintenance of political order authoritarian and democratic regimes. Defining characteristic of the authoritarian model is strict government control of the media to achieve objectives set by self-selected, unaccountable political elites and widely propagated by virtue of their 'unconstrained and pervasive power' over the media systems (ibid, p.4).

They argue that the authoritarian regime in the effort to create the 'new person" in a radically transformed society, they manipulate the media in an effort to reshape the hearts and minds of non elites, thereby enforcing the disciplined conformity necessary for mass mobilization in support of a revolutionary ideology and the construction of utopian society. They note that the system is characterized by strict censorship, repression of journalists' liberty, and heavy-handed efforts to structure highly selective flow of information to the general public. On the other hand they contend that two characteristics of democratic media systems are to ensure that political information disseminated by the mass communication media serves to constrain, or check

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government power rather than magnify it. McQuail (1994) adds that the conduct of democratic politics, nationally and internationally depends more and more on mass media.

There are four stages when assessing media practice in democratization process-pre-transition, transition, consolidation and stable or mature. Randall (1998) observes that it is important to consider the role of media under the previous regime as that will have an effect on the rate of media evolution towards independence and its ability to gain credibility with the public during the transition and consolidation phases. When a transition takes place, the media tend to be supportive of democracy especially in the elated period after the regime has fallen. Bennett (1998) notes that media plays the *witnessing role* and *reifying* or *confirming* role in pre-transition stage. The *witness role* is the process of making public the transformations that are taking place in society as the old regime starts to lose its hold on power and the *reifying* role, the media confirm and legitimate the changes taking place by providing images and information that coincide with one another which make the shift in society seem real.

McQuail (2005) points out that the media distributes knowledge and that that knowledge enables the public to make sense of the experience of social world. He further says that the information, images, and ideas made available by media may be only source of an awareness of a shared past and of a present social location.

He expounds that the relationship in which the media provides information, ideas and images to society as the mediation role of the media. He points out the perception of the media's *mediation* role are:

- As a window on events and experiences, which extends our vision enabling us to see for ourselves what is going on
- As a mirror of events in society and the world implying, a faithful reflection although the direction of the mirror are decided by others and we are less free to see what we want
- As a filter or gatekeeper, acting to select parts of experiences for special attention and closing off other views and voices, whether deliberately or not
- As a signpost, guide or interpreter, pointing the way and making sense of what is otherwise puzzling or fragmentary

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- As a forum or platform for the presentation of information and ideas to audience, often with possibilities for response and feedback
- As a disseminator who passes on and makes information not available to all
- As an interlocutor or informed partner in conversation who responds to question in a quasi-interactive way (McQuail 2005, p.83).

Looking at McQuail's mediation concept it shows that the media can make the public know all sides of what is happening or control and thus limit what the public or society is able to see making it difficult for the audience to have a balanced story or misrepresentation of facts.

McQuail (2005) points out that politicians and government use the media as channels for reaching the general public or chosen group and for conveying events. He says that although the media serves as a contact between institutions, politicians and general public, it is not completely free agents in relation to the rest of the society. The media are subject to formal and informal control by the very institutions including their own that have interest in shaping public perceptions.

In conflict situation attention is often paid to the question of how news information is presented or framed. McQuail (2005) says that the idea of a frame in relation to news has been in terms of content, theme or even news angle. In journalistic content stories are given meaning by reference to some particular news value that connects one event with other similar ones. According to Entman (1993)[7] framing involves selection and salience. He says that frames define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgment and suggest remedies. Journalist use textual devices such as using certain words, phrases, choosing certain pictures and referring to certain sources. McQuail (2005) points out that it is almost unavoidable for journalists to frame and in so doing they depart from pure objectivity and introduce some bias.

In the Rwandan genocide Radio was used extensively to communicate orders to the party militia especially after telephone lines were cut. Both the Radio Libre Mille Collins and Radio Rwanda

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[7] Entman, R.M., (1993) "Framing: towards clarification of a fractured paradigm", Journal of Communication, 43(4):51-8

passed on instructions to the forces about where to set up barriers and carry out searches (IPEP/OAU, 2000). The Radio pointed out the people to be targeted and used a language that indicated that the country was under siege. The messages were designed to lure the ethnic groups to fight.

Singer (1970)[8] observes that the media can provoke a riot, provide lessons on how to riot or spread disturbance from place to place. He says that the media can contribute by simply signaling the occurrence and location of a riot, event, by publicizing incidents which themselves are causes of riot behaviour, or by giving advance publicity to the likely occurrence of rioting. According to this observation the media have a capacity to define nature of events and can unintentionally increase the degree of polarization in particular cases.

2.3 Sources of Conflict in Kenya

Sources of conflict in Kenya circle around political control, unresolved land grievances, impunity, provincial administrative structure and impunity.

(a)Political control

Political leaders in Kenya are viewed as symbols of ethnic identity. Since Multi party was introduced in the country, many elections have often triggered ethnic conflicts in the effort to gain political control. Ethnic groups are mobilized to support one of their own as a means to ascending to power. Oyugi (1997) argues that tribalism is often used as ideological tool in economic competition and political conflicts. This assertion seem to confirm what happened during 1992 general elections, when the Kalenjins and their kinsmen opted to defend the rank of privileges against possibility of deprivation by potential challengers.

In Africa access to state power is regarded as an opportunity for various groups because the state controls almost all aspects of economic and political life. Osamba (2001) this explains why each ethnic group tries to mobilize itself to ensure or safeguard the access. This in turn heightens

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[8] Singer, B.D. (1970). "*Mass Media and Communications processes in the* Detroit *riots of 1967*". Public Opinion Quarterly, 34:236-45

ethnicity and ethnic identity. To some extend ethnic sentiments and identity were manipulated for political ends in the ethnic violence in Kenya.

(b) Unresolved land grievances

Land ownership especially in the Rift Valley is a inflammable issue. Although it may be noticed that politics may fuel violence, land had been seen to be the root cause.

Osamba (2001) notes that ownership of land pits the Kalenjins and Maasai against other communities. Kalenjins claim ownership of the land. Bitter emotions are usually against the Kikuyus whom the Kalenjins claim bought big acres of land during the Kenyatta regime. The Kalenjins refer to land issue as a historical injustice that has to be corrected whenever they take up arms.

Inequality in land distribution fans violence in the sense that it is the main source of food and income for many poor families (Human rights Watch 2002). In traditional African society land is valued since it is a heritage that is passed on from one generation to the other.

(c) Provincial administrative structure

The provincial administration structure is in such a way that majority of people within a province belong to one ethnic group. This is basically due to the colonial rule. Colonial rule created administrative structure base on an ordering of Africans into neat tribal units. These units organized Africans into divisions, districts, and provinces on the basis of various ethnic ascriptions of 'tribe' and ascending clans. This structure stayed intact at independence (Klopp 2002, p.475). These structures included the potential to intervene in electoral politics which began in limited form in 1957 when under British bureaucratic oversight.

(d)   Impunity

Most of the high-ranking politicians who were implicated in organizing violence in 1990 have not been brought before the court of law (Human rights Watch, 2008, June1997). This encouraged clashes because the assailants believe that they will not face the rule of law and can

continue living their lives after they have committed the offence. There was no impartiality on the part of the security forces in trying to restore peace (Daily Nation March 21, 1992)

(e) **Federalism (majimbo)** Calls for federalism commonly referred to as majimbo based on ethnicity were evident when multiparty was introduced in Kenya in 1990. Violence rocked Rift Valley province as a way of advocating for majimbo. Nyukuri (1997) observes that a federal system in which states or regions retains power over leaving common national issues like foreign policy to central government is allowed. However the federal or majimbo system were driven by political ambitions to gain control over their respective provinces in terms of natural resources, economic resources and reclaim land and property owned by non-kalenjins.

2.4 Effects of the conflict

The political violence that affected Kenya in 1991 and thereafter has altered Kenya's political and economic background in that the violence has created deep fear among the non-kalenjins communities in Rift Valley. This is because it contributed to a situation lawlessness that put the lives of many people in danger (Osamba 2001). By 1999, the violence had claimed 2,500 lives and left 400,000 people displaced (ibid).

The destruction of farms and displacement of populations from rich agricultural areas resulted in serious food shortage in 1993. The government had to appeal to the international community for food and aid (Daily Nation May14, 1993, p.6). Even today, agriculture production is yet to recover (Saturday Nation August15, 2009 pp.6-7).

The displaced persons have been forced to live under harsh, unhygienic camps without proper sanitation. Children have been psychologically traumatized after witnessing the killing of relatives, the burning of houses and reckless destruction of property. Education for most of the displaced children has been disrupted or terminated (Osamba, 2001).

The destruction and destabilization disrupted 1992 voter registration in communities that supported opposition (Kiliku Report, 1992).

2.5 Conflict situation in Rift Valley

The conflict which reigned in Kenya's Rift Valley province in the early 1990s when Kenyan scene became a sea of turbulence with conflict islands poking out of the western part of the country had never been witnessed before in the country's thirty years of independence. Oucho (2002) conflict centred in Rift Valley province, whether exclusively within it or some of its districts bordering districts in other provinces revolved around Kikuyu as either the new settlers who replaced the white settlers or purchasers who, through their economic power acquired land beyond their borders (Oucho 2002, p.85). Before 1992 conflict was along the borders of Rift Valley with other provinces. The borders were Bungoma-Trans Nzoia, Kisumu-Nandi area, the Burnt Forest area, Londiani area, Maela and Olenguruone area Enosupukia area mainly due to land settlement differences (Oucho 2002, pp.79-90).

The period January – April 1992 saw ethnic clashes escalate in Bungoma and the neighbouring Trans Nzoia districts resulting in death, houses burnt down and cattle stolen as the clash victims fled for their lives. The Standard (May, 1992 cited in Oucho 2002,p.79) reported Hon. Mangoli, MP(a Bukusu) alleging that the Bukusu rescued the Sabaot (their Kalenjin neighbours in Bungoma) out of the caves to work for and share some land with their rescuers. In response Wilbeforce Kisiero, MP (a Sabaot) retorted that the Sabaot lived where they were by their right and warned Bukusu against being cannibals they had always been as they decimated the sabaot population through cannibalism (Oucho 2002, p.79). Such utterances sparked off serious clashes between the two communities.

The first acts of violence erupted in October 1991 at a settlement on the border of Rift Valley, Nyanza, and Western provinces. Skirmishes later spread to several districts in the region (the Kiliku Report 1992).The motives of the violence were manifold: to prove the government's assertion that political pluralism was identical with ethnic chaos, to punish ethnic groups allegedly supporting the political opposition, to intimidate non-indigenous people to vacate the Rift Valley province Kenya's most fertile region, and to allow the Kalenjin to possess and occupy the land through intimidation and violence (Africa Watch 1993).

Ethnic politics and violence seem to have resurfaced with advent of political pluralism in Kenya in 1991. The violence adversely affected Kenya's most fertile region of the Rift Valley, Nyanza and Western Provinces. The farms acquired by non-kalenjins in Rift Valley were the focus of violence (Osamba 2001, p.43). The Kalenjins laid claim to all the land in the province, based on what they called rights of the previous ownership of those lands in the pre-colonial times.

Meteitei farm in Nandi district is one of many former settler farms that were sold off to Kenyans after independence. Klopp (2001) notes that in 1991, a dispute over who legitimately owned shares in the Meteitei land buying company. This apparent land dispute marked the beginning of a series of massacres which the Kenyan government officially called "ethnic clashes". These killings continued throughout the decade in diverse parts of Kenya leaving people dead and hundreds displaced (ibid).

Klopp (2001) holds that the timing of the clashes prior to 1992 elections suggest that the violence was part of the strategy to counter the onset of political liberalization in Kenya. It is at this time that there were calls to repeal section 2(A) of the constitution to include multi-party system. The then President Moi reiterated that Kenya was not cohesive enough as a nation to have multiple parties. Moi and his supporters insisted that advocating for multi-party would divide the country on ethnic basis (Klopp 2001p.483, *Daily Nation* March 20, 1992 p.3). Meetings were held by prominent government officials saying they would counter proponents of multi-party with majimboism in which case they said Rift Valley could be cleansed of the migrants. This was to counter anti-government activities of Forum for Restoration of Democracy (FORD), the new coalition that was pressing for change. The meeting ended by "order" barring the FORD leaders and other activists from setting foot in the Rift Valley (Klopp 2001, p.483).

Communities where people had lived peacefully for years became hostile as neighbour turned against neighbour. In all these the government still wanted people to believe that the clashes were about land (Daily Nation August 1, 2009).

Violence erupted in the conflict areas at farms, residences, and market places and even in the camps where the internal displaced persons (IDP) had taken refuge. There was declaration portended those who defied the order and visited them to ascertain the acquisition of abandoned farms and witness all manner of illegal events in the wake of displacement. Law courts exercised discriminatory application of the law in favour of the perpetrators and against the victims of ethnic clashes, engendering further disagreement between the groups in a conflict (Oucho, 2002).

2.6 Significance of the study

1. Scholars

The study will be a reference for scholars that do day to day research on the role of media in conflict situation or generally the role of media. These can be used for reference and finding an area for further research in the issue related to media and conflict.

2. The media practitioners

It will help them understand the role they are to perform and hence to refocus their coverage in conflict situation.

3. The policy-makers

When formulating policies relating to the media in a conflict situation in that the media policies are formulated in relation to the roles they are to perform.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 Background to the Ethnic clashes in the Rift Valley and the media in 1992

Kenya is divided into eight major administrative divisions known as provinces. They are Western, Nyanza, Central, Eastern, Rift Valley, North Eastern, Coast and Nairobi. Each of these provinces save for Nairobi has a dominant ethnic group that claims dominance because of the number of people living in it. The country has about 42 ethnic groups. The major ones are Kikuyu, Luo, Luhya, Kalenjin, [9]Kamba, and Meru. Others are Kisii, Maasai, and Mijikenda. These administrative structures were created by the colonial rule based on the ordering of Africans into neat tribal units.

These units organized Africans into divisions, districts, and provinces on the basis of various ethnic ascriptions of 'tribe' and ascending clans. These structures stayed intact at independence (Klopp 2001 p.475). The structures included the potential to intervene in electoral politics which began in limited form in 1957, while under British bureaucratic oversight. In the post-colonial context, it came to represent presidential authority (Abdullahi, 2003). The fertile Rift Valley land appropriated by white settlers then became a key issue. Klopp explains that pastoralist politicians and a faction of white settlers were united by their desire to keep the primarily Kikuyu migrants labourers and squatters the backbone of Mau Mau revolt from making claims to Rift Valley land.

In 1992, there were calls to repeal section 2(A) of the constitution to include multi-party system of government. The Amendment of Section 2(A) converted Kenya into a one party state. It outlawed all opposition whatsoever and gave the ruling party *KANU*, the monopoly of political power. None could hold elected political office from the President downwards unless one was a member and nominee of *KANU*. In effect one ceased to hold elected political office when he/she ceased to be a member of *KANU*. The president then Moi reiterated that Kenya was not cohesive enough as a nation to have multiple parties. Moi and his supporters in that context insisted that advocating many parties was tantamount to

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[9] Kalenjin comprise of five tribes: The Nandi, Kipsigis, Keiyo, marakwet, and Tugen Mijikenda are nine tribe of coast (Oucho, 2002:50)

advocating violence (Osamba, 2001). Moi said pluralism would divide the country. He pointed out that in Africa multi-party would not produce stability and the parties being formed were based on ethnical line (Daily Nation January 17, 1992).

At the end of November 1991 a group of donor coordinated their actions and cut off non-humanitarian balance of payment support pending reforms (Klopp 2001 p.483). According to Klopp (2001) meetings were held by prominent government officials saying they would counter proponents of multi-party with majimbo in which case they said Rift Valley could be cleansed of the migrants. This was to counter anti-government activists of Forum for Restoration of Democracy (FORD), the new coalition that was pressing for change. The meeting ended by 'order' barring FORD leaders and other activists from setting foot on the Rift Valley (Klopp 2001 p.483).

3.1 Kenya's Political parties in 1992

Many political parties came up in 1992 based on ethnic support. Forum for Restoration of Democracy (FORD) was led by Oginga Odinga(Luo), FORD-Asili Kenneth Matiba(Kikuyu), Democratic Party, Mwai Kibaki(Kikuyu) and the ruling party Kenya African National Union (KANU) led by Moi (Elischer, 2008). Elischer (2008) scrutiny of the political parties that have existed in Kenya since introduction of multiparty shows the parties were based on ethnicity. He draws attention to three distinct periods in line of the political parties in Kenya between 1991 and 2007. He says that the first period was fission (1991-1997) that saw breakup of multi-ethnic alliances that began with the breakup of Forum for Restoration of Democracy (FORD). 1998-2002 was fusion period characterized with mergers of multi-ethnic parties leading to only two major parties, NARC and KANU in 2002 general elections (Elischer, 2008, pp.12-14).

That ethnic conflict exploded at the height of political engineering which ushered in era of multi-party democratization in Kenya culminating in the general elections of 1992 would appear not to be a historical accident but a scheme in which land and ethnicity were used as scapegoats (Oucho, 2002, p.86). The Human Rights Watch/Africa (1997) asserts that Kenya government instigated the violence which displaced an estimated 300,000 persons after being

forced to concede to multi-party system in order to punish and disenfranchise ethnic groups associated with the opposition while rewarding its supporters with illegally acquired land (Oucho 2002, p.77). President Moi said Africa was in turmoil because of imposed changes which disregarded the continent's socio-cultural setups (*Daily Nation* March 20, 1992).

Nzongola-Ntalaja (1997) acknowledges that the fact that efforts of democratization in Africa in 1980s were greeted with a lot of hope and enthusiasm, pessimism is now looming. He says that first and most important issue of political reform in Africa democratic transition is the misappropriation of the state to benefit one individual and his entourage who are reluctant to give up power and its attendant privileges (Nzongola-Ntalaja 1997pp 10-15).

3.2 History of the Print Media in Kenya in pre- and post independence era

Media in Kenya dates back to colonial times when it was used to fight for independence. Makali (2003) notes that the government introduced gazettes as a means of passing on state information to the citizens. *The African Standard*, Kenya's first newspaper was founded by A.M. Jeevanje as a monthly newspaper in 1902. In those days for the paper to survive it had to defer to the interests of the settlers. *The Leader* of the British East Africa supported colonial government. This opened the African's eyes to see that for their issues to be heard they had to have an indigenous press. Thus the African nationalist press was born for political and not for economical gain. *Muiguithania* was founded by the Kikuyu Central Association in 1928 to agitate for Africa socio-political interests. When the struggle for political independence was achieved, the future of nationalist press dwindled because the leaders saw the press as a threat to their rule (Makali, 2003).

Under the Kenyatta government in 1963, Kenyan culture was promoted through mass media and newspapers covered more African traditional culture (Collender, 2005). The print media suffered major drawback under Moi who succeeded Kenyatta in 1978 and his one party state. Journalists were arrested and newspapers impounded as officials were worried about the media's watchdog role. Politicians openly accused the print media for manufacturing and publishing lies. . Parliament passed a motion to curb alleged media irresponsibility and assist the press to maintain high ethnical standards of journalism (*Daily Nation* March 26, 1992).

The re-introduction of multi-party saw emergency of new newspapers into the market increasing the number from three to four with the entrance of the *People Daily*. A host of *alternative press* commonly known as *gutter press* emerged too. The state criticized the press alongside the opposition proponents.

President Moi accused *the Nation* of manufacturing and publishing lies and asked the public not to buy and read *the Nation* if they wanted to stay in peace (*Daily Nation* March 24, 1992).

3.3 Media restrictions

Freedom of the press was curtailed especially from 1986 when attack on journalists started. Journalists were arrested and detained and both foreign and domestic editions and publications containing human rights violations in the country were impounded (Human Rights Watch, June 1997, p.39). The editions included *African Confidential, New African, the International Herald Tribune, the Economist,* and *Beyond* (Widner 1992, p.166). The Nation Newspaper temporarily lost the ability to cover parliament when the deputy Speaker, Kalonzo Musyoka, who was also national organizing secretary of KANU, charged that the Nation had "scandalized the reputation of members. The Newspaper lost access to parliament for four months (Widner 1992, p.166). While the dailies – *Daily Nation, Standard* and *Kenya Times* reported clashes as they occurred, the *Weekly Review* and *The People* gave detailed accounts of the problem, pointing outs its implications. The high quality of reporting by the newspapers and magazines aroused the indignation of some politicians who prevailed on the law enforcement agencies to arrest the journalists responsible (Oucho 2002, p.77). Journalists protested at police harassment as they carried out their duties in clash areas (*Daily Nation* March 20, 1992). The government zoned off conflict areas in Rift Valley citing security.

Kenya has made great efforts to liberalize the mass media in line with the spirit of multiparty. However legislation alone cannot ensure the smooth operation of the media sector. Political, economically, and judicial inclination towards enforcement of administrative law determine the state of journalism and the media sector.

The Kenya constitution contains a Bill of Rights that guarantee a number of individual rights and freedoms. These include freedom of conscience, and expression, assembly. However these rights are qualified in the interest of public safety, order, public morality and public health (Odhiambo2002, p.296).

3.4.1 Constitution of Kenya Section 79(1)

Freedom of the press can only be guaranteed by the statutes of the country. The Kenyan constitution has no specific provisions aimed at protecting the media. However despite lack of media protection, many Kenyans prefer freedom of the press due to the important role it plays in the country. Access to information is not enshrined in the current constitution a loophole that has made the government to gag the media using some of the laws passed by parliament. The government does these through official secrets Act, Books and Newspapers Act, Copyright Act, Protected Areas Act, and the judiciary.

Section 79 (2) includes limits on these freedoms thought section 79(2) (b) provides that the restrictions imposed on freedom of expression must be reasonably justifiable in democratic society. Odhiambo (2002) observes that there is no specific reference to freedom of the media but it is generally believed that media derives from individual freedoms. He explains that even though the media have no specific institutional protection in their day-to-day work they will be treated as private persons with regard to the enjoyment of such freedoms.

In Kenya, the media is open to official and unofficial interference controls and regulation like the case during the 2007 post-election violence where the media was banned from live coverage (*Sunday Nation* 31, December, 2007). Media freedom resides in a legal and policy where it is precariously exposed to political machination and predatory practice (Odhiambo 2002, p.297).

Whereas Journalists may enjoy their rights and freedoms as ordinary citizens, the media institutions in which they work are expected to play their role as public watchdog without any legal rights except those outlined in the companies Act. In order to play a watchdog role, media institutions have to seek, receive and disseminate information to the public (ibid).

3.5 Judicial Discretion

The absence of constitutional protection against the spread of laws that hinder the spirit of freedom of the media has led to a reluctance of the judiciary to protect journalist and the media from those who would want to deny the media their role as an essential component of democratic governance (Odhiambo 2002, 298). Section 84(1) of the constitution of Kenya the High court has a jurisdiction to enforce the guaranteed Rights and has jurisdiction to interpret the law. Odhiambo (2002) points out that the High Court has been unwilling to question the powers and actions of state authority when these contravene the Bills of rights guaranteed.

3.6 Statutory limitations to Freedom of Expression

The *Books and Newspaper Act* of 1962 (Laws of Kenya 1962 Chapter 111) provides for registration and deposit of books and Newspapers and the execution of bonds by printers and publishers. Under the *Books and Newspapers Act*, one cannot publish a newspaper until he/she has registered and delivered to the registrar a bond of Sh1million with one or more securities. The bond acts as security for or towards the payment of any monetary penalty. The bond has made it difficult for new entrants who cannot afford that amount of money.

The *Defamation Act* of 1972 (Laws of Kenya chapter 36) the amount awarded for damages is high making it difficult for the media to operate when faced with defamation cases for example libel Sh1million fine or three years in jail.

The *official secrets Act* of 1970, the purpose of which is preservation of state secrets and security makes it an offence to obtain information restricting the media from accessing some information.

3.7 Economic status

Economic power of the people in Kenya determines who owns the media. During 1992 General elections only state owned Kenya Broadcasting Corporation was able to transmit information throughout the country. Although the Nation Media Group had the potential to offer the nationwide coverage it had not been given nation-wide frequencies due to anti-

government inclination in their columns and broadcast (Odhiambo 2002, *Daily Nation March* 20, 1992). Makali (2000) adds that most of the newspapers that expressed dissatisfaction with the colonial policies closed down due to harassment and libel suits.

Apart from political and economic influences, the status of journalists and their organizations determine what information goes to the public. Many media journalists operate as correspondents with no contracts this makes them vulnerable to manipulation by media houses and politicians (ibid).

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 METHODOLOGY

4.1 Content Analysis

This study involved a systematic and quantitative analysis of the texts of *The Nation Newspapers* consisting of the *Daily Nation, Saturday Nation* and *Sunday Nation*. It was a content analysis of these Newspapers.

Content analysis is a method of data analysis as well as a method of observation. Nachmias& Nachmias (1996) hold that instead of observing people's behaviour directly or asking them about it, the researcher obtains copies of the communications that people have produced and ask questions about these records. The content of the communication serves as the basis of inference. They define content analysis as 'any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics of messages.

Nachmias& Nachmias further point out that although content analysis is often performed on a message, a researcher may also use it to answer questions about other elements of communication. Harold Lasswell[10] formulated the basic question that can be raised by a researcher: Who says what, to whom, how, and with what effect?' A researcher may analyse message to test hypotheses about characteristics of the text, what inspired the message, and what is the effect of communication (Nachmias& Nachmias, 1996, p.325).In this application, the researcher makes inferences about the effect of messages on recipients.

According to McQuail (2005), the most accessible evidence of how mass communication works is provided by its content. He expounds that there are different motives for studying content. According to him, content could be carried out for:

• Describing and comparing media output this is in terms of assessing change or making comparisons that characterize content of particular media and channel

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  Harold D. Lasswell. "Detection: Propaganda Detection and the Courts" in Harold D. Lasswell et al., The Language of Politics: Studies in Quantitative Semantics' (Cambridge. Mass: MIT Press, 1965) p.12

•   Comparing media with "social reality" in this case a recurrent issue in media research has been the relation between media messages and reality. The basic question on this is whether media content does or should reflect the social reality and if so, which or whose reality (McQuail 2005, p.341).

McQuail points out that media content is one of the most voluminous and accessible set of data which may indicate much about society. As source material, media content is not subject to decay and appears in form which is more constant over time than cultural phenomena (McQuail 1987, p.177).

In this study, content is based on objectivity. Objectivity is a central value for journalists themselves underlying their own claim to professional expertise. It is a correlate of independence valued under conditions of declining external diversity. Objectivity is necessary to maintain credibility and is based on factualness and impartiality in terms of truth, relevance, balance and neutrality (ibid).

McQuail (1987& 2005) states that factualness refers to a form of reporting which deals in events and statements which can be checked against sources and are presented free from comment. Factualness involves completeness of report, accuracy, as checked against independent accounts, the lack of intention to mislead or to suppress, all of which contribute to quality of information. In that connection relevance relates to the process of selecting rather than to form or presentation and requires that selection take place according to clear and coherent principles of significance for the receiver or society (Nordenstreng, 1974). On the other hand impartiality refers to adoption of neutrality attitude by the reporter by the reporter suspending any personal or subjective preference or judgment for the purpose at hand (ibid).

Content analysis produces statistical summary of much larger field and it has been used for many purposes for instance extracting form content frequency distribution of references to things with known frequency in social reality such as occupation, crime, and opinions (McQuail, 1987).

4.2 Area of Study

Nation Newspapers is one of the mainstream media in Kenya that has been in the frontline in mediating relationships between citizens and the state. McQuail (2005) points out that mass media may rarely initiate change independently but do provide channels, the means and an arena for the playing out of events in which many actors and interests are involved, often in competition with each other (McQuail 2005, p.528).

Kenyan citizens have become reliant on the media and trust the information given than any other source of information. They have been seen as principle indicators of democratic vitality in Kenya (BBC World Service, 2007). The concentration will be on articles about clashes, and conducts of campaigns during the 1992 general elections.

4.3 Study population

This study undertakes a content analysis of *Nation Newspapers* consisting of *Daily Nation, Saturday Nation* and *Sunday Nation* from 1st January to 30th June, 1992.

The population was 182 newspapers namely January 31, February 29, March 31, April 30, May 31 and June 30. The study analyzed articles published from January 1 to June 30, 1992. The units of were articles about ethnic clashes and conduct of campaigns. The indicators of analysis were, briefly as follows:

- Type of story: Editorial, analysis, commentary, opinion, news and feature
- Placement of the story: placed on front page, back page, or opinion pages an issue receives more visibility, emphasizes relevance and importance in the minds of the readers
- Author of the article: Publication reporter, publication correspondent, editorial team
- Amount of coverage space: Newspapers devote more space to news items they consider to be important
- Headlines size or choice of typeface: Screaming or banner headlines give news items prominence and are designed to attract attention of the reader

4.4 Sampling of study population

The study adopted a systematic sampling, composite week. In this method of sampling every newspaper had a chance of being picked and every paper had a chance of being picked once a week. In the composite week the study picked two newspapers every week ensuring that a paper was picked every weekend and week day. The choice of every weekend was that more analysis, opinion, feature stories and hard news appeared in the papers over the weekend. The weekend *Newspapers* included *Fridays, Saturdays* and *Sundays*. The week days were *Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays* and *Thursdays*. In total 53 newspapers were analyzed.

4.5 Data collection

Data was collected through questionnaires that captured the indicators for analysis as follows:

- **Type of story**
- **Placement of the story**
- **Story size**
- **Author of article**
- **Category**
- **Tone of writer**
- **Fairness of article**
- **Framing of elections**

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 FINDINGS, PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSIONS

This chapter presents and discusses the findings of the study. The study analyzed 53 Nation newspapers in which 115 articles were studied

5.1 Presentation of Findings

A total of 115 articles were analysed from the *Daily Nation, Saturday Nation*, and *Sunday Nation*.
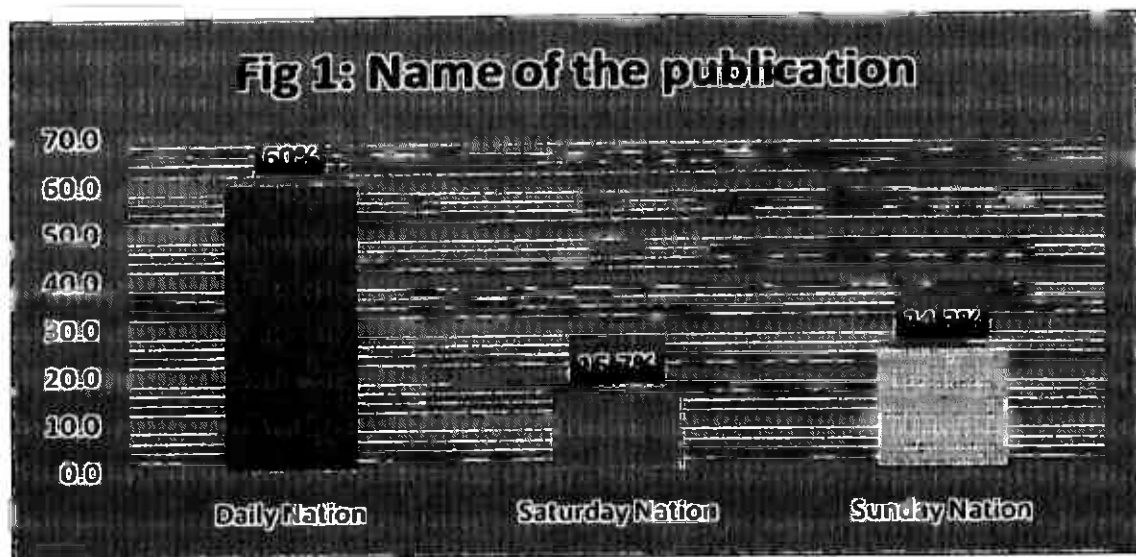

Figure: 5.1 Name of the Publication

Out of the 115 articles analysed 60 per cent of the stories appeared in the *Daily Nation*, followed by the *Sunday Nation* at 24.3 per cent and *Saturday Nation* had the least of stories at 15.7 per cent.

Fig 2: Date of the Publication

60.0		
50.0		
40.0		
30.0	51.3%	
20.0		27.0%
10.0	21.7%	
0.0		
Jan-february	March-April	May-June
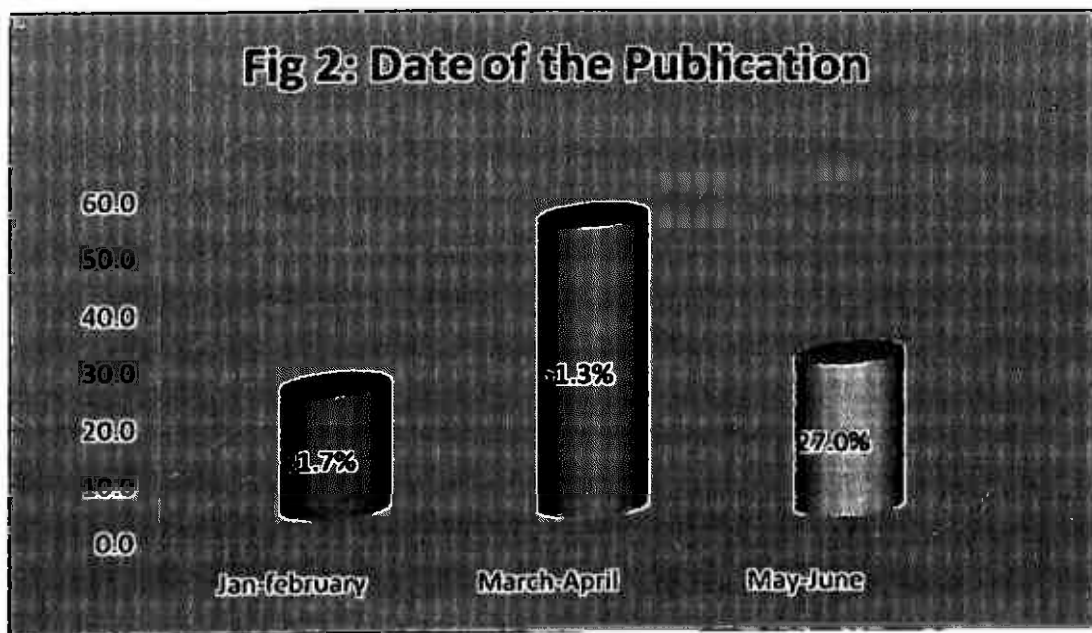
Figure: 5.2   Date of the Publication

The period of March-April had the highest number of stories on the conflict situation at 51.3 percent; May- June had 27 per cent while January-February had the least number of stories at 21.7 per cent.

The explanation is that the clashes began towards the end of 1991 and by early January and February the government was able to calm the situation by sending security personnel in the affected areas. However the conflict recurred in March-April as calls for multiparty democracy intensified with some of the leaders from Kalenjin, Masaai, Turkana, and Samburu (KAMATUSA) threatening to evict non-Kamatusa ethnics groups which they alleged were sympathetic to opposition. Again in May-June most of the non-Kalenjins had left the clash areas thus fewer stories came up during that period.

The fact that the *Nation Newspapers* were able to highlight the clashes shows that it played its role in bringing to attention to the public what was happening in Rift Valley and the victims were able to be assisted to move to safe places through the help of the church and other non-governmental organization. The government was also able to send security personal to mitigate the situation.
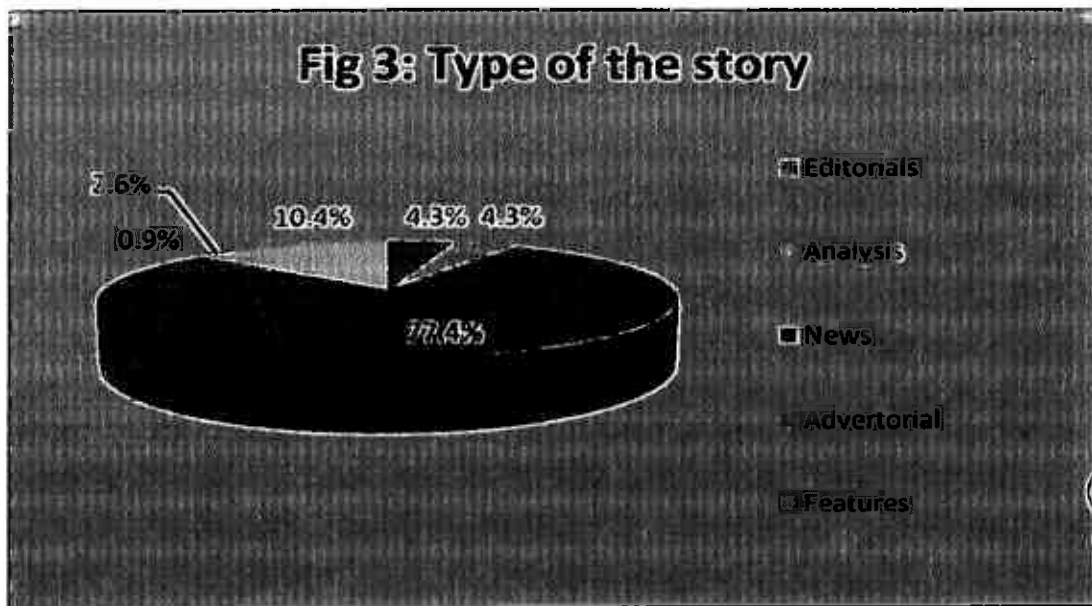
Figure: 5.3   Type of the Story

In a sample of 115 articles studied in figure 5.3 above 77.4 per cent were hard news stories, 10.4 per cent were Advertorials; Editorials and Analysis had 4.3 per cent each, 2.6 per cent formed features stories and 0.9 per cent formed commentary and other opinion. This shows that more emphasis was put on news while analysis, features and editorials received less focus by the *Nation Newspapers* during the period that was under study.

Editorials and commentaries can be used to interpret and to justify or demonize issues or information. This means that the *Newspapers* are able to take a stand or persuade those involved in the conflict situation to have a second look at the repercussions however the contrary happened as the figure shows more news stories compared to analysis.

This can be linked to the authoritarian rule at that time in which the *Nation Newspapers* operated. It could also be linked to fear for government interference in its publication that *Nation Newspapers* could not actively criticize the government for failing to act on the clashes. The interpretation of the findings could also be linked to the self-censorship of the *Nation Newspapers* in which the reporters and editorial team could not highlight some issues either due to being either partisan or out of fear of harassment or arrest by the police. The other reason could be linked to the training of the journalists at that time

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in which sense they were not able to adequately give the background information to the clashes through research thus contributing to less analysis and commentaries.
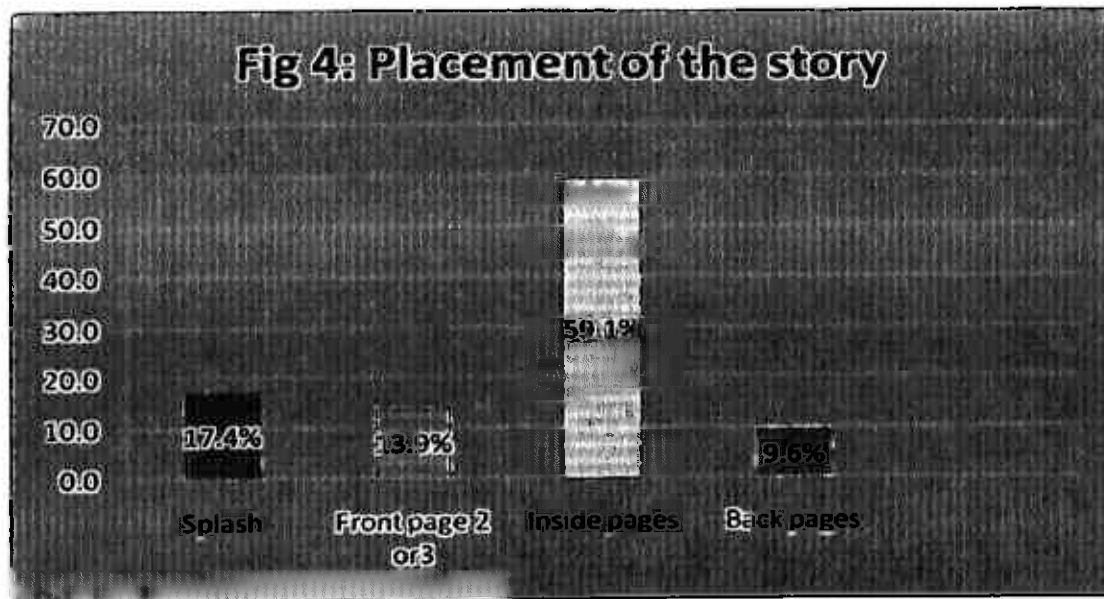

Figure: 5.4   Placement of the Story

Figure 5.4 shows that most of the stories were in the insides pages at 59.1 per cent, 13.9 per cent were at the front pages 2 and 3, 17.4 per cent were splash and 9.6 per cent were at the back pages.

Placement of the stories is important in the sense that it indicates what the Nation Newspapers considered to be of importance at that particular time. Placed at splash, front pages, back pages and editorial or opinions pages an issue receives more visibility, relevance and importance in the minds of the readers.

The fact that a few stories appeared as *Splash*, on *Back page*, and *front pages 2* and *3* relates to the agenda-setting theory in which salience was given to the stories the *Nation Newspapers* considered to be of importance during the clashes in Rift Valley. However stories in the inside pages being more than those in the above mentioned pages could be as a result of journalists being arrested for questioning on where they had gotten the information whenver they had front page stories highlighting the conflict situation in Rift Valley this authoritarian effect on the *Nation Newspapers* could be the reason why many stories were carried in the inside pages.

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The other explanation on placement is some of the powerful party operatives in KANU befriended some of the editors and were influential in the 'killing of news' stories from dissidents in the interest of national unity, and publishing stories from the ruling party at the expense of the national interest stories. Some times big stories which would have made headlines were at times relegated to a few paragraphs in the inside pages just by a 'telephone call' from senior government officials.
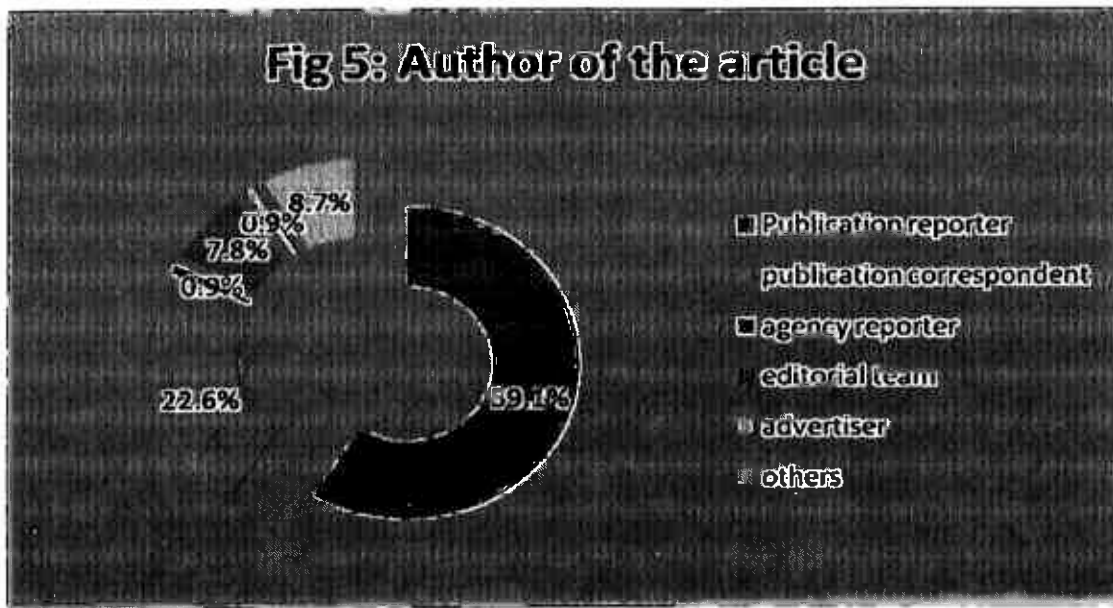

Figure: 5.5   Author of the Article

The figure 5.5 above shows that out of 115 articles analysed 59.1 per cent were done by the publication reporter(s), Publication correspondents covered 22.6 per cent of the stories. Others who included letters to the editor, commentary and other opinions had 8.7 per cent of the articles, editorial team had 7.8 per cent of the articles while advertiser and agency reporters had 0.9 per cent each.

Apart from the *Nation Newspapers* reporters and correspondents writing articles the figure shows that commentary and opinions were highlighted in the Newspapers. This shows that the *Nation Newspapers* opened a free and open communication among the public and other writers to discuss the conflict issues that were affecting Rift Valley and thus helped the international community to come and intervene. This shows that the *Nation Newspapers* in this democratic process that was a principal institution in which the public understood the conflict that was being experienced in the Rift Valley region. It

contributed to the public field by presenting information through news, letters to the editor, and commentaries. This encouraged debate on the conflict situation in Rift Valley.
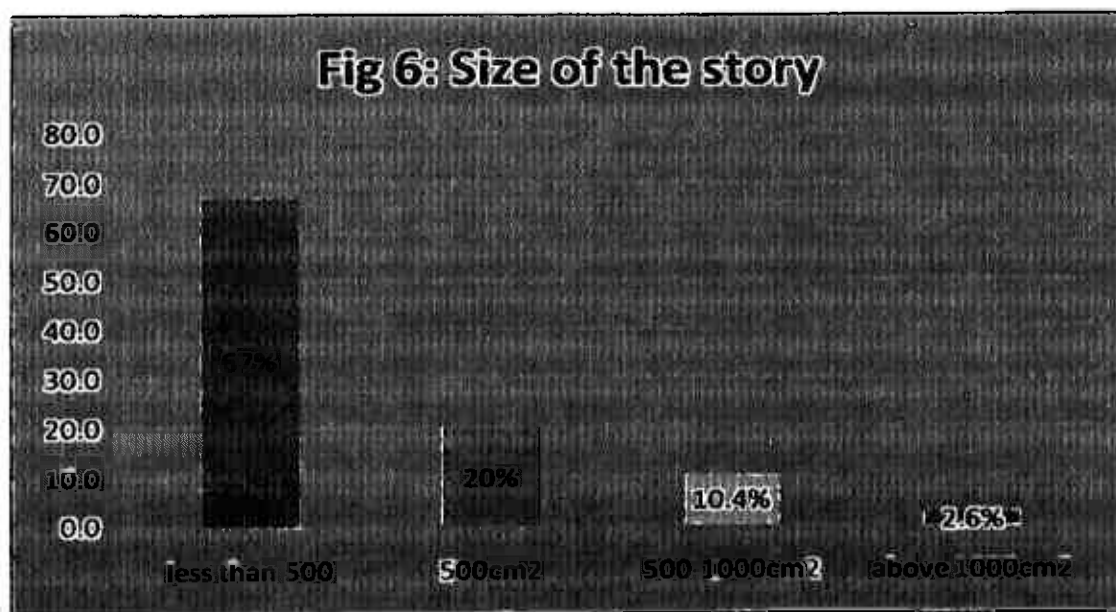

Figure: 5.6   Size of the Story

Most of the stories captured in Figure 5. 6 above occupied less than 500cm^2 and were mostly hard news stories at 67 per cent, 20 per cent of stories with 500cm^2 came mostly in the month of March when the conflict intensified and those between 500 and 1,000cm^2 were mostly pictorials focussing on the fleeing victims and the destruction that had been caused by the conflict with 10.4 per cent while the 2.6 per cent occuping above 1,000cm^2 were feature stories.

Nation Newspapers devoted more space to news items that they considered to be important given features on the conflict situation in Rift Valley 500-1,000cm^2 and above 1,000cm^2 that focussed both on the victims and what was being done to address the situation. On the other hand, the *Nation Newspapers* did not consider the conflict situation to be of importance because most of the articles were less than 500cm this means it gave less focus to the conflict situation in Rift Valley therefore relegating its responsibility to inform the public adequately. The amount of space given could not allow for more analysis and interpretation of the conflict situation in Rift Valley. This

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could have enhanced the conflict by not giving the public enough information on reasons behind the conflict and how it was affecting the public.

The other probable explanation is that during the one-party system newspapers were forced to report as news whatever senior government or KANU party officials said and if the newspaper failed to comply, it staff were branded as dissidents or traitors. This meant giving other news stories prominence and assigning conflict stories little amount of space. This can be linked to the authoritarian theory which the KANU government used to *Nation Newspapers* to inform people of what ther rulers thought the public should know and the policies the rulers thought they should support.
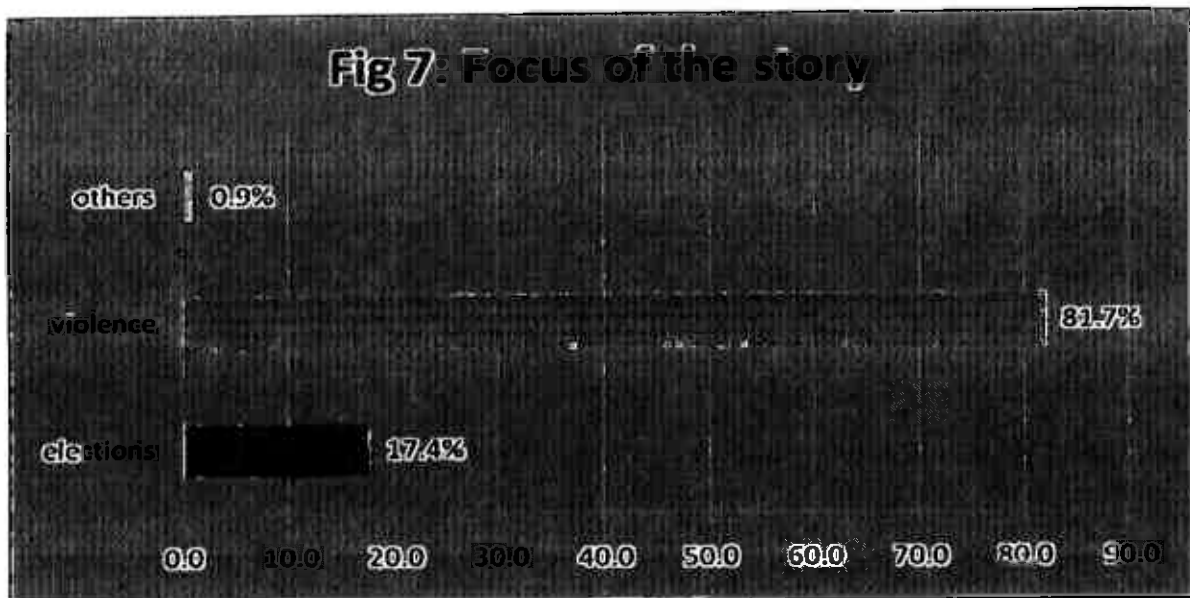
Figure: 5.7   Focus of the Stories

In Figure 5.7 above and figure 5.8 below, out of the 115 stories analysed, 81.7 per cent focused on violence while 17.4 per cent were on elections. Those that focused on elections framed the stories as tribal showdown at 2.6 per cent, 1.7 per cent framed the elections as a tight race without a winner while majority of the stories were non-committal.
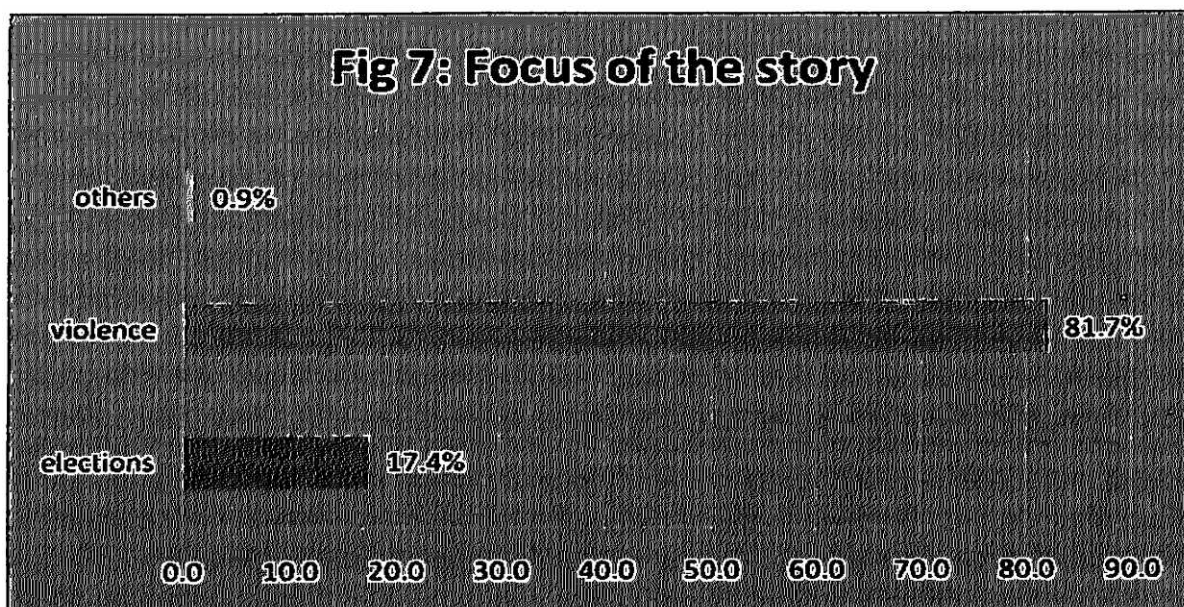
Fig 7: Focus of the story

Category	Percentage
others	0.9%
violence	81.7%
elections	17.4%

Figure 5.7: Focus of the story

Out of the 115 stories analyzed, 81.7 per cent focused on violence while 17.4 per cent were on elections.

In the figure above the focus was on the violence as opposed to the elections. This shows that the *Nation Newspapers* gave the conflict situation in Rift Valley the attention and set the agenda for the public. By focusing on the violence it helped in refocusing the attention of the public from the campaigns and elections that were to be held that year and directed most stories to the conflict that was affecting the lives of the people in Rift Valley. In this finding the Nation Newspapers put emphasis on the conflict and played its social responsibility role in promoting peace.

In explaining the findings in figure 5.8 below on framing of the stories, under the authoritarian state in which *Nation Newspapers* were operating, the *Newspapers* probably found it hard to be drawn into the elections that may have interpreted to mean that they were biased. It remained non-committal to be able to operate effectively and give the public balanced reporting from both the government and the opposition.

The other reason is that story that was seen to be leaning on the opposition side was perceived to be a sign of dissidence.
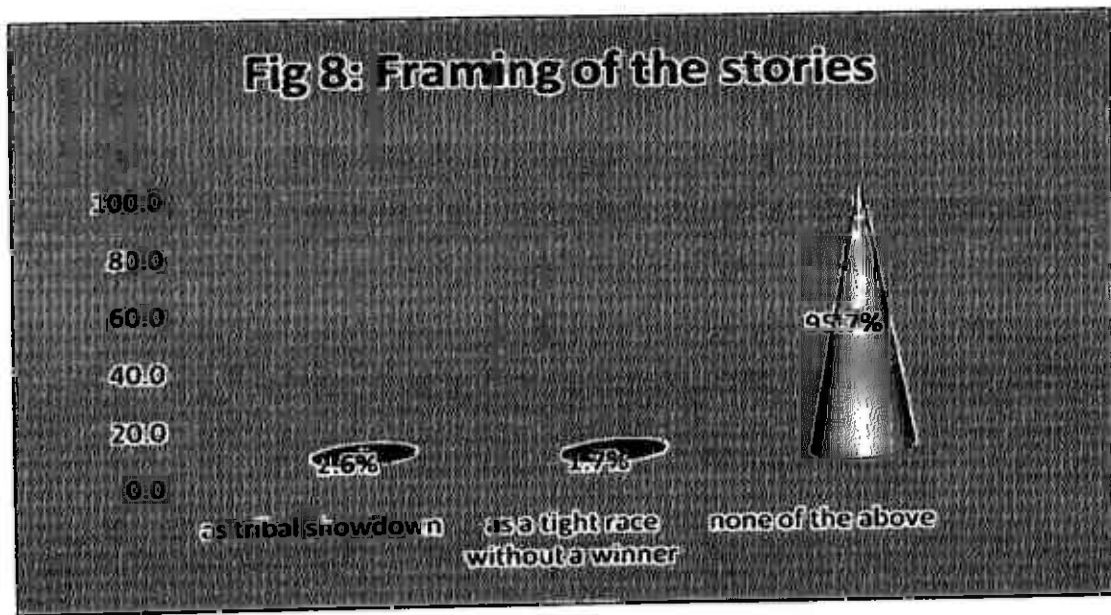
Fig 8: Framing of the stories

Figure: 5.8 Framing of the stories

Fig 9: Contestants coverage

Figure: 5.9 Contestants Coverage

As indicated in Fig: 5.9, most stories were neutral in the coverage of the contestants in elections at 61.7 per cent, 27.8 per cent did not show their stand , while 4.3 per cent gave equal coverage and 6.1 per cent were biased in their coverage.

Whereas the *Nation Newspapers* were neutral in their coverage of contestants, some articles were biased. The biasness would have been as a result of some of the journalist lacking training to give both parties fair coverage either due to lack of training or due to

the element of self-censorship. In case of the figure above neutrality meant that the *Nation Newspapers* reporters gave news a reflection of reality. The *Newspapers* journalists reported what they saw as accurately and objectively as possible meaning that missing gaps were filled and distortions corrected to merit the public interest.
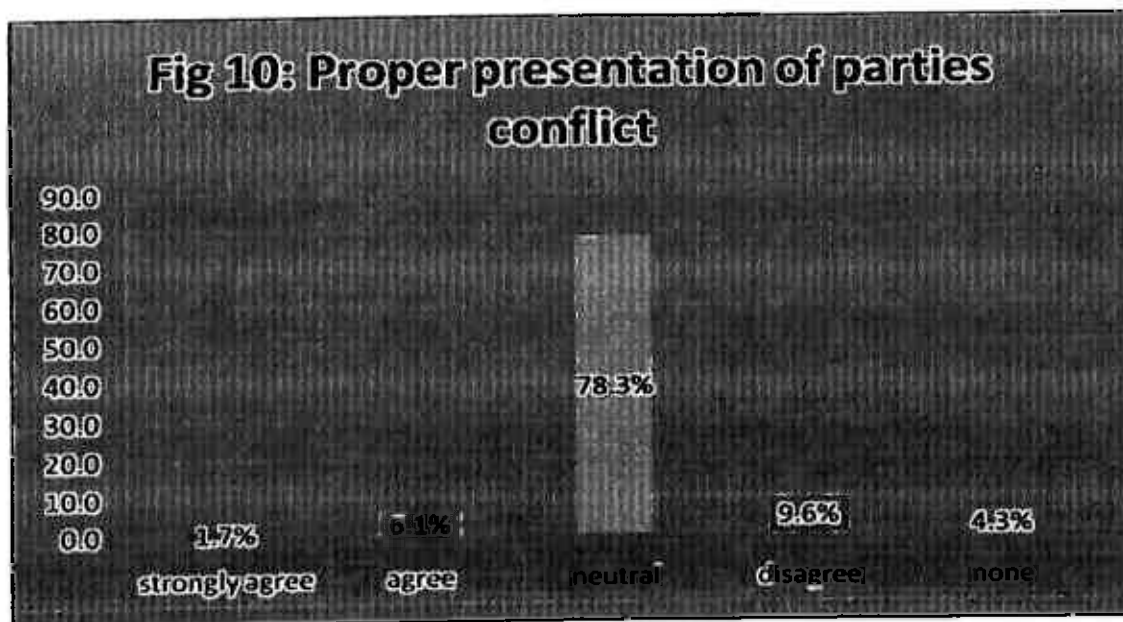

Figure: 5.10   Whether Parties In The Conflict Were Given Proper Presentation

Out of 115 articles anaylysed 78.3 per cent were neutral in their presentation of parties tothe conflict, 9.6 per cent leaned toward a particular party in the conflict, 6.1 per cent gave equal presentation to the parties in the conflct, and 4.3 per cent did not take a stand.

As like in figure 5.9, the *Nation Newspapers* reported conflict as it happened as accurately and objectively as possible and therefore remaining central on the issues. But there were also elements of biasness that could be attributed to the reporter taking sides either because they belonged to a certain ethnic group or they did not understand the importance of analysing news due to their training.

It would also be interpreted that the journalist did not have enough time to go into the details of the conflicting parties due to the deadlines set by the *Nation Newspapers*. Some reporters feared being harassed by the members of public in the areas they operated if they reported negatively about what was happening thus they were forced to be bias.

Partiality on the part of the *Nation Newspapers* reporters indicates that some information was suppressed so the quality of the information was not accurate meaning that the public was not propely informed on what was going on in Rift Valley.
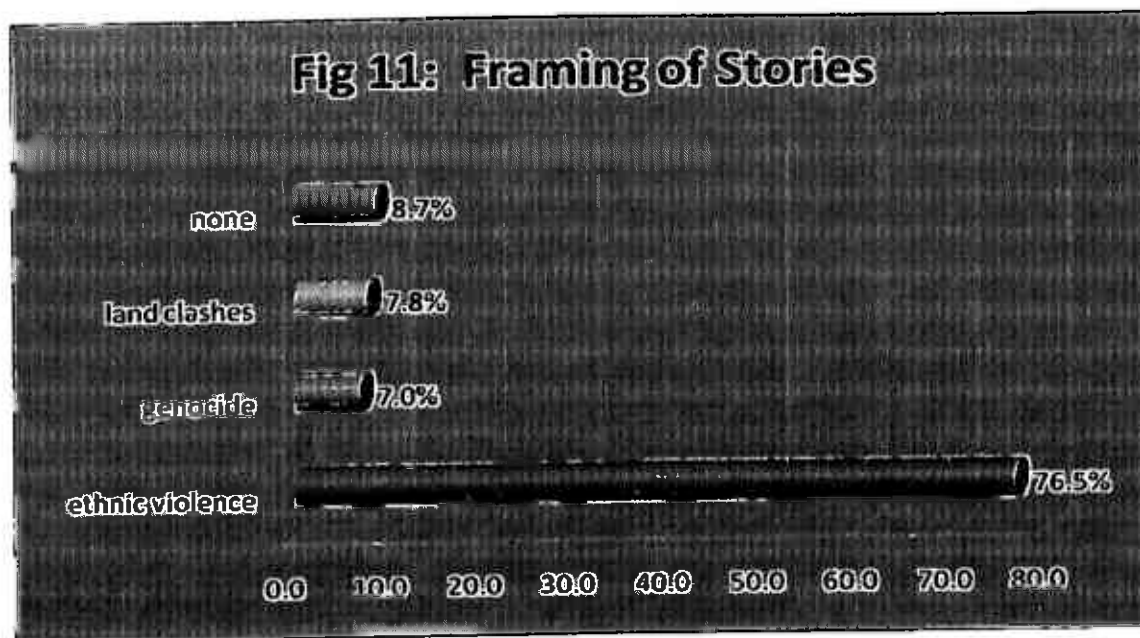

Figure 5.11   Framing of the stories

As shown in figure 5.11 most stories were framed as ethnic violence at 76.5 per cent, 7.8 per cent depicted the violence as land clashes, 7 per cent as genocide while 8.7 per cent did not frame the conflict.

Ethnic violence was mainly between the Kalenjins in Rift Valley against the non-Kalenjin residents of the province. While land clashes were depicted as non-indigenous being chased away from the province. Genocide was depicted as Kenyans mercilessly killing one another.

Nation Newspapers framing of the conflict as ethnic violence made a moral judgment and diagnosed the causes of conflict that would help remedy the conflict. In this way it contributed to mitigating the conflict so that the issue could be addressed by the authorities. On the other hand the fact that it framed the conflict as ethnic violence it

fueled the conflict since animosity built in areas where Kalenjins were living outside the Rift Valley region.
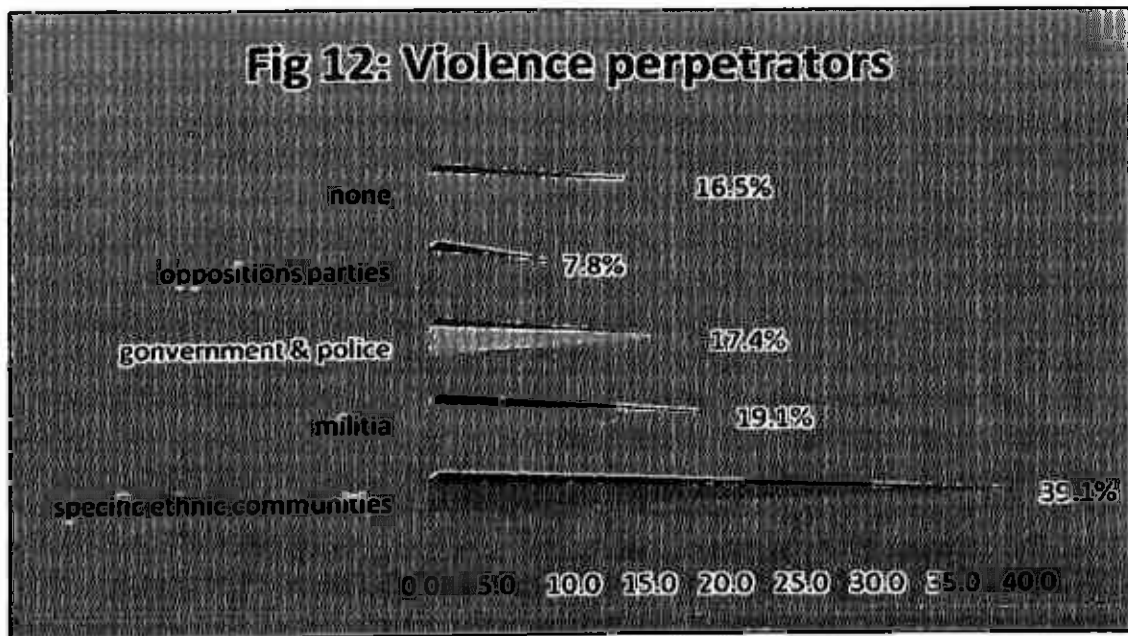

Fig 12: Violence perpetrators

none	16.5%
oppositions parties	7.8%
gonvernment & police	17.4%
militia	19.1%
specific ethnic communities	39.1%

0.0 5.0 10.0 15.0 20.0 25.0 30.0 35.0 40.0

Figure: 5.12   Perpetrators of violence

In Figure 5.12 above, specific communities were depicted as the perpetrators of violence against other identified ethnic groups at 39.1 per cent of the stories covered. Blame on militias was at 19.1 per cent, government and police at 17.4 per cent. Opposition parties were rated at 7.8 per cent while 16.5 per cent of the stories did not indicate who the perpetrators were.

Members of the opposition blamed the government for fanning the violence while the government blamed the opposition with their calls for multiparty for the violence that was being witnessed in the country.

Nation Newspapers depicted the conflict as specific ethnic groups attacking the other and sometimes went further to name the groups. This could be interpreted to mean fueling the conflict since the attacked communities organized themselves to hit back. The government was blamed in relation to being reluctant to respond to the conflict when it had the machinery to safeguard the lives of the victims. *The Nation Newspapers* played their watchdog role in pointing out that the security personnel were partial when they

went to the Rift Valley to provide security in that they disarmed certain ethnic groups and left the other. In pointing out that the militia was to blame for the clashes in Rift Valley the *Nation Newspapers* went further to give details of how the group dressed and where they were hiding.
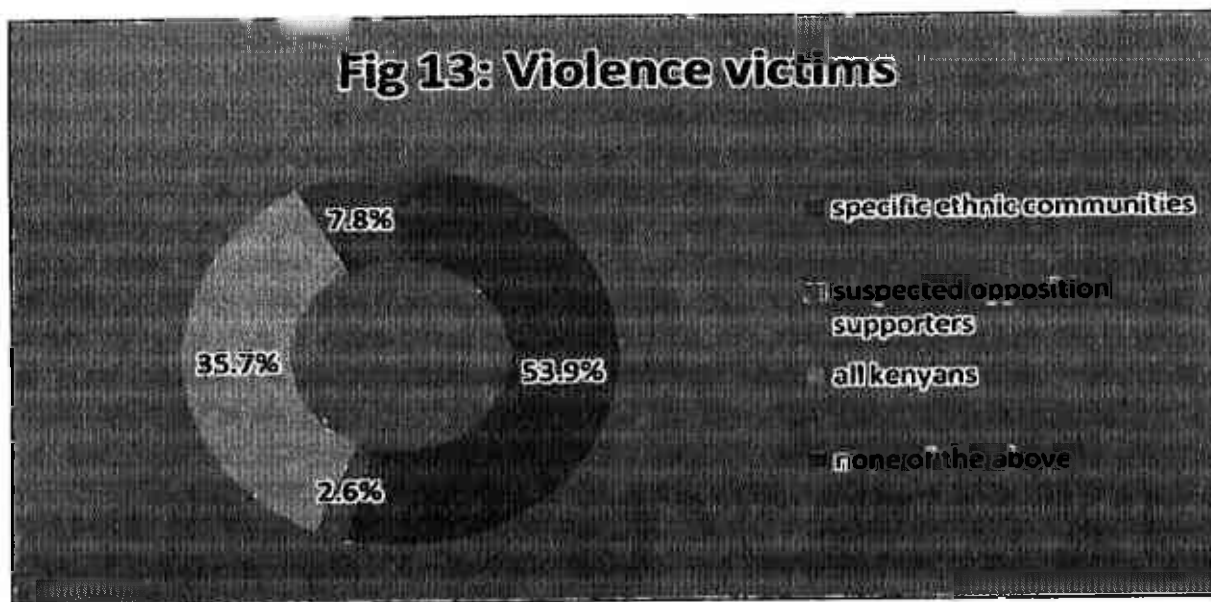

Fig 13: Violence victims

- 7.8%
- 35.7%
- 53.9%
- 2.6%
- specific ethnic communities
- suspected opposition supporters
- all kenyans
- none of the above

Figure: 5.13   Violence Victims

Victims of the violence were specific ethnic communities at 53.9 per cent, all Kenyans at 35.7 per cent, 2.6 per cent were suspected opposition supporters, and 7.8 per cent of the stories did not identify the victims of the violence.

Nation Newspapers pointed out the specific ethnic communities were victims of violence this created suspicion and fear among Kenyan ethnic communities for lack of trusting the neighbours. The reason would be that the *newspapers* did not interpret the impact it would have on the different communities in Kenya. This is against the social responsibility for the *Nation Newspapers* to serve the public interest in matters of information and publicity and culture. It did not promote the cultural diversity of Kenyan so that they could live in peace.
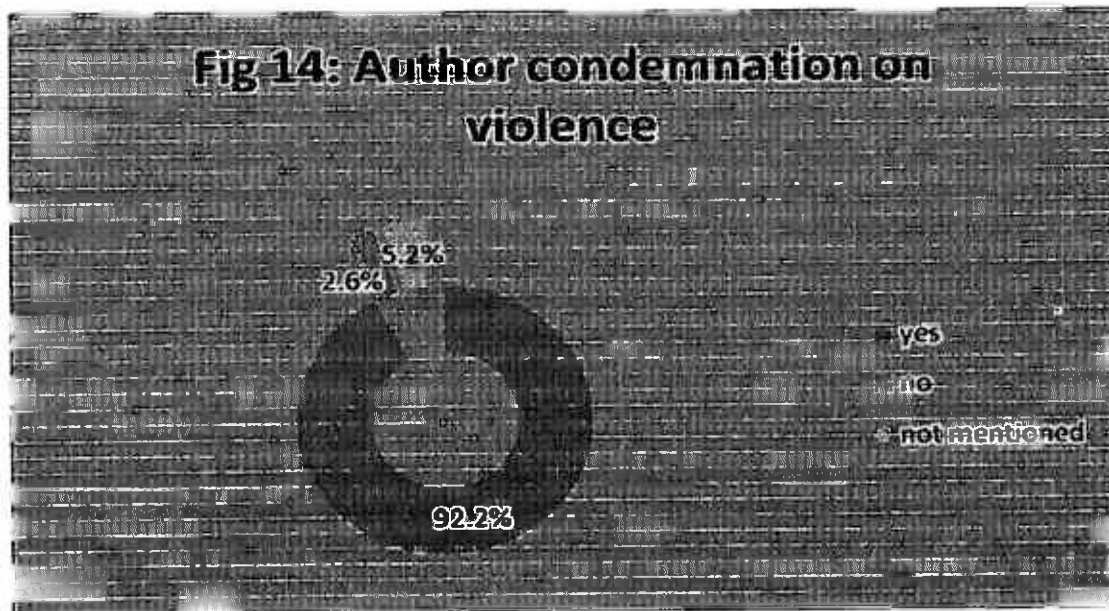
Figure: 5.14   Author Condemnations on Violence

In 92.2 per cent of the articles, the author condemned the violence while in 2.6 per cent of the articles did not condemn the violence and 5.2 per cent did not take a stand.

Despite the fact that the *Nation Newspapers* operated under the one party system that was synonymous with *authoritarian* rule, it condemned the violence that was being experienced in Rift Valley in 1992 general elections year. That 92.2 per cent of articles condemned the violence shows that the *Newspapers* were independent in its stand on the clashes in Rift Valley. This independence of the *Nation Newspapers* was valued under the circumstances in which the *Newspapers* were operating and thus maintained credibility among the public. This was a reflection of the *Social Responsibility theory of the press* because the condemnation was based on news events that were carried in the *Newspapers* and could be checked against the sources.

There was also a small percentage in which the newspapers did not condemn the violence this could mean there was no analysis of that particular news articles could be because the reporters reported events just as they happened and did not go beyond to interpret the events for the public.
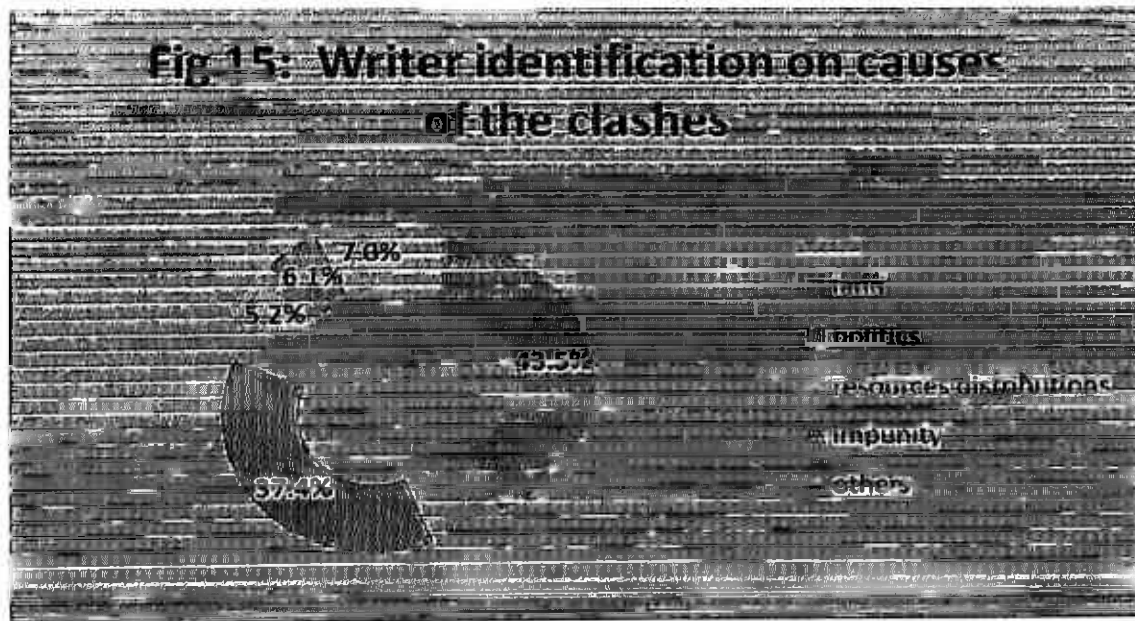
Figure: 5.15   Writer Identification of Causes of the Clashes

In Fig: 5.15 the articles where the author condemned the violence the identified causes of violence were land 43.5 per cent, politics 37.4 per cent, impunity 6.1 per cent while resource distribution was 5.2 per cent and other causes at 7 per cent.

Articles that identified impunity as the cause of violence indicated that the government was able to curb the violence but was reluctant to do so, adding that the security personnel sent to calm the situation were either impartial in their provision of security or could not arrest those involved in perpetrating the violence.

The *Newspapers* pointed out that politics, land and resource distribution and others which included calls for federalism/majimbo caused inter-ethnic clashes. The fact that the *Nation Newspapers* identified the causes of conflict in Rift Valley and criticized the government for its lethargy in solving the conflict showed that the *Nation Newspapers* played its Social Responsibility role in serving as a forum for exchange of comment and criticism and acted as a common carrier of the public expression. The Newspapers cautioned politicians to be cautious in their utterances. It went further to give the conflict situation in Rift Valley meaning by giving a comprehensive account of the day's happenings in the Rift Valley province during the 1992 general election year.
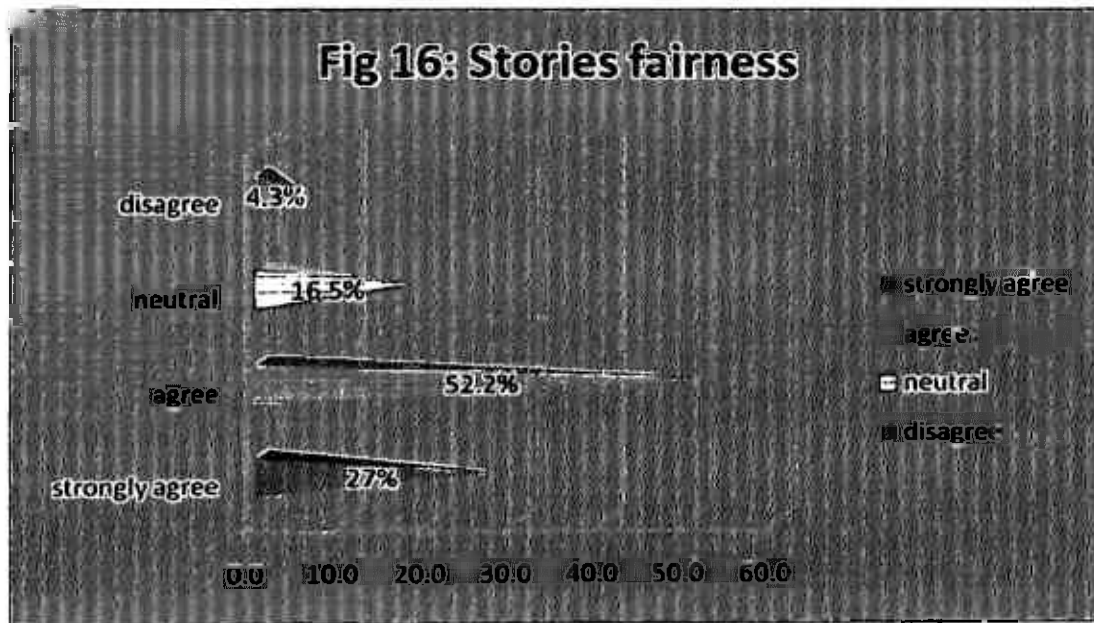
Fig 16: Stories fairness

	Percentage
disagree	4.3%
neutral	16.5%
agree	52.2%
strongly agree	27%

Legend: strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree

Figure: 5.16   Stories Fairness

On the question of fairness 52.2 per cent of the stories were fair in their coverage, 27 per cent gave equal coverage to the parties while 16.5 per cent were neutral and 4.3 per cent leaned towards one party.

Over 79 per cent of the stories carried in the *Nation Newspapers* were fair. Fairness in coverage of the inter-ethnic clashes in Rift Valley showed that the *Nation Newspapers* gave a complete report of what was happening, the stories were accurate and both parties were given equal opportunity to give their views. The *Nation Newspapers* upheld *Social Responsibility theory of the press* that put emphasize place on the press to give an accurate account in its reporting. This is an indication that the Newspapers did not mislead the public and therefore the public had enough information on which to gauge the situation in the Rift Valley.
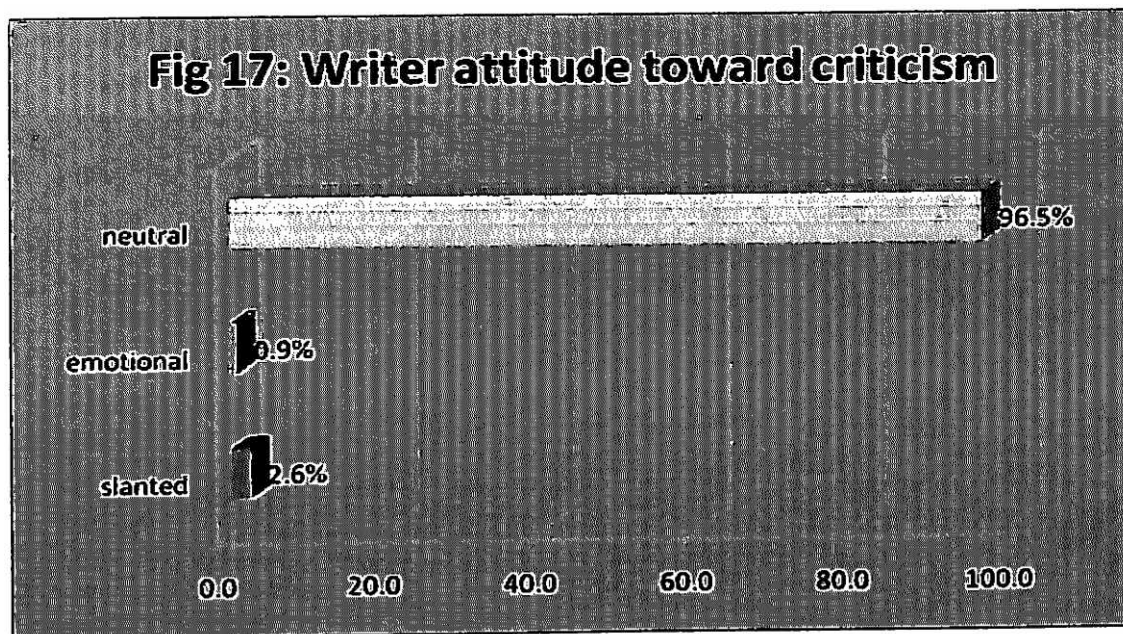
Figure: 5.17   Writers' Attitude towards Criticism

On the writer's attitude most stories showed that the attitude of the writer was neutral 96.5 per cent, slanted 2.6 per cent and emotional was only 0.9 per cent.

Most articles in *Nation Newspapers* were neutral. Neutrality under the transition period in which Kenya was undergoing, showed that the reporters suspended any personal preference of judgment in the Rift Valley inter-ethnic clashes. The *Nation Newspapers* were impartial in the coverage of the stories. The small percent of emotional and slanting of stories could be attributed to either the reporter being influenced by his/her personal random judgment of the situation at hand or fear of repercussions such as being attacked by the certain ethnic group members of public in the area of his/her jurisdiction. The reason for slanted stories could also be because the *Nation Newspapers* journalists mixed news with their own personal opinion.

On hate speech, Figure 5.18 shows that the majority, that is 87 per cent of the stories, did not contain hate speech, 6.1 per cent were neutral, and only 3.5 per cent contained hate speech while remaining 3.5 per cent did not take any stand.
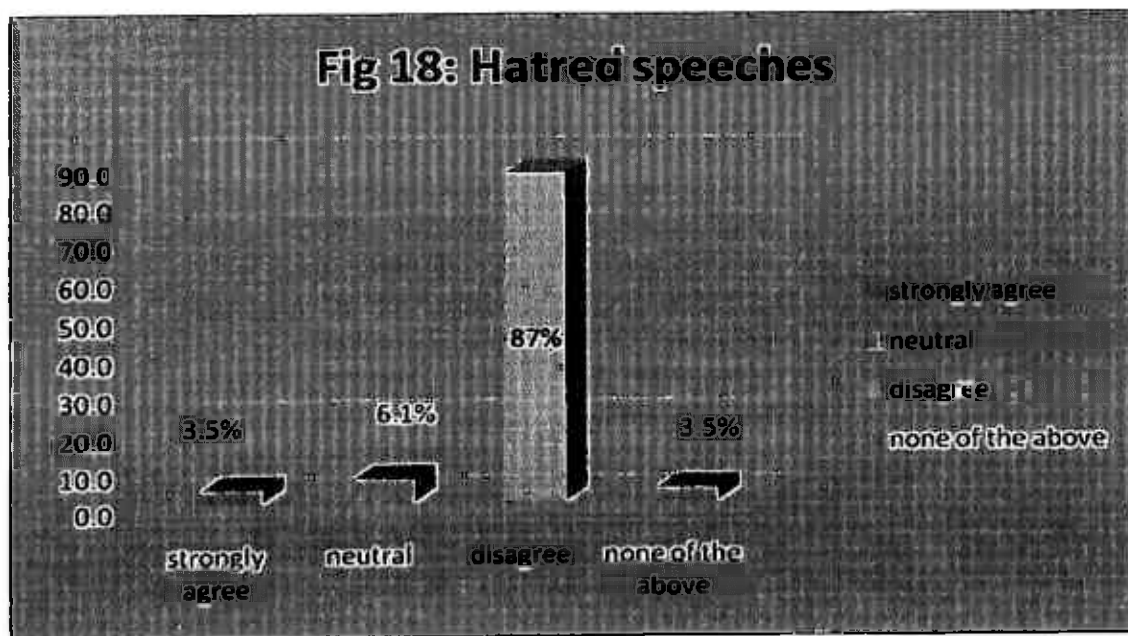
Fig 18: Hatred speeches

Figure: 5.18   Hate Speeches

That 87 per cent of the stories did not contain hate speeches is an indication that the Nation Newspapers protected the public against inflammatory statements that could have fuelled inter-ethnic clashes in Rift Valley. This shows that the Newspapers recognized decent, non-provocative and non-abusive language as the only acceptable means of communication of activities during conflict situation in Rift Valley in 1992 general elections year. In this way the Newspaper acted as a facilitator of dialogue and reconciliation rather than confrontation.

Figure 5.19 below indicates that on language use against other communities, 87.8 per cent of the articles showed that the stories did not use language that demeaned other communities, 3.5 per cent indicated that the language demeaned other communities, while 7 .7 per cent were neutral.

Most of the stories captured in the Nation Newspapers indicated that Newspapers were objective in their reporting as they focused on facts and accuracy of the stories and did not use the language that demeaned other communities. This shows that they guarded against fuelling inter-ethnic conflict in Rift Valley.
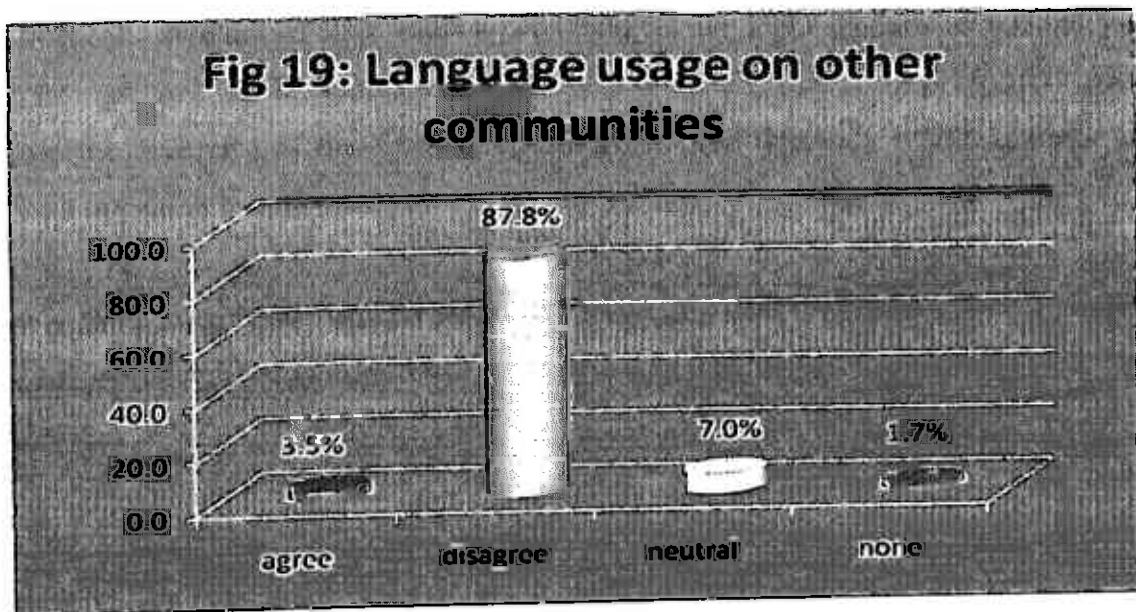
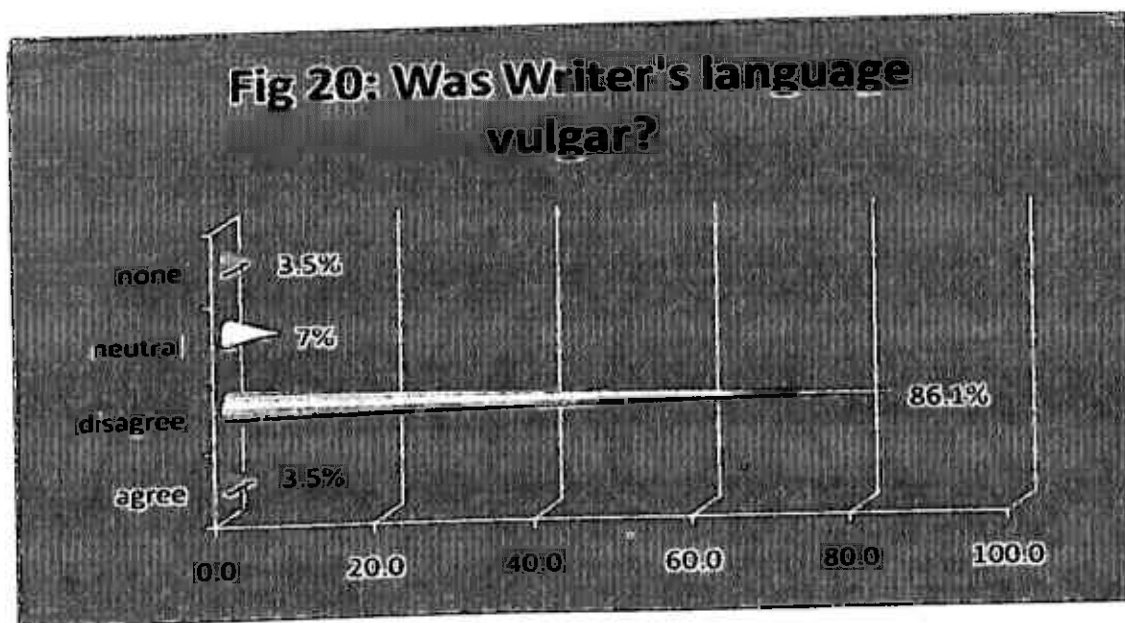**Figure: 5.19 Language Usage on Other Communities**

Figure: 5.20 Was Writer's Language Vulgar?

On this question the majority of the stories analysed showed that the writer did not use vulgar language at 86.1 per cent, while 3.5 per cent showed that the language used was vulgar. Of the stories analysed, 7 per cent were neutral while another 3.5 per cent remained non-committal. Where the writer used vulgar language, it was a direct quotation from the source.

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fuel inter-ethnic clashes in Rift Valley province in the 1992 general elections year. The *Newspapers* played their social responsibility role in that the promoted peace and recognized the diversity of the Kenyan ethnic group and that they wanted public to live in harmony as opposed to animosity.

In this way the *Newspapers* built trust in its readership and was relied upon to convey accurate information that shunned vulgar languages that would intensify hatred among the public.
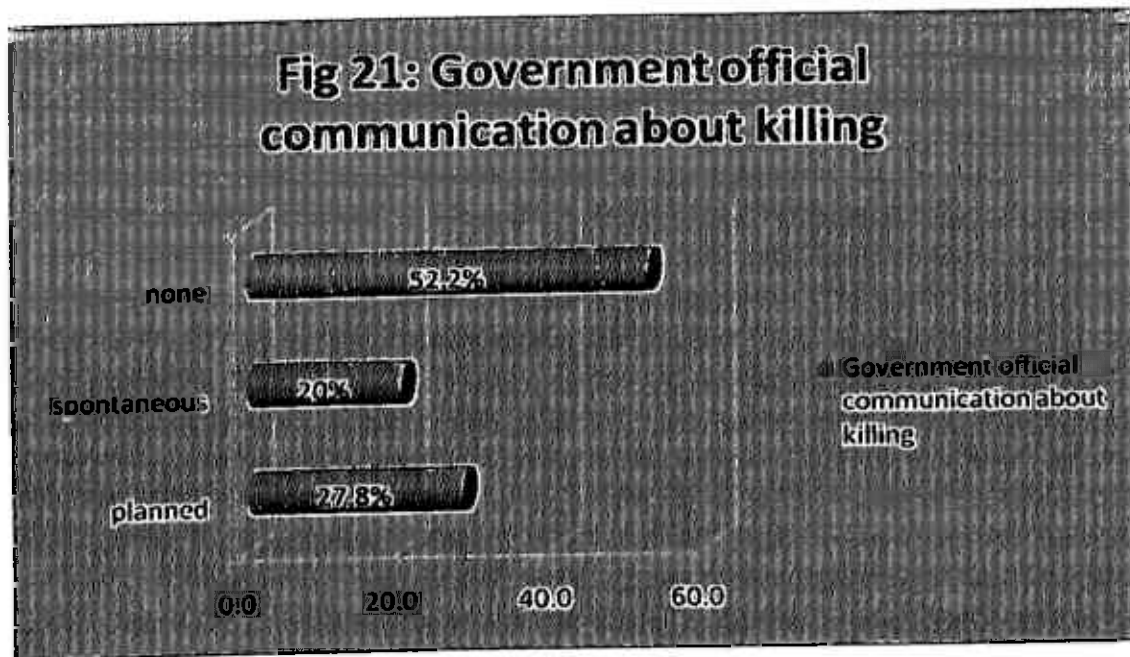

Figure: 5.21   Government Communications About The Killings

Of the articles analysed 27.8 per cent showed that the government interpretted the killings as planned, 20 per cent as spontaneus and 52.2 per cent did not indicate the stand. Where the government indicated the killings as planned opposition was blamed for having organized such killings.

Half of the articles did not take stand on the killings in the inter-ethnic clashes in Rift Valley in 1992 general elections. This is an indication that the *Nation Newspapers* avoided the blame game that was shifted from government to opposition and vice-versa. The findings show that the *Nation Newspapers* remained balanced in their coverage of the conflict giving each side equal opportunity to air their views.

It was also a sign of agenda-setting in that instead of focussing on who was to blame for the conflict situation that was affecting the people in Rift Valley to draw attention to the solution did so by sending security personnel to maintain peace. In this way the *Newspapers* helped in restoring calm instead of heightening the conflict situation.
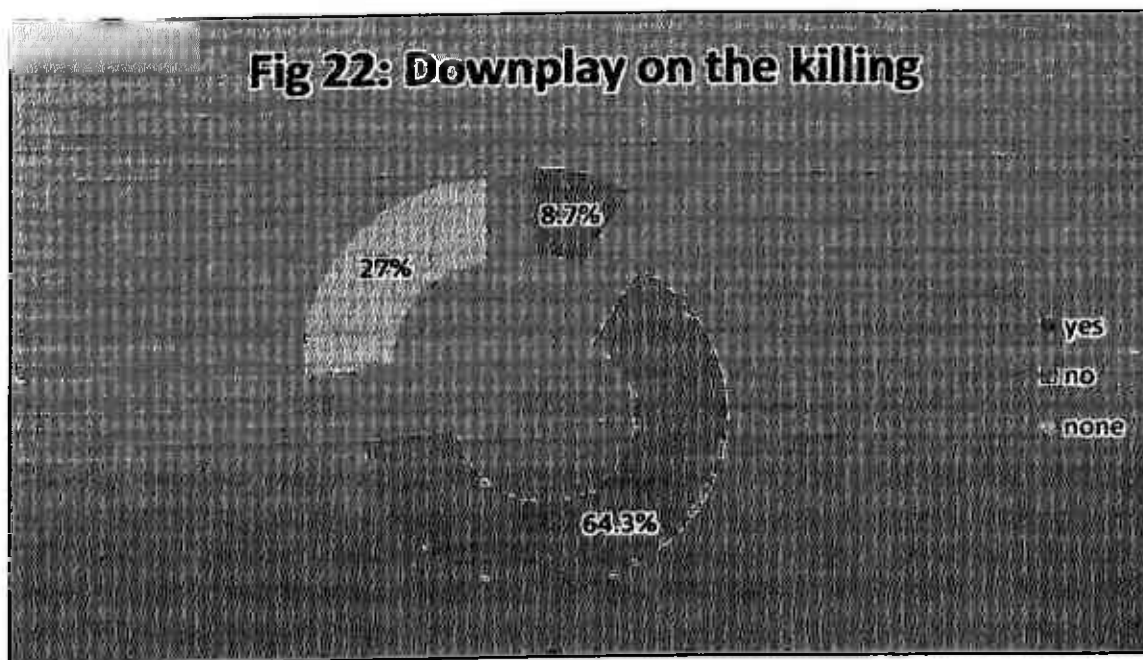

Figure: 2.22   Downplay of the Killings

On whether the government downplayed the killings, 64.3 per cent of the stories showed that the government did not downplay the killing while 8.7 per cent show that the government downplayed the killings and 27 per cent remained non-committal.

Through the agenda-setting role of the *Nation Newspapers* as explained above this helped the government to focus on the killings by taking the issue seriously. 64.3 per cent of the articles in the findings indicate that the government did not overlook the killings. They

In figure 5.23 the articles that indicated that the government downplayed the killings further said that the government did so by denying killings at 5.2 percent, falsified figures at 3.5 percent and criminalized the victims at 2.6 percent. The majority of the articles did not take any stand on the killings.
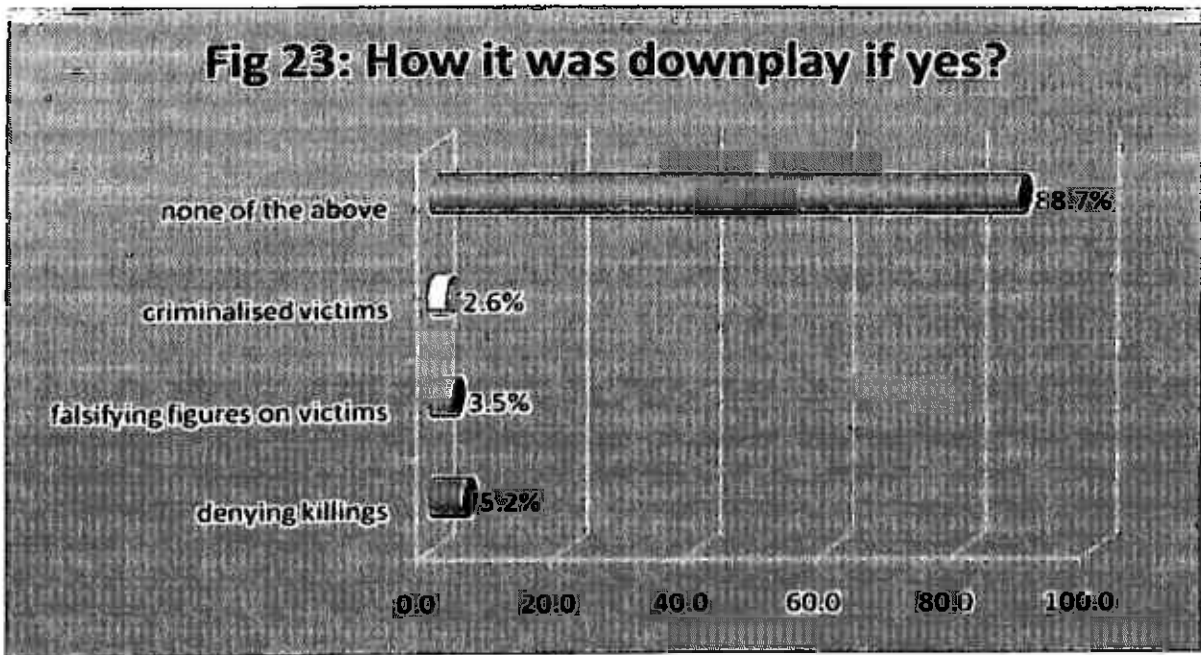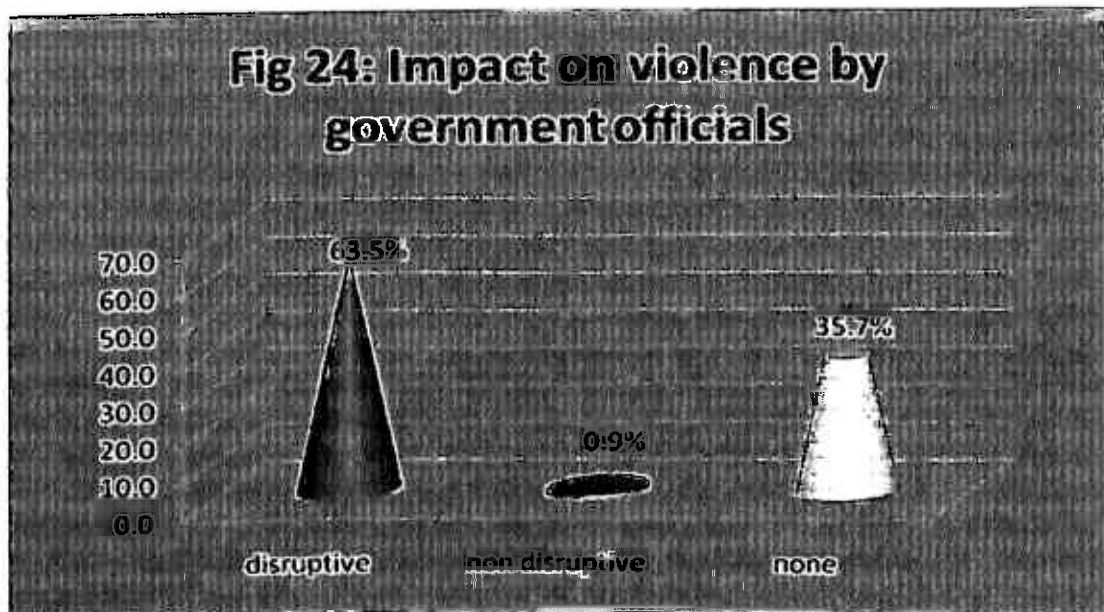
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Fig 23: How it was downplay if yes?

- none of the above — 88.7%
- criminalised victims — 2.6%
- falsifying figures on victims — 3.5%
- denying killings — 5.2%

Figure 2.23: How Killings were downplayed

Whereas the *Nation Newspapers* gave the figures of those who had been killed, the government denied the figures or falsified them to reflect that fewer people had been killed. The government denied or falsified the figures after questioning arresting and questioning the reporters sometimes for long hours over the stories. However that did not deter the *Nation Newspapers* from highlighting the impact of the inter-ethnic clashes in Rift Valley during the 1992 general elections year.

Fig 24: Impact on violence by government officials

- disruptive — 63.5%
- non disruptive — 0.9%
- none — 35.7%

Most of the stories indicated that the government termed the violence as disruptive with 63.5 per cent saying they were disruptive, 0.9 per cent showed that they were non-disruptive while 35.7 per cent did not make any comments on the impact of the violence.

Through the *Nation Newspapers* highlighting of the stories on inter-ethnic clashes in Rift Valley, the government assessed the situation as disruptive. This shows that the salience given to the inter-ethnic clashes in Rift Valley by the *Nation Newspapers* drew the attention of the government and they were able to address the situation after considering the impact it was having on people of the region and the country in general.

On the question whether the vilolence was disruptive, Figure 5.25 below idicates that out of 115 articles 29.6 per cent showed that the businesses closed down due to the violence, 23.5 per cent said the businesses were burnt down and 4.3 per cent businesses were vandalised. 42.2 per cent of the stories did not indicate the stand.

Through the agenda-setting role of the *Nation Newspapers* the government official said the inter-ethnic clashes had resulted in the business being closed down, burnt or vandalised. This is an indication that the focus was directed on impact of the inter-ethnic clashes on people's economic situation since their business was closed down. The other reason is that the government not only reflected on those who had been displaced but even those who dependend either as buyers or suppliers of the products that had now been affected.
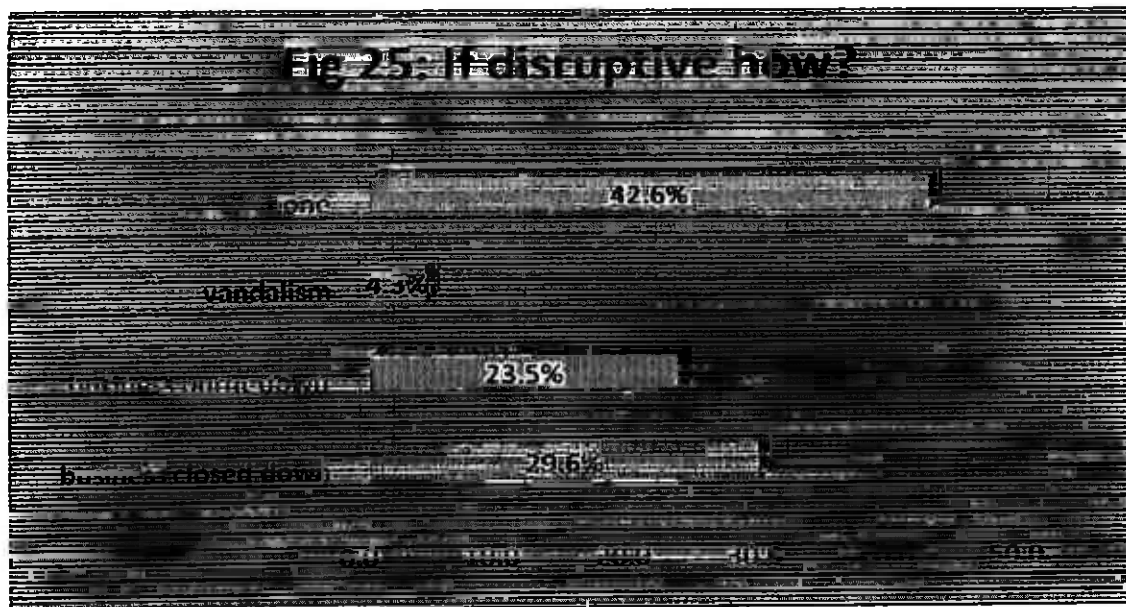
Figure: 5.25   If Violence was Disruptive
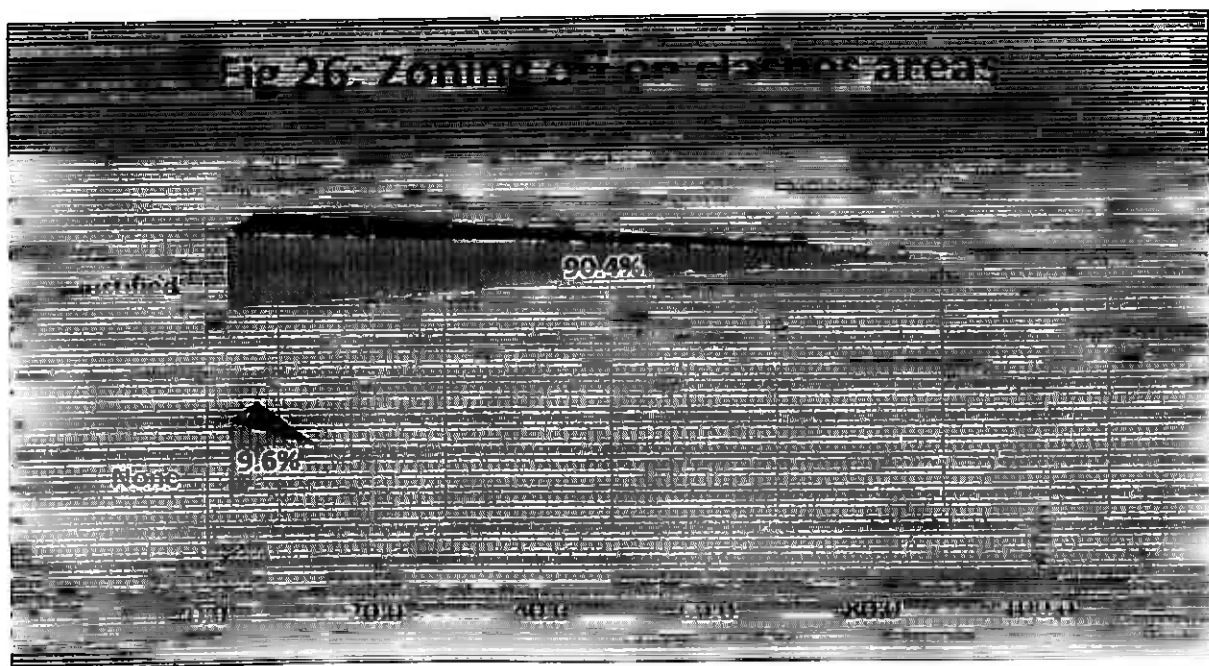

Figure: 5.26   Zoning off of Clash Areas

Most of the stories showed the government zoning off of clash areas was justified with 90.4 per cent of the articles while 9.6 per cent did not indicate the government's stand on zoning off.

The government justified zoning off security area but it could be interpreted to mean that it was deterring the *Nation Newspapers* from accessing the area to evaluate the situation and write about or deny the opposition a chance to campaign in the Rift Valley. This prior restraint could be related to authoritarian theory in which the press is denied access to information.

The figure 5.27 below shows that 37.4 per cent of the articles indicated that the government zoned off clash areas for the purpose of National security, 2.6 per cent because they were fanning ethnic violence and 7 per cent indicated that it was a political zone.

However where the stories indicated that there was zoning off it was taken to be political zone hence barring the opposition from accessing the area to campaign.
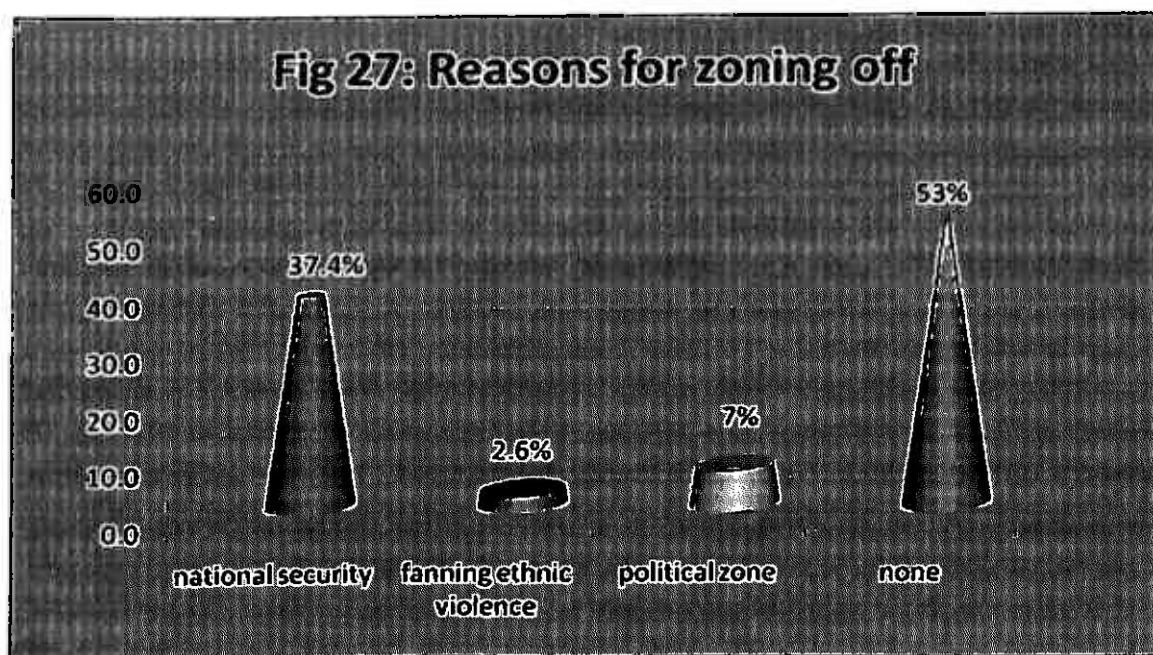
Figure: 2.27 Reasons for Zoning Off

Just as in the explanation for figure 5.26 above, the zoning off of clash areas could be interpreted to mean that the government barred the *Nation Newspapers* from getting accurate information from the clash areas. In relation to the authoritarian theory, it can also be argued that the government wanted the *Nation Newspapers* to depend on the information it could provide from the clash areas in which case it could be censored instead of going accessing the areas on its own.

from the clash areas. In relation to the authoritarian theory, it can also be argued that the government wanted the *Nation Newspapers* to depend on the information it could provide from the clash areas in which case it could be censored instead of going accessing the areas on its own.
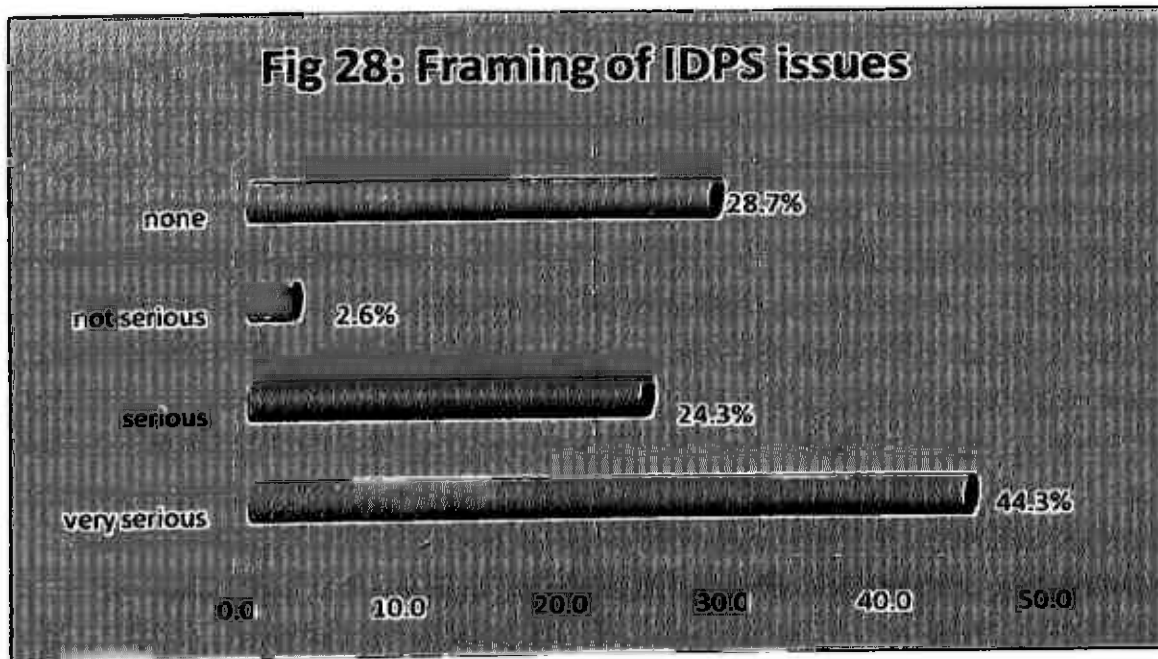
Figure: 5.28   *Framing of IDP Issues*

Some of the articles on issues of internal displaced persons (IDP) were seen as very serious 44.3 per cent, serious 24.3 per cent while 28.7 per cent of some articles did not take a position. 2.6 per cent indicated that the issue of IDPs was not a serious one.

The findings show that IDPs issues were given focus in the *Nation Newspapers* and therefore became the agenda for the government in which they saw them as serious and deserving attention.

Fig 29: Government response on IDPS

29.6%

47%

10.4%

13%

immediate
long term
delayed
none
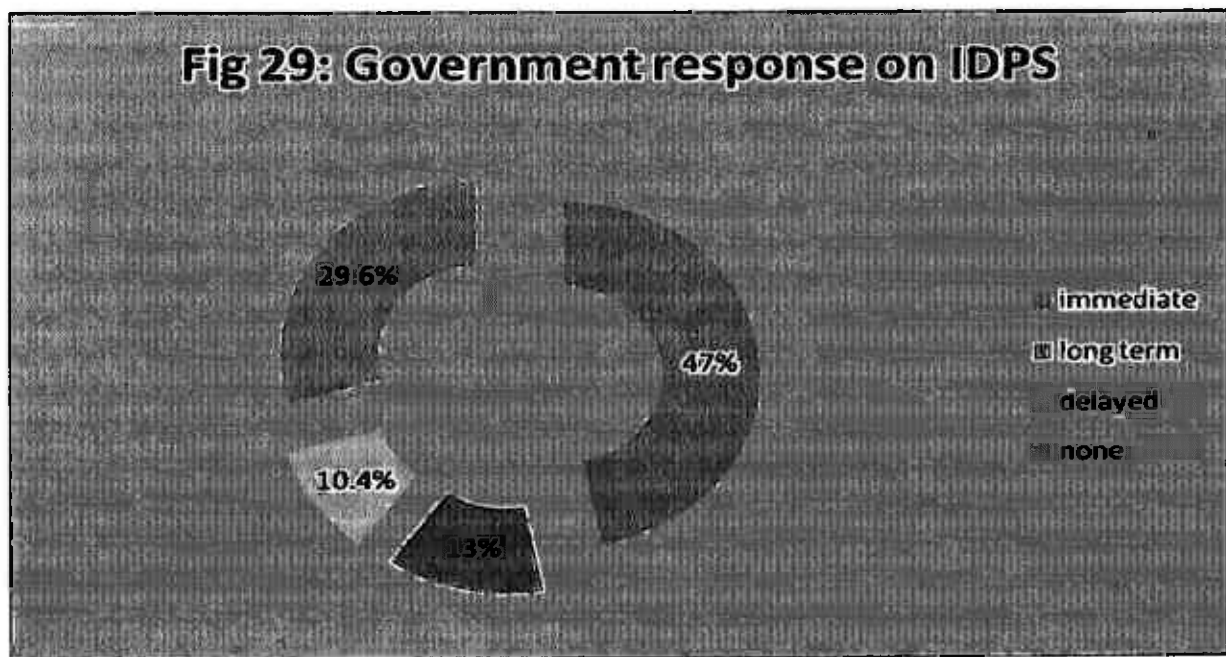
Figure: 5.29   Government Response on IDPS

Figure 5.29 shows that 47 per cent of the articles indicated that the government took immediate action to address the issues of internally displaced persons, 13 per cent indicated that the government indicated a long-term solution, 10.4 per cent showed that the government delayed to take action while 29.6 per cent did not take a position on the issue.

The government responded by acting immediately while it also looked at the long-term solution to the issue of internal displaced persons in inter-ethnic clashes in Rift Valley during the 1992 general elections year. This was made possible through the articles that the *Nation Newspapers* carried. In this way it played a role in bringing to the attention the situation of those who had been displaced.

Figure: 5.30 Government Priorities on IDPS

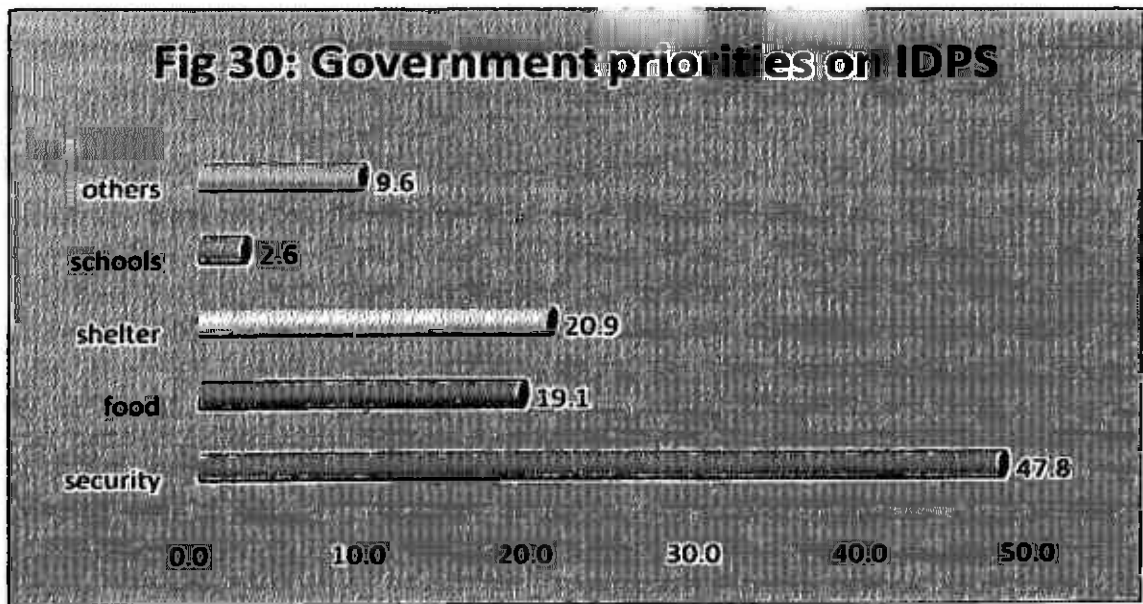The government's first priority for the displaced persons was to provide them with security with 47.8 per cent of the articles showing that, 20.9 per cent was to provide shelter, 19.1 per cent was to provide food and 2.6 per cent was to provide school for the children. Among other priorities at 9.6 per cent was medication.

5.2 Summary of the discussions

The *Nation Newspapers* highlighted the inter-ethnic clashes in Rift Valley province during the 1992 general elections year bringing to the attention of public and international community the impact the clashes were having on the people living in the region. This helped the victims to be assisted in that the government sent security personnel to mitigate the situation.

Nation Newspapers used hard news stories and were able to persuade those involved in the clashes to have a second look at the repercussions. News stories were used as opposed to the editorials and analysis. This was linked to the authoritarian rule at that time in which the Nation Newspapers operated. The editorials team and reporters could not highlight some issues either due to self-censorship or fear of harassment or arrest by the police. The training of the journalists could also have contributed to them being unable to adequately give background information to the clashes thus contributing to fewer analysis and commentaries in the *Nation Newspapers*.

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Most stories appeared in the inside pages reason could have been that the journalists were arrested and questioned for long hours whenever stories hit the splash or front pages. There was also political interference which determined where the stories could be placed relegating most deserving front page stories to inside pages.

In the findings it is also notable that apart from the *Nation Newspapers* reporters and correspondents there were other writers. This meant that the Newspapers opened free and open communication among public and other writers to discuss the inter-ethnic clashes in Rift Valley during the 1992 general elections year. In this way the *Newspapers* in this democratic process was a principal institution in which public understood the conflict situation that was being experienced in Rift Valley region.

Many stories focused on violence as opposed to election and campaign in this way the Nation Newspapers helped in refocusing the attention of the public from campaigns and elections that were to be held in December 1992.

Looking at the findings *Nation Newspapers* reported objectively news and analysis that therefore remained neutral giving news a reflection of reality and ensuring missing gaps were filled and distortions corrected to merit public interest. The *Newspapers* condemned violence and took a stand on clashes in Rift Valley. This independence of the *Nation Newspapers* was valued under the one party system in which the Newspapers operated at that time and therefore maintained credibility among the public.

The Newspapers criticized the government for not taking action and cautioned politicians to be cautious in their utterances. The Newspapers avoided provocative and abusive language that could have demeaned other communities and thus mitigated clashes in Rift Valley province. The Newspapers therefore played a role in mitigating the conflict situation in Rift Valley Province during 1992 general elections.

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter gives a conclusion on how the Nation Newspapers covered and suggests recommendations to be addressed by any Kenyan media Houses.

6.1 Conclusions

The Kenyan print media has a social responsibility to promote unity and harmony among all Kenyans irrespective of ethnic group. As an instrument of shaping public opinion *Nation Newspapers* were in the forefront in helping Kenyans steer away of ethnic based influence by politicians to issues that helped mitigate inter-ethnic clashes in Rift Valley Province during the 1992 general elections year.

The *Nation Newspapers* protected the public from inflammatory statements that fueled ethnic animosity by avoiding using provocative, abusive language that could have demeaned other communities and thus heightening violence.

Hard news was the most consistently covered journalistic type from which interpretation on the coverage of inter-ethnic clashes in Rift Valley was based. This could be interpreted in terms of authoritarian rule under the one party system in which the Newspapers operated making it sometimes difficult to criticize the government for fear of being arrested or thought to be dissident. It could also mean that there was lack of training on the part of the journalist to adequately analyze news and give background information to the conflict situation in Rift Valley province.

In this regard it was not just enough for journalists to report facts truthfully in that if the politicians said something, the journalists had to analyze whether what was said was the truth. In this there must be fairness through giving both parties opportunity. Fairness also meant the clear distinction was made between comments, speculation and facts. An analysis of facts helped the *Nation Newspapers* to interpret the story and it gave it credibility and place value on the inter-ethnic clashes in Rift Valley. Although there was temptations among some journalists to be partisan this partisan was based on fear for

being arrested or for repercussions among the public in which they lived if they reported negatively on clashes.

Zoning off of the clash areas also hindered the reporters from accessing the information this could be interpreted to mean that there was restriction on what the media could highlight because of this prior restrain. This authoritarian restraint meant that the news could not be analyzed and the public did not have enough information on which to gauge the impact of the inter-ethnic clashes in Rift Valley.

As part of the society the *Nation Newspapers* had the responsibility to recognize decent, non-provocative and non-abusive language as the only acceptable means of communication of events in the inter-ethnic clashes in Rift Valley province. The *Nations Newspapers* provided space where the public learned from each other and discussed issues that they considered affected the people living in Rift Valley and Kenya as a country. This was done through commentaries by members of the public, *letters to the editor* or *mailbox* this meant that the *Newspapers* opened free and open communication among public and other writers to discuss inter-ethnic clashes and their impact on the public and in this way the *Nation Newspapers* acted as principal institution in which the public understood the conflict that was being experienced in the Rift Valley Province during 1992 general elections year.

The *Nation Newspapers* placed the stories they considered to be of importance in the minds of the readers as *splash, back page, front pages 2* or *3*. This salience on the issues on inter-ethnic clashes could be applied to the agenda-setting theory of the press in which issues that are perceived to be of value are given prominence through placement. The *Newspapers* also accorded prominence by giving more space to news items on inter-ethnic clashes in Rift Valley province in 1992 general elections year.

The findings also indicate that many stories in the *Nation Newspapers* focused on violence as opposed to elections and campaign in this way the *Nation Newspapers* helped set-agenda in refocusing the attention of the public from campaigns and elections that were to be held in December 1992 to inter-ethnic clashes in Rift Valley province.

6.2   Recommendations

The research findings have important implications for different players in Kenya's Rift Valley inter-ethnic conflict situation experienced in 1992 general elections year. Kenyans have moral obligation to exercise restraint when faced with a conflict. There is a compelling need to repeatedly remind the Kenyan public that it does not pay to attack innocent people just because they happen to belong to a different ethnic group from your own.

The clashes should remind Kenyans that there is more to multi-party democracy than multiplication of parties and should not just result in replacing one group of politicians with another. In the same light, Kenyans should know that even if some people have declared war on fellow Kenyans they have to be reminded that in under international law, war has its rules. There is just war and justice in war and that there is no heroism involved in killing unarmed women and children, Kikuyus, Luo, Kalenjin just because one person or a group of people has been incited.

1.   Suggestions for the media

The Kenyan print media has a social responsibility to promote unity and harmony among all Kenyans irrespective of ethnic or tribe. As the press is the most potent instrument of shaping public opinion it should be on the forefront in helping Kenyan steer away of ethnic based influence by politicians to issues that help them progress. Accordingly, the Kenyan print media has to protect the public from inflammatory statements that fuel ethnic animosity. It has to be impartial in its coverage of politics, give equal coverage to the parties in the conflict and use decent, non-provocative and non-abusive language in communication of events in conflict situation.

The Kenyan print media plays a vital role and valued place in society therefore this call for it to be responsible in its reporting of the facts objectively. The press should act as a facilitator of dialogue and reconciliation rather than confrontation and intolerance.
The media has also been faced with frequent court cases this could be limited through the formation code of ethics and a commission formed where those aggrieved would turn to instead of the litigation.

2. Suggestions for Politicians

Politicians are elected by the public to be their representatives and so any abusive language or demeaning language used against them is interpreted to refer to entire ethnic group that the politician belongs to. This causes ripples among the ethnic groups in the country therefore politicians should desist from using provocative language that triggers animosity.

3. Suggestions for Future Elections

Elections in Kenya have been potent grounds on which politicians fall back on their ethnic groups for support to ascend to power. The leaders are not elected on idea based but on ethnic basis because ethnic group of a current ruler is perceived to control all sphere of the country.

Politicians should also be made to learn that the public and their supporters take signals from them in times of conflict. They should therefore exercise caution when airing their views during conflict.

4. Suggestions for the Government

The impunity with which the perpetrators of violence operate should draw the attention of the government. Whereas the right to express oneself freely is a sign of democracy, it must be exercised with restraint.

5. Recommendations for further research

Some of the factors emphasized in the inter-ethnic conflicts and the role of *Nation Newspapers* in Rift Valley Province may not be wholly generalized for media in Kenya. Some parallels can be drawn on some cases. The study therefore proposes further specific case studies and comparative studies on the role of the print media in conflict situations in line with the democratization proposes especially the element of elections with the purpose of drawing more parallels and variations.

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Appendix 1

QUESTIONNAIRE

1 .What is the Type of story?

    (i)   Editorials ☐   (ii)   Analysis ☐

    (iii)   News ☐   (iv)   Advertorial ☐

    (v)   Features ☐   (vi)   Commentary and other ☐

opinions

2.   Where was the story placed?

    (i)   Splash ☐   (ii)   Front page 2 or 3 ☐

    (iii)   Inside pages ☐   (iv)   Back pages ☐

3.   Who is the author of the article?

    (i)   Publication reporter ☐   (ii)   Publication correspondent

    (iii)   Agency reporter ☐   (iv)   Editorial Team ☐

    (v)   Political party ☐   (vi)   Advertiser ☐

    (vii)   Others

_____

_____

4. **What is the size of the story?**

   (i)   Less than 500cm^2 ☐   (ii)   500cm^2 ☐

   (iii)   500cm^2-1000cm^2 ☐   (iv)   Greater than 1000cm^2 ☐

5. **What is the category/focus of the story?**

   (i)   Elections presidential and candidates political parties   ☐

   (ii)   Violence   ☐   (iii)   Others   ☐

1. **How was the framing of the story?**

   (i)   As two horse race   ☐   (ii)   As tribal showdown   ☐

   (iii)   As a triangular contest   ☐   (iv)   As a tight race without a   ☐

winner

   (v)   None of the above   ☐

2. **Was there equal coverage of the contestants?**

   a.   Strongly agree   ☐   b.   Agree   ☐

   c.   Neutral   ☐   d.   Disagree   ☐

3.   **Were parties in the conflict properly presented**

(i) Strongly agree ▢   (ii) Agree ▢

(iii) Neutral ▢   (iv) Disagree ▢

4. How were the stories framed?

(i) Ethnic violence ▢   (ii) Genocide ▢

(ii) Land clashes ▢

10. Who were alleged perpetrators of the violence?

▢

(i) Ethnic groups ▢   (ii) Militia

(ii) Government and police ▢   (iv) Opposition parties ▢

11. Who were the victims of the violence?

(i) Specific ethnic communities ▢   (ii) Suspected opposition ▢
supporters

(iii) All Kenyans ▢   (iv) Suspected KANU supporters ▢

(iv) Neither of the above ▢

12. Did the authors condemn violence?

(i) Yes ▢   (ii) No ▢

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(iii)   Neither of the mentioned   ☐

13.   **What did the writer identify as cause of the clashes?**

(i) Land   ☐   (ii)   Politics   ☐

(ii) Unequal distribution of resources ☐   (iv)   Impunity   ☐

(v)   Others   ☐

14.   **Were the stories fair?**

(i) Strongly agree   ☐   (ii)   Agree   ☐

(iii)   Neutral   ☐   (iv)   Disagree   ☐

15.   **Was the tone or attitude of writers critical?**

(i) emotional   ☐   (ii)   slanted   ☐

(ii)   Neutral   ☐   (iv)   none of the above   ☐

16.   **Did the stories contain hate speech?**

(i) Strongly agree   ☐   (ii)   Neutral   ☐

(iii)   Disagree   ☐   (iv)   Neither of the above   ☐

17.   **Did the writers use vulgar language?**

(i) Agree   ☐   (ii)   Disagree   ☐

(i) Neutral   ☐

B.   GOVERNMENT COMMUNICATION

18.   **How did the officials communicate about killings?**

(i)   Planned   ☐   (ii)   Spontaneous   ☐

(ii)   Inevitable   ☐

19.   (a)   **Did the government official downplay the killings?**

(a) Yes   ☐   (b)   No   ☐

(b)   **If yes how?**   ☐

■ Denying killings

■ Falsifying figures of the victims   ☐

■ Criminalized victims   ☐

20.   **Commerce and trade**

(a)   **How did the government official frame impact of violence?**

■ Disruptive   ☐   Not disruptive   ☐

■ None of the above   ☐

(b)**If disruptive, how?**

(i) Business closed down   ☐   (ii)   Business burnt ☐

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(ii) Vandalized ☐

21. Security zones

How did the government officials frame zoning off of security areas?

(i) Justified ☐   (ii) Long overdue ☐

22. What reasons did government official give for zoning off security areas?

i. National security ☐

ii. Fanning ethnic violence ☐

iii. Others specify ☐

23. Internal displaced persons

(a)   How did the government officials frame the issue of IDPs

(i) Very serious ☐   (ii) Serious ☐

(ii) Not serious ☐

24. What was the response of the government on IDPs?

i. Immediate ☐

ii. Long term ☐

iii. Delayed ☐

25. What were the priorities of the government officials on IDP?

(i) Provide security ☐   (ii) Provide food ☐

(iii) Provide shelter ☐   (iv) Provide schools ☐

(iii) Others (specify) ☐

KENYA
Political Map