JOURNALISTS AS NEW ACTORS IN CONFLICT SITUATIONS IN EAST AFRICA

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DECLARATION

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

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This Research Project has been submitted for examination with my approval as a University Supervisor.

Patrick Maluki--Date--------------------------------------

DEDICATION

This research is dedicated to my parents and dear son who have been my pillars and more so, to my father who never got tired of talking to me on the value of education even long after I became financially independent. Above all, I give all Glory and Honor to Almighty God who has made me whom I am today. This far, the Lord has brought me.

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ABSTRACT

Over the years, journalists have assumed a special importance in various conflicts the world over. Their work is well defined and their key duty is to inform and educate the masses through their various reports. It is a critical task in any society. This study looked into ways in which journalists have become emerging participants in situations of conflict, as well as the key players. This research therefore intended to examine and determine the place of African journalists as actors in conflict situations and determine the role they play in peace-building efforts. It intended to examine their various roles both negatively and positively and determine whether they were accomplices or innocent in the same. The overall objective of this study was to explore and establish the relationship between journalism and conflict management. Specific objectives of the research were to: Identify specific actions that should be taken to bring journalists on board in conflict management processes, determine whether conflict managers need to acknowledge journalists as key actors in conflicts and find out ways that journalists can be empowered to understand their role in conflict management. This study used secondary source of data and the research design that was employed as a content analysis. The target population in this research were conflict managers in regional and sub-regional organisations; Policy makers in conflict management in regional and sub-regional organisations; conflict management lecturers; journalism professional bodies in Africa and journalists training bodies. The researcher also targeted journalists in the leading mainstream local and international media-namely: Nation Media Group-Print and Broadcast; The Standard Group- Print and Broadcast; Capital Group- Broadcast; Citizen Group- Broadcast; British Broadcasting Group- Broadcast and Associated Press. To meet objectives of this study, both quantitative and qualitative data was collected. The unit of analysis for this study was the news and feature stories, advertisements, cartoons, opinions and commentaries that covered the conflict resolution process. Data was analysed using Statistical Packages for Social Sciences (SPSS) edition 18.0 and Microsoft Office Excel 2007. The study concludes that journalists are role players in conflict situations because the way they reported contributed to the escalation or reduction of conflict; they reported on conflict situations in East Africa; they also contained conflict situations by reporting objectively without taking sides with the conflicting parties and the way they report influence how conflicts take shape. Journalists' reports also expose causes of conflict. The study also concludes that journalists qualify as actors in conflicts as stakeholders attempted to reach out to journalists in attempt to deal with conflicts. The study recommends that top media managers should be trained on how to control content that may spur local conflicts. The study also recommends that journalism schools, as in the case of the East African region, should be urged to train reporters based on relevant material such as books, experiences and even archaic theories because this would help a great deal if journalist don't separate the subject of peace in their training. Further, as agenda setters and watchdogs, journalists should stop focusing on conflicts as sources of stories and focus more on conflict resolution which is greatly beneficial to the society. Further, conflict management should also involve a concept of conflict journalism which can go a long way to help in conflict resolution by addressing root causes of conflicts. This way, Journalism can effectively play its role in Conflict Management.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background of the study

Over the years, journalists have assumed a special importance in various conflicts across the world. Their work is well defined and they have a significant role of informing and educating the masses through their various reports. It is a critical task in any society.

Often, it is through the news reports of journalists that inhuman and other malpractices anywhere in the world, be it in a political, social or economic conflict are made known to the rest of the world. It becomes clear then that their role of gathering and transmitting news to those outside a particular conflict may be helpful in the condemnation of the same by world opinion of certain methods of warfare or a certain state of affairs (Detter, 2000).

As watchdogs and agenda setters in society, journalists act not only as 'informers' but also as 'teachers' and 'entertainers' therein. These are roles that assign them power to make a difference in any conflict situation. It places them in a position where they can play a meaningful role in creating conditions that may facilitate the peaceful resolution of conflict through fair, accurate, comprehensive and responsible reporting.

By heeding the early warnings and sounding the alarm, journalists can act as a powerful tool in conflict management and prevention. This is from the point of knowledge that all conflicts start as misunderstanding or tension between and among a group. If not quickly recognized for what it is or its potential, a conflict can in time explode to engulf a larger section of the community or nation. There has, therefore, been a growing interest in the roles that journalists can play in conflict situations and management of the same.

The question of whether or not journalists have a place in the conflict management process is, however, one that elicits mixed reactions. Arguments have been that the way a journalist frames a conflict through his/her report can fan or cool down a conflict.

On one end there are those who feel journalists can do more harm than good to a conflict situation such as escalating physical and psychological violence. On the contrary, there are those who view journalists more positively, seeing them as partners in successful management of conflict.

The former draws the many incidences where journalists have worsened conflict situations through sensational reporting. Such includes journalists' involvement in the spread of propaganda, hate speech and incitement, all aspects of negative journalism equivalent to pouring petrol on an already blazing fire.

The latter feels journalists, if sensitized properly on conflict processes can be of great assistance and even expedite resolution or transform a conflict. This group is of the opinion journalists only need to be made to understand the causes of a conflict, its cycle and their role in the process. The latter's argument is drawn from the observation that journalists are watchdogs and agenda setters in society and they have the power to make a difference and can place a meaningful role in creating conditions that may facilitate the peaceful resolution of conflict through fair, accurate, comprehensive and responsible reporting.

Sandra D. Melone, GeorgiosTerzis, OzselBeleli (2002) in their book; *Using the Media for Conflict Transformation: The Common Ground Experience* say as a result of their ability to reach and influence large numbers of people, the media carries immense power in shaping the course of a conflict- and we know journalists are the main actors in the media.

Generally, there has been a growing feeling that journalists have the power to make a difference and can play a role, both positively and negatively in conflict situations and peace-building efforts. This is because, often times newspapers, radio, television and online news are the only link to events happening outside one's neighbourhood. Where there is a conflict, a journalist's story can be the only information that his/her audience may have to rely on for information and even for guidance or education. In essence what this means is that this is what the audience relies on for guidance and in making decisions. That is their agenda setting role.

It is this realization of this relationship between journalists and conflicts that the role of journalists has become an area of assessment in contemporary conflict management which requires the involvement of all stakeholders. Such an assessment would be crucial in looking at journalists and how they can facilitate a peaceful resolution of conflict through fair, accurate, comprehensive and responsible reporting or aggravate a conflict situation by doing the opposite.

This study looked into ways in which journalists had become emerging participants in situations of conflict, aside from the key players. For instance media has been accused severally by various stakeholders and the international of propagating conflict in many countries across the world. This creates need for promoting the concept of conflict sensitive journalism among journalists in East Africa. Media practitioners, through issue framing, play a key role during conflict and can positively or negatively influence outcome of such situations.

This research therefore intended to examine and determine the place of African journalists as actors in conflict situations and determine the role they play in peace-building efforts. It

intended to examine their various roles both negatively and positively and determine whether they were accomplices or are innocent in the same.

The study aimed to delve into these roles in assessing the various forms of involvement of journalists in conflicts. The aim was to determine whether sustained involvement of journalists in conflict management activities could help prevent /manage conflicts.

The research examined whether we currently have conflict sensitive journalism and if there is, how this had impacted on conflict systems and conflict situations. This research studied journalists in several East African countries to determine their place in conflict management.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Complex conflicts are, especially, full of pitfalls for journalists. Tensions frequently escalate in situations where information is scarce. In the same vein, too much information, or carelessness in handling sensitive information on conflicts by journalists can as well fuel conflicts.

The problem was that it had not come out clear as to whether there was anything like *good journalism* and *bad journalism* when it comes to conflict management and whether journalists could use their pens, notebooks, cameras, microphones and screens to help in the fuelling or management of conflicts.

Over the past 20 years, the African media space has mirrored the ups and downs of the democratisation processes. In some cases it has grown exponentially and in others, been held back by political regimes. Freedom of expression has since been recognised with new laws guaranteeing press freedom being adopted, as well as regulatory authorities established to allow and reorganise the liberation of this sector.

Emergence of private media has also led to the revitalisation of professional debate around practice of journalism. Prowling influences like political or economic powers have had their control over the media. With this the new freedom of the press has often been violated and journalists seen to be either too impertinent or too curious have faced the extremes of brute.

Efforts to cub such compresses have been hinted at, with the attempt to reform the global media systems through attempt of constructing a global media regulation. This seeks to develop a set of principles and standards for the practice of journalism in the new age, to sift the practice of vested influences.

However, when a society is threatened by conflict, journalism faces greater difficulties. Opposing sides seek to control the media. Information can be unreliable or censored. There is personal risk. But this is also when good journalism is most important.

There was considerable need for a study which provides more insight into the role journalists play as a subject in the media in the process of conflict.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The overall objective of this study was to explore and establish the relationship between journalism and conflict management.

Specific objectives of the research were to:

1. Identify specific actions that should be taken to bring journalists on board in conflict management processes.

2. Determine whether conflict managers need to acknowledge journalists as key actors in conflicts

3. Find out ways that journalists can be empowered to understand their role in conflict management

1.4 Research Questions

1. What is the link between journalists and conflict?

2. Do journalists have a place in conflict management?

3. Do journalists understand their role in conflict management?

4. In what ways can journalists be engaged in conflict management?

1.5 Justification of the Study.

Professional journalists do not set out to reduce conflict. They seek to present accurate and impartial news.

Often it is often through such good practice that conflict is reduced. A well-developed media system with professionally trained journalists usually benefits both global and local audiences and provides a vital link to the outside world during conflict situations.

Journalists bear vital responsibility in society through their 'watchdog' role to act in the interest of the people. This means that the press finds motivation from the popular belief in overseeing from muckraking to Watergate.

In any legal system, the implementation and enforcement of legal norms often come under strain in the face of serious violence. In this context, the battlefield and occupied territory are frequently devoid of independent, external scrutiny of the belligerents' conduct. They are extremely useful as part of the machinery which ensures the implementation of the rules of war when most other means of enforcement are lacking.

Various reports have been published in the role of the media in conflict reporting, especially in Somalia, Kenya, Rwanda, Uganda and Sudan. Very few have focused on how specifically individual journalists have handled ethnic related conflict in the region. Much of the insight has been reporting on the situation, figures and its effects.

Good journalism is difficult work at the best of times. There is never enough information and not enough time. Reporters rely on their training and standards to overcome these difficulties and deliver news which is accurate and impartial. That is the traditional role of journalism - to enable the public to make well-informed decisions. Media may need to go beyond being fact-deliverers to news analysts by providing enough and candid information to create empathy for all sides involved in a conflict. Journalists should avoid simplistic representations of issues by probing further and verify their sources in order to uphold the dignity of the media houses they work for and also to take to a higher level the role of media in peace building, well beyond reproach.

In a conflict both sides need to understand the bottom-line interests of the other. Good reporting does this by probing further and seeking out the real meaning of what leaders say. Good reporting also looks beyond the leaders' interests and seeks the larger groups' interest.

In a conflict, describing the problem in a different way can reduce tension and launch negotiations. Conflicting groups, regardless of inequalities, have to believe they will be given attention if they meet the other side in negotiations. Good journalism encourages negotiation because the reporting is impartial and balanced. The media can provide important outlets by allowing both sides to speak. Many disputes can be fought out in the media, instead of in the streets, and the conflict can be addressed before it turns violent.

This study therefore aims to enhance debate on the role Journalists play by objectively and critically analysing how use of media platforms in can become party in situation of conflict. The study will contribute to the already existing literature on the role of media in the coverage of ethnic-based violence. It will also aid the media fraternity, governments in the region and other concerned institutions to formulate relevant and valuable policies that shall

enhance specialised training in the area of conflict analysis and reporting and other related areas.

1.6 Scope and Limitation of Study

The scope of the study was limited to content analysis on the role journalists played in situation of conflict, in a case study of the East African region. The research looked into ways journalists had played role in conflict process. The researcher anticipated that the study would encounter few limitations which included time and financial factors and which might have affected the total number of samples studied. The time period of the study was three months which was not sufficient for the study as the role of journalists in conflict management was diverse.

1.7 Definition of key terms

The following terms were restricted to the definition and explanation as given or as used in this study.

Journalist: We define journalists principally as men and women who package and present information in various ways to the audiences of newspapers, magazines, radio or television stations or the Internet. Journalists work in many areas of life, finding and presenting information.

The Media: (singular **medium**) are the storage and transmission channels or tools used to store and deliver/pass information or data. It is often referred to as synonymous with mass media or news media, but may refer to any means of information communication.

Conflict: Conflict may be defined as a struggle or contest between people with opposing needs, ideas, beliefs, values, or goals. It is an inevitable aspect of human interaction, an unavoidable concomitant of choices and decisions.

Peace: Peace is a political condition that ensures justice and social stability through formal and informal institutions, practices and norms (Johan Galtung, 1990). However, is also seen as concord, or harmony and tranquillity. It is defined as a state of law or civil government, a state of justice or goodness, a balance or equilibrium of Powers.

Peace Building: Peacebuilding involves a full range of approaches, processes and stages needed for transformation toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships and governance modes and structures. Peacebuilding includes building legal and human rights institutions as well as fair and effective governance and dispute resolution processes and systems. Peacebuilding uses communication, negotiation and mediation instead of belligerence and violence to resolve conflicts.

1.8 Organization of the study

Chapter one looked at the proposed mode of study on the research topic. This chapter basically provided the planned way in which the study would take form and the scope of the research.

It provided an overview of the overall design of each chapter in the study, outlining the need for the study of the particular topic and provided further leeway for subsequent research in the same. This topic described the goals and objectives that were the target and desired outcomes of the work done by the researcher to find answers to the problem or issue under investigation.

Chapter two was on literature review and looked at the role of journalists in conflict situation on the international, regional and local scenes, by analysing circumstances under which journalists had played role in the escalation. This chapter examined in detail the available literature and studies that had already been conducted in light to the topic under study. The key role was acknowledged by various authors on the subject, looking at various theories that

supported the research. This pointed out the fact that there are no general theories that cut across all situations, meaning that every conflict has an individual character and needs to be analysed differently.

Chapter three is on methodology. This chapter described the processes that were followed in conducting the study. In order to answer the research objectives, a number of areas were covered. This included research design Target population, sample and sampling method, units of analysis, coding and data analysis. This chapter provided justifications as to why the researcher chose to study a specific population instead of a wider choice. The study also involved administering of questionnaires to identified respondents in order to identify the ingenuous level of the objectives of the study, whereby data provided decisively be analysed and recommendations presented.

Chapter four is on data presentation, analysis and interpretations.

This chapter presents the finding of the study in tables and bar graphs. Brief observations of these findings were also offered in this chapter. A qualitative research was conducted for this study. The study involved examining the role of a journalist in a conflict management process. This chapter consisted of four parts namely: introduction, questionnaire return rate, general information and findings on the study into the role of Journalists in conflict intensification. The research consequently sought to achieve the set objectives.

Chapter five was on Summary, conclusion and recommendation. This chapter presented discussion of the finding in summary and conclusion drawn from the findings of the study. It was concluded with recommendations made from the study finding as well as suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at the global perspectives on journalism and conflict, regional perspectives, local perspectives. Mugenda and Mugenda (1999) acknowledge the purpose of literature review as setting establishment on what has already been done in reference to the particular topic the researcher is working on. The chapter briefly looks at cases of conflict in East Africa where journalists have contributed in fanning conflicts or whether they are used as pawns. The purpose sought to determine the exact role of journalists as actors in conflict situations.

2.2 Understanding Conflict and its resolution

Bushra and Lopez (1994), state that conflict is not an exceptional circumstance but rather the norm. Conflict is not an isolated issue; rather it feeds off, and in turn nourishes, other factors of turbulence such as political inequality and repression, economic decline, and growing scarcity of subsistence resources. The complexities of conflict need to be understood in the context of interrelationships within regional and global political systems and wider world events. Armed conflicts therefore stand at the centre of the concerns of the world today.

During the 70s and 80s, structural poverty deepened in the third world. Compounded with the Cold War, it ended up opening up outlets for local animosities, frustrations and rebellions which violently plagued country after country. Understanding and addressing such root causes of conflict is important in their resolution and management. Bushra and Lopez (1994), express that warfare in the latter half of the 20th century has involved increasingly high levels of civilian casualties. UN evaluations put the proportion of civilian casualties globally since

end of the World War II at 95% as compared to 5% in World War I and 50% during World War II. Warfare then, used to be waged between professional armies in formal battlefields with regulated rules of engagement.

Post-Cold War conflicts can be divided into three categories: where genuine geo-strategic and economic interests are involved (a key example being the war over Iraq which many see as being fought for control of oil); conflicts emanating out of ethnic and nationalistic politics, as witnessed in the wars in former Yugoslavia and in parts of central Asia; and the `invisible' conflicts, which may have claimed millions of lives. Wars in Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) are prime examples, but rarely register on international media radars, which tend to cover only the conflicts where the West, is seen to be a peace-maker.

As many as 22 million non-combatants have been killed in genocides and politicised since 1945 (Harsh, 2003). Nearly all of these state-sponsored mass murders occurred during or shortly after regular civil wars or revolutions. One of their key features is that the violence is of a predominantly collective nature, meaning that the killing is carried out by individuals organized collectively in groups such as militias, communal police, death squads, and the army.

Therefore, in order to explain the mechanisms of state-sponsored mass murders, it is necessary to identify the factors that motivate civilians to participate in group violence in times of conflict. To this end, influential theories of collective behaviour propose that strategic complementarities, where the act of violence is more attractive the higher the fraction of the population engaged in violent activity, can play a crucial role (Schelling, 1978; Granovetter, 1978).

The implication is that large-scale violence can erupt when individuals are able to coordinate their actions so that participation surpasses some critical level. However, despite a large body of empirical literature on the determinants of conflict there is little evidence identifying the factors that cause individuals to participate in collective violence, and if so, what factors facilitate coordination. Mutere and Ugangu (2004) argue that in Africa conflicts revolve around scarce resources- their extraction, allocation and utilisation; lack of skilled human resources; uneven access to employment, incomes and wealth; and economic stagnation. Violence in this context is regarded as a means through which groups express their aspirations and cultural identity.

Conflict may be used to refer to inconsistencies in the motions, sentiments, purposes or claims of entities (Burton and Dukes, 1990). Sometimes it refers to the process of resolving these inconsistencies. E.g. the values of the communist and democratic systems are in conflict, as it is impossible for a person to rationally believe in the two systems at the same time.

In their definition of conflict Mutere and Ugangu (2004) identify conflict as a condition in which one identifiable group of human beings is in conscious opposition to one or more other identifiable human groups because these groups appear to be pursuing what appear to be incompatible goals. These groups may be identifiable along tribal ethnic, linguistic, cultural, religious or political lines. As cited in the book Conflict:

Readings in Management and Resolution (Burton and Dukes, 1990) Quincy Wright analyses the word conflict as being best limited to situations where there is an actual or potential process for solving the inconsistency. Success in conflict resolution occurs by listening to and providing opportunities to meet the needs of all parties and to adequately address interests so

that each party is satisfied with the outcome. Conflict resolution specialists talk about finding the win-win outcome for parties involved vis-à-vis the win-lose dynamic found in most conflicts.

Conflict is never solved; the focus is on its re-solution and not solution. Society never solves conflict totally. When conflict resolution mechanisms are working, all parties have adequate representation in the forum and can create a win-win outcome that satisfies at least some of their needs.

If true resolution is achieved, the outcome sticks and contributes to the ability of the system to resolve other conflicts as they arise, rather than allowing them to fester. Resolution implies at least three elements: the outcome addresses the underlying problems or issues, rather than just the symptoms or surface manifestations; it is jointly determined; and the process achieves at least some degree of satisfaction for parties involved. In his analysis Wright notes that there are four ways in which social conflicts can be relatively be solved:

a) By negotiation and agreement resulting in settlement or adjustment in accord with the willing parties

b) By adjudication and decision in accord with the will, perhaps guided by legal or moral principles of an outside party

c) By dictation or decision in accordance with the will of one of the party to the conflict

d) By obsolescence through agreement to disagree which may in time sink the conflict into   oblivion and result in a settlement in accordance to the will of no one.

2.3 Actors in Conflict

People are central when thinking about conflict analysis. The Resource Pack uses the term "actors" to refer to all those engaged in or being affected by conflict. This includes individuals, groups and institutions contributing to conflict or being affected by it in a positive or negative manner, as well as those engaged in dealing with conflict.

Actors differ as to their goals and interests, their positions, capacities to realise their interests, and relationships with other actors. Some approaches distinguish actors according to the level at which they are active (grassroots, middle level, top level). In particular, conflict transformation theory attaches great importance to middle level leaders, as they may assume a catalytic role through their linkages both to the top and the grassroots.

In any case, it is important to consider the relationships between actors / groups at various levels and how they affect the conflict dynamics. Particular attention should be paid to spoilers, i.e. specific groups with an interest in the maintenance of the negative status quo. If not adequately addressed within the framework of preventive strategies, they may become an obstacle to peace initiatives.

When you think about it, most news is "conflict" and journalists are participants in the conflicts they cover. Though they usually make every effort to be "objective," this is difficult at best. Sometimes attempts to present both views equally is actually favouring one over the other, if the story doesn't illustrate that one view is much more predominate, or another, while commonly believed, is incorrect. Complex conflicts are full of pitfalls for journalists, but the more one understands what is *really* going on in a conflict, and the role of the conflict journalist, the better coverage one can do.

Similarly, it is important to identify existing institutional capacities for peace, in order to further define entry points to address causes of violent conflict. Capacities for peace typically

refer to institutions, organisations, mechanisms and procedures in a society for dealing with conflict and differences of interest.

In particular, such actors need to be assessed in relation to their capacity for conflict management, their legitimacy, the likelihood of their engagement, and the possible roles they can adopt.

2.4 Conflict Research Theories

This study is based on Galtung's peace journalism theory. This is an approach emerged in 1970s as a new concept and a set of pioneering ideas. It was developed by Galtung in order to criticize the preferences given by mainstream journalism around the world to war, violence and propaganda, to causes promoted by elites and establishments, and to simple and polarized victory/defeat reality construction. He distinguishes peace journalism as opposed to war journalism.

Peace Journalism is now a globally distributed reform movement of reporters, academics and activists from Africa to the Antipodes. Peace Journalism is defined "when editors and reporters make choices - of what to report, and how to report it - that create opportunities for society at large to consider and value non-violent responses to conflict" (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005).

Originally conceived by the eminent peace scholar, Johan Galtung, the Peace Journalism model is a source of practical options for journalists; a lead in to media monitoring for peace activists and offers a firm basis for drawing distinctions in content analysis by academic researchers. Peace journalism: shows backgrounds and contexts of conflicts; hears from all sides; explores hidden agendas; highlights peace ideas and initiatives from anywhere at any time.

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2.5 Theories of Peace Research

The Work on theories of Peace was comprehensively and relatively done by a study group at the International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, for the UNESCO in 1966-67. The division into sub-inter and supranational peace thinking under lined how all social sciences are necessary and none is sufficient. Psychology and sociology are needed for sub-national peace thinking, political science and international studies, religion studies, International law and economics for inter- and supra-national peace thinking.

The assumption underlying this whole work is that it is in the interest of mankind to look at this problem globally, as a technical problem of organization, and not as a problem that can best be discussed from the vantage points of special individuals, groups, nations. In particular one would be highly skeptical about the idea that these global values can be realized by adding up national efforts to realize national values; the assumption is that these values exist *sui generis*, at a higher level of social organization than the individuals and the nation states.

Peace seems to be an "umbrella concept", a general expression of human desires, of that which is good, that which is ultimately to be pursued. But "peace" can also stand for very concrete matters, for states of the international system of major significance. To many those states are so important that they should not only be the subject of high sounding formulas, but of the most serious thinking and research that can be brought to bear on any phenomenon - irrespective of the fact that it is much more difficult than thinking and research in most other fields because of the infinite complexity of the underlying subject matter. For this to happen peace thinking must be examined and analyzed to bring to light its component parts, its assumptions, and the structure of the reasoning.

2.6 Role of the Media in Conflict Process

In 2006, the 3rd Global Monitoring Report (GMR) of the World Bank – which tracks the progress on the MDG targets for 2015 – cited media as a 'crucial pillar of good governance and the critical link in the accountability chain between the government and the governed' (Harvey 2007).

Elites of autocratic states have repeatedly used mass media, which they often control, with the intention of influencing citizen behaviour in Times of contact. That is, history presents us with recurrent episodes of mass media being used for propaganda purposes. As a result, media frames on certain propaganda, end up creating a stereotype of a certain context, causing disruptions because of public misunderstanding, and also can be a source of instigating war (Lynch, 2010).

The media as a social institution are also involved in conflicts in the society in a different ways, but mainly through releasing of information and analysis that is basing on one side (Salawu, 2009). As a result, media is ending up fuelling existing conflict or creating a news conflict. An article by Gilboa Etyan in Marquette Law Review; Fall 2009, Vol. 93 Issue 1, p87) focuses on the role of the media in solving conflicts. Etyan states that due to advancement in media, people are well informed about the news.

Etyan (2009) in an analysis of media and conflict resolution adds that successive evolutions in communication technologies have significantly altered the conduct of conflict, warfare, and conflict resolution, noting that compared to people of earlier ages, people around the world today know much more and much sooner about major developments in international relations.

"Global news networks that broadcast live from all corners of the world and via the Internet provide immediate access to unfolding events and, under certain conditions, could influence

the way those events develop and end, (US-Israel Relations in a new era). Etyan adds that there are serious gaps between theoreticians and practitioners in the fields of conflict resolution, communication, and journalism. Gaps, he says, also exist between theoreticians and practitioners within each of these groups and that to reduce the gaps, there is a need to construct a multidisciplinary framework for analysis and practice. This study attempts to offer such a framework

2.7 The power of the Setting Agenda

Sandra D. Melone, GeorgiosTerzis, Ozsel Beleli in their book *Using the Media for Conflict Transformation: The Common Ground Experience*; say although many examples of the media's negative contribution to the escalation of violent conflicts exist, fair and accurate journalism and media content that builds confidence and counteracts misperceptions may have a potential in both conflict prevention and transformation.

The writers say as a result of their ability to reach and influence large numbers of people, the media carry immense power in shaping the course of a conflict. They argue that journalists in conflict-ridden countries often play a significant role in creating and furthering both facilitating factors and triggering factors, for example by utilising 'oppositional metaphors' ('us' vs. 'them') linked to internal and external issues or 'threats' facing the nation.

Also some conflict events around the world have been 'mediatized' by journalists paying more attention on certain issues than others (Cottle, 2006). In journalistic life, reporters must have a story to tell because their business is to gather and disseminate news in daily basis.

But with political influence, some politicians have created a bond with some media organization or journalists. As a result, this bond tends to affect media decision of what to report and what not to report (Patterson, 2008). For example, during election time, the media role of information become very important for informing the public and the politicians about

each sides; such as what the politicians promise the public and what the public expect from the politicians (Deetz,et al, 2000).

However, Melone, Terzis and Beleli say that while journalists can, and often do contribute to the escalation of tensions and conflicts; this does not mean that they cannot play a positive role as well. "On the contrary, based on the experience of Common Ground (CG), we argue for a more ethical use of the media in order to counterbalance the negative effects and/or reverse the damage that has already been done" (The Common Ground Experience).

The Kelman Seminar Series on Negotiation, Conflict and the News Media (2007) focused on exploring the relationship among government, news media, and the conflict resolution community in framing and responding to conflict. Topics examined how conflict is framed and how that influences the escalation and de-escalation of conflict and the public understanding of various responses to terrorism. (Bridging the Divide Between Conflict Management and Journalism).

2.8 The Media Framing Theory

The basis of framing theory is that the media focuses attention on certain events and then places them within a field of meaning. Framing in the case of conflict or in news coverage and reporting is the ultimate message (Keller,et, al 1990). Thus, a frame refers to the way media and media gatekeepers organize and present the events and issues they cover, and the way audiences interpret what they are provided. Frames influence the perception of the news of the audience, this form of agenda-setting not only tells what to think about, but also how to think about it (Deetz,et al, 2000). Frames are abstract notions that serve to organize or structure social meanings.

According to Fairhurst & Sarr (1996) framing consists of three elements: language, thought and forethought. *Language* helps us to remember information and acts to transform the way in which we view situations. To use language, people must have *thought* and reflected on their own interpretive frameworks and those of others. The media draws the public attention to certain topics, it decides where people think about, the journalists select the topics. This is the original agenda setting 'thought'.

In news items occurs more than only bringing up certain topics. The way in which the news is brought, the frame in which the news is presented, is also a choice made by journalists. McCombs, Shaw and weaver (1997) suggest that not only are agenda setting and framing effects related, framing is, in fact an extension of agenda setting.

They use the term "second-level agenda setting to describe the effects of salient characteristics of media audiences' interpretations.

2.9 Journalism as a profession

Reporting the truth is said to be 'at the heart of the journalistic enterprise (Klaidman, Beauchamp, 1987). If we are to understand contemporary and future journalistic forms and allied occupational issues, then we need to appreciate how its various roles and social position have emerged and developed over time.

Professional journalism is undergoing a reshaping in terms of occupational roles and legitimacy (Chapman and Nuttall, 2011). The history of journalism in elective democracies around the world has been described as the emergence of a professional identity of journalists with claims to an exclusive role and status in society, based on and at times fiercely defended by their occupational ideology. Although the conceptualization of journalism as a

professional ideology can be traced throughout the literature on journalism studies, scholars tend to take the building blocks of such an ideology more or less for granted.

Journalism has been defined as the practice of investigating and reporting events, issues and trends to the mass audiences of print, broadcast and online media such as newspapers, magazines and books, radio and television stations and networks, and blogs and social and mobile media. Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that, "*Everyone has the right to the freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.*"

In Europe and North America, *liberal democracy* is said to guarantee journalism the best environment it needs to foster freedom and progress (Nyamnjoh, 2005). Liberal democracy's colossal investments in the making of the Independent Individual is projected as the model to be promoted and defended by journalism in and on Africa. Yet the more African Journalism strives to implant liberal democracy, the less the successes it has had to report.

The mass media in Africa, as is well known, was a product of colonialism. As with everywhere else, the media in Africa is a product of the political developments and histories of the continent (Barratt and Berger, 2007). The ownership systems, their character, strengths and weaknesses, their political and social outlooks, and above all their outputs and impacts are all the products of the societies that have formed and shaped them.

Africa's media entails learning from five decades of experience. By periodising this history into general phases, the lessons become clearer – and future decades can be better predicted. Africa has been portrayed by some Western media propaganda in a way that such portrayal is ending up shaping the negative perception of the African continent (Kamara, 2010).

The media has framed of Africa as the continent that is surrounded by poverty, disease, war, hunger and famine (Mahadeo and Mckinney, 2007). It is unfortunate that most of the Africa success stories are rarely covered by such media. The partisanship of the media is sometimes influenced by the fact that journalist must have story to tell because journalistic business is about gathering and disseminating information in a daily basis (Patterson, 2008). Therefore politics is as another business of news. It is argued that because of partisanship, journalist may end up being bias in reporting.

Journalists within a particular media house can also influence the control of the media by creating information that will promote some ideas or issues and limit some other perspective. Mostly during the political reporting, journalists' sources are the group of political elites to whom their explanations will end up framing the news in a certain perspective (Paterson, 2006).

Propaganda in itself has a negative connotation, because of it being associated with bad influence especially on political matters (Gregory, 2008). 'Objectivity' may be defined in two different ways according to Richard Rorty: as 'characterizing the view which would be agreed upon as a result of argument undeflected by irrelevant considerations', and as 'representing things as they really are'(Rorty, 1980)

According to Marthoz (2007), the journalism that is practiced in Africa by international media houses is of stereotype. Such stereotype is seen when journalists lack particular knowledge of the continent. The parachute journalism tends to have generalization of the issues of the same kind. Yet availability of permanent correspondents in African countries is also another challenge. For example, a journalist from a certain big international media can be sent to countries like South Africa to cover conflicts in the central Africa; or Kenya to cover issues of Western Africa.

The correlation between places that international journalists are positioned and the actual reporting of the event is questionable (Marthoz, 2007). Not understanding language that a journalist is working contributes to difficulties of reporting and sometimes may lead to parachute journalism (Mitchell, 2001).

The media in East Africa has largely mirrored the socio-political developments in the region. The situation in British colonial East Africa was pretty much the same except that here ownership of the press was largely in the hands of settlers. As Mwesige (2004; 73-74) puts it, 'the 1950s saw a proliferation of African-owned news publications in Uganda, which coincided with the peak of African opposition to the colonial establishment.   From agitating for independence and participatory politics, helping direct the building blocks of nationalism in the post-colonial period, fanning ethnic or tribal strife as in Rwanda, to offering avenues for alternative viewpoints where few or none existed, East Africa's media has remained important in the region's national politics.

With multiparty politics now entrenched in the region, and free market economies flourishing, the media faces the challenge of defining its role in deepening democratic practice in the region while seeking economic benefits for its owners. A few external threats, in the form of restless governments, oppressive laws and unguided media policies, remain – but it is clear that half a century after the winds of independence swept across Africa, a big enemy to media efficacy and relevance in East Africa also lies within. Also sometimes it is not easy to get to the area of conflict because of several factors. Some journalist mentioned that it they were affected by some issues that made it impossible to cover Darfur war, for example. Such things are limited budget, the media focusing on certain conflicts that affect international levels (such as war in Iraq), and also lack of audience who have interests about African issues (Thompson, 2007).

In the same line to the 1994 Rwanda genocide that is noted to be fuelled by media, in Kenya post-election violence of 2007, there are different arguments that the media was also involved in the uprising of the conflict (Ogola, 2011). The same as Rwanda, media in Kenya was also used by the powerful regime such as the political figures who through their speech, they were spreading hate speech. Always, in order to win election, contestants use media to publicize their political agenda. The way politicians use the media to send political information has resulted to violence in Kenya (Stremlau and Price, 2009).

Ethnicity was also another element that is mentioned to be the system of political struggles in Kenya. As a result, political leaders are elected in reference to where he comes from. For the media in Kenya, there is a big correlation of media performance and ethnic group it serves (Stremlau and Price, 2009). According to Ogola (2011), there is a mushrooming of Kenya's local language media stations to facilitate the ethno-political communities. These media are acting as the tool for ethnic mobilization where the politicians used them for the purpose of political control.

The media owners who some of them are politicians, employed un-professional journalists who were given job opportunity based on their local language competencies. Some of the problems within the media during the post-election period in Kenya have been attributed to poor journalism whereby radio presenters were described as being unable to moderate discussion and mediate conflict once audience or sources participate in the live programs. Hence, the issue of journalists' professionalism is again questionable.

Ms Christine Nguku, the chairperson of Alternative Media Network explained that there is a cause and effect relation between ethnic media, hate speech and the media practitioners. The

situation is that, the journalists reflect where they are coming from, basing on the narratives that a particular journalist was growing with. As a result, this situation is ending up creating biasness on reporting on news stories that do not belong to the ethnic side of the journalist. Ms Christine Nguku was speaking during a Kenya Media Roundtables meeting. For that case, it is clear that in some African countries politics is centralized in the cities. In addition, most of the media houses in Africa are situated in the central part of the country. The connection between media and politics is getting much close because of such closeness and the established dependency from both parts; journalist and politicians.

African journalists are important players in propagating negative ethnicity. They are the ones who put an ethnic tag on every political party, who tell every ethnic community which party to join or not join, and dismiss as irrelevant any party or leader that does not speak or act ethnic. They give little or no space to non-ethnic politics. It is they who kill multi-ethnic nationalist agendas as non-news (Wamwere, 2003, p.103).

Despite such Article stated above, challenges over right to information are prevailing. Many people in many countries are facing either different challenges because of finding or receiving information (Jenkins, et al, 2009). Journalists are also facing more difficulties because of the nature of their job. Yet it is essential to allow the media and journalists to fully play their role in promoting accountability and transparency of Government conduct (La Rue, 2011).

In a nutshell, media and media audience have the same goal but attaining the goal differently. Massive competition for audiences has seen business judgments increasingly assuming a greater role in shaping journalism. In many cases the time-tested journalistic standards of the newsroom now have to compromise with the economic values of the business side of the media house. In the end, what we have is too much pandering to the market and to

advertisers. Many news media organisations have allowed the big advertisers to degrade journalistic integrity at the altar of profitability.

2.10 Peace Journalism

Questions have however been raised about the objectivity of conflict resolution journalism, which is an ethical issue.

Some of the critics of conflict-reduction journalism feel that journalists cannot be impartial if their primary aim is to build social stability and promote peace. A scrutiny of this issue is given by Ross Howard in two handbooks: An Operational Framework for Media and Peacebuilding (Vancouver: IMPACS, 2002) and Conflict Sensitive Journalism: A handbook by Ross Howard (2003).

The handbooks written for the Institute for Media, Policy and Civil Society (Vancouver: IMPACS) of Vancouver and International Media Support of Copenhagen state that, the media can be an 'instrument' of conflict resolution when the information it presents is reliable, respects human rights, and represents diverse views. "It's the kind of media that upholds accountability and exposes malfeasance. It's the kind of media that enables a society to make well-informed choices, which is the precursor of democratic governance" (Howard, 2002: 1).

Johannes Jannie Botes (Journalism and Conflict Resolution) explores how news coverage can affect the course of a conflict and - on occasion - positively influence its outcome. He says the assumption is that a news reporter's job is merely to report: to describe what is happening as accurately and vividly as possible in a few hundred words (or a few dozen, or ninety seconds of videotape and some text). "So while parties argue or fight, and third parties intervene on one side or the other or try to mediate a settlement, most journalists see their role as neutral to these interactions," Botes adds:

"The task is not to help one side or the other win. It is not to provoke or hinder outside intervention, or even to assist mediators to arrange a settlement. The journalist's primary mission is to tell the truth about the conflict so that other people may decide how to deal with it---reporters always run the risk of acting as press agents for conflicting parties or becoming advocates for outside intervention and cautions that falling into this trap means losing one's ability to 'see' the conflict and to describe it accurately. "It also means running the ultimate risk of losing one's credibility in the eyes of the parties or the public, Botes, (World Association for Christian Communication)

Ross Howard, an award-winning journalist, educator and president of the International media development consortium Media & Democracy Group says professional journalists do not seek to reduce conflict. They see to present accurate and impartial news. But it is often though good reporting that conflict is reducing. Which then leads to the question; what is good journalism? …and what is bad journalism?

Peter du Toit in the Reporting for Peace Manual (2000) says that by developing a better understanding of conflict, journalists can be equipped to give more comprehensive coverage that has the potential to make a positive contribution. This can include understanding of the following; conflict can exist in a latent form for a long time before the confrontations actually break out.

Conflict should not be confused with violence, conflict triggers should not be confused with the causes of conflict. By drawing on the different theories relating to the causes of conflict, journalists can make their own assessment of what is taking place Journalists can point out the dangers of conflict spirals to parties involved by asking questions about strategies. Journalists can also play an important role in offering people at different levels opportunities

to speak through the media- both to other members of their group and to people on the other side. As parties work together to transform the conflict, journalist have a critical role to play in keeping everyone updated Journalists should critically follow what is happening during peace negotiations. Avoid attaching simple labels to conflicts that oversimplify issues.

Toit (2000) says the more journalists know about the causes of conflict, its dynamics and how it is managed, the more effective they will be in reporting on it. He launched the Centre for Conflist Sensitive Reporting which has since changed its name to Conflict Sensitive Journalims Project at Rhodes University in 2010 focusing on training journalists in constructive coverage of conflicts.

It is argued that by providing accurate and in-depth information to parties in conflict, journalists can equip both the leaders and their followers to make informed decisions. Internews says that journalists can help channel information between parties in conflict, thereby helping to facilitate dialogue. The argument by Internews, a journalists' training network, is that journalists should not promote the agenda of any particular group or advocate a particular solution but instead, they should help to broaden the range of options available to parties.

Summarised, the journalists work should be informed by ongoing reflection on how his or her reporting can impact positively or negatively on conflict.

The National Steering Committee on peace building and conflict management in Kenya says the nature of media coverage and analysis is critical to the outcome of peace initiatives. "In most conflicts, hate media campaigns have been responsible for triggering violence. On the other hand, strategic use of media by peace actors has been instrumental in securing sustainable peace initiatives." Other observations have been that media and journalism can be a great assistance in conflict management and peace building. However, there is a feeling that

the power they have is also limited, as they will never be able to eliminate armed conflicts altogether.

2.11 Journalistic Ethics in a Conflict Process

Obviously, journalists may have political opinions that shape their selection and framing of news. They also have ethical principles about fairness and about reporting everything that is relevant, although they may depart from these principles when competition is fierce (Chermak 1995, Gans 1980).

For citizens in a conflict to make well-informed decisions and perhaps resolve their conflict, they must have good journalism. Around the world, professional journalists have developed principals and basic standards by which they try to achieve good journalism. Unfortunately there are many places where journalists have to work under different rules imposed by governments or by powerful interests. But wherever professional journalists come together to freely consider what they do, and to guide themselves, they refer to these professional standards. This has indicated the fragile nature of truth during conflicts.

Censorship, political commitment, patriotic duty, the routines and limitations of daily journalism are just a few obstacles to the public ever getting a truthful account of war, particularly when their own interests are involved.

The topic of honesty in investigative journalism covers questions about what honesty requires or permits journalists to do, first to get their stories and second in communicating their stories. Here is an example of two reports filed by two journalists on a similar event:

1. **Headline: Genocide in Cheptebei**

Just as has been the case every election year, another political assassination has been perpetrated in Kenya. Residents of Cheptebei village reacted angrily and took to the streets to protest the ghastly political murder of Foreign Affairs Minister Musa Mwagulinga....

Angry youth have barricaded highways with rocks, burning tyres and have engaged riot police in running battles, stoning vehicles and looting property.

The youth reserved their highest wrath for the Chama cha Utawala party headquarters that was burnt down. Many people have pointed fingers at the ruling party that now seems to eliminate rivals every election year. So far 20 innocent Cheptamos residents have been massacred.

The bloody violence meted on Cheptamos has never been witnessed before…….

"Let them burn like our Minister burnt," shouted the angry youths as they dragged the lifeless body of the youth leader they had killed.

2. **Headline: Five Killed in Disturbances**

Five people have been reported dead in riots that have continued to hit Cheptebei the Capital City of Cheptamos bringing the death toll to 20.

The riots also saw several structures set ablaze including the building serving as the party headquarters of the Chama Cha Utawalla (CCW) party.

Armed youth barricaded highways with rocks and other objects. They engaged the riot police in running battles, stoning vehicles and looting property.

Central Police spokesman Musa Musechu said the police has managed to break up the fight using teargas and rubber bullets. He said 30 other people have been injured in the

confrontation of which 10 were treated and discharged from hospital. (Source: Internews Training Network)

The above has been cited by journalists' training organization Internews which goes to show how a journalist's story can shape a conflict. From the above, clearly, the first story can only incite the public while the second is a bit reassuring and shows application of journalistic ethics in reporting on the conflict by avoiding sensationalism. Philip Lee (No Nonsense Guide, 2008), a resource document compiled for the World Association for Christian Communications says most modern conflicts take place as much in the news media as they do on the ground.

He says journalists, who play a crucial role in shaping public understanding by providing information about conflict, bear a heavy responsibility for what they write and broadcast. Lee, peace journalism provides a new road map tracing the connections between journalists, their sources, the stories they cover and the consequences of their reporting - the ethics of journalistic intervention.

The assumption is that reporting that is more balanced will increase awareness of the issues at stake by: a) Revealing structural and cultural violence as it bears upon the lives of people in a conflict arena as part of the explanation for violence; b) Framing conflicts as consisting of many parties, pursuing many goals; c) making peace initiatives and potential solutions more visible, whoever suggests them; and d) equipping people to distinguish between stated positions, and real goals, when judging whether particular forms of intervention are necessary or desirable Philip Lee, (No Nonsense Guide, 2008).

Jesse Konang (2011) writing on responsible journalism and conflict resolution notes that the dominant form, war journalism, commonly frames conflict as a tug-of-war between two antagonists: a zero-sum game in which anything which is not winning risks being reported as

losing. He advocates balanced reporting where a journalist presents a broad and multidimensional view of a conflict, without giving room to partisan interests. He outlines peace journalism as one that is truth-oriented, exposing lies and deception on all sides; people oriented, focusing on suffering on all sides and on people as peace-makers; solution-oriented, identifying creative initiatives that lead to resolution, reconstruction and reconciliation.

The Conflict Resolution Network says conflict-resolution journalism is sensitive and responsible reporting on events in conflict-torn areas of the world. Stella Cornelius of the network says such journalism, it says, assists citizens to rebuild their society and to reduce tensions — or at least not exacerbate existing divisions.

CRN goes ahead to explain that conflict-resolution journalism takes many forms, and has many names. It is called "peace journalism," or "conflict-sensitive journalism."

2.12 Journalism and Conflict in East Africa:-The Coverage of Post Election Violence in Kenya 2008-2009 and Rwanda Genocide

Initially, the violence in Kenya was described as a revolt against disputed election results, but when observers began to identify ethnic patterns to the violence, the comparisons to the Rwandan genocide flowed swiftly through the international media. Although some of the hate messages sent around in Kenya urged adherents to treat their opponents "like Rwanda", the neighbouring nations are so different in terms of history, ethnicity, and politics that Kenyan journalists and other close observers rejected the comparison to Rwanda and sought to make sense of violence that had deep roots in Kenyan politics, social relations, and history.

In both Kenya and Rwanda hate speech had been broadcast over vernacular (local language) radio and other media, yet among the many differences between the two conflicts was the extensive use of SMS (also known as text messages) to communicate hate in Kenya. This exploitation of new media quickly became emblematic of the Kenyan conflict. The extensive

media and scholarly attention to this shocking use of text messaging in the midst of violence perhaps over-emphasized the role it may have played in causing or furthering the violence among Kenyans. Hate speech in its many forms-- text messages, radio broadcasts, leaflets, and speeches--certainly had multiple effects as the conflict unfolded; it likely incited individuals to use violence, galvanized groups against one another, and injured many of those who heard it. However, as the numerous reports and commentaries on the election violence note, these instances of hateful speech should not be confused with the root causes of the Kenyan conflict, which lie in the disputed election (and previous electoral disputes), inequality, economic decline, and long-standing conflicts over land and political power (see, e.g., Kiai (this collection); KNCHR 2008).

Given the prominence of negative speech in the Kenyan conflict, any analysis of the case requires attention to the relations among speech, power, and violence characterizing the situation, even as it must resist the tendency to assume that hate speech caused the violence. Rather, the precise role played by hate speech is best explored in context. Only through appreciating the contextual specificity of speech in relation to violence in the Kenyan case and others can the implications for prevention, redress, and reconciliation be determined. Responses taken in Rwanda for instance, such as prosecutions for incitement through hate speech or criminalizing the use of ethnic terms, might be less effective in the Kenyan context.

Accordingly, my discussion focuses on the role of local context in shaping the effects and implications of hate speech. In the next section I briefly describe the circumstances of the 2007 Kenyan election violence and the claims made about the role of hate speech in particular. A subsequent section offers a theoretical approach to speech, power, and violence that emphasizes context as shaping the meaning and implications of speech. The paper continues with several observations about the history of speech, power, and violence in Kenya in order to highlight how specific features of the local context might shape the

development of appropriate and effective approaches to redress, reconciliation, and prevention. Analyses designed to illuminate the role of speech in extreme violence should examine features of local context--including histories of speech, power, and violence as presented below--in order to avoid comparisons that gloss over significant differences and thus to develop more effective techniques of prevention of violence or responses in its aftermath.

2.13 Theoretical Framework

This study will mainly be informed by the Agenda Setting Theory of communication. The theory describes the powerful influence of the media in shaping realities around subject matters- the ability of the media to tell us what issues are important.

Readers learn not only about a given issue, but also how much importance to attach to that issue from the amount of information in a news story and its position. Agenda setting as defined in "Mass Media, Mass Culture" is the process whereby the mass media determine what we think and worry about. It is basically a theory of strong media effects which suggests that with the passage of time the media agenda becomes the public agenda.

The theory was first observed in 1922 by a newspaper journalist Walter Lippmann who pointed out the media's domination through creation of pictures in the public heads, which induces public to react to those pictures, rather than actual events. Lippmann's theory was put into public test in 1968 by Maxwell McCombs & Donald Shaw in Chapel Hill, during the American presidential elections. Two researchers from the University of North Carolina, emphasised that the agenda issues found in the news media and among general public is what sets the media agenda.

While investigating the Agenda-Setting function of the mass media the professors attempted to assess the relationship between what voters in one community said were important issues

and the actual content of the media messages used during the campaign (McCombs and Shaw, 1972). They concluded that the mass media exerted a significant influence on what voters considered to be the major issues of campaign.

In their finding they stated that audiences did not only get to know about public issues and other matters through the mass media but also learned how much value to attach to an issue or topic going by the emphasis the mass media could have placed on it.

Agenda-Setting as a concept has two functional levels. As mentioned in *Theories of Communication,* the first level enacts the common subjects that are most important, and the second level decides what parts of the subject are important. This concept is process that is divided into three parts according to Rogers and Dearing in their book *Agenda Setting Research.*

The first part of the process is the importance of the issues that are going to be discussed in the media. Second, the issues discussed in the media, 'the public agenda' have an impact over the way the public thinks. Ultimately the public agenda influences the policy agenda. This way 'the media agenda affects the public agenda, and the public agenda affects the policy agenda' (Littlejohn, 320).

Then in 1972 David Weaver joined McCombs and Shaw in project were they panel studied the 1976 U.S. presidential election. Within this project the researchers studied the attributes of the agenda, the description of presidential candidates in the news and the agenda attributes in voters' descriptions of the candidates (McCombs, 4).

Throughout this study the researchers found out that there was a relationship between the media agenda and the public agenda. These studies are for the purpose of looking at the media issues and determining whether these issues are important. Therefore the second level

of agenda plays an important role in this study because it decides what parts of the issues are important in regards to the presidential election.

McQuail and Windahl (1993) argue that the media pay attention to some social, economic or even political issues while emphasising, neglecting or even abandoning other issues they do not deem important for the society. Matters selected and highlighted by the media are those that are regarded as essential for the public discussion.

The order and priority in which they have treated will also determine the importance and priority in which they have been treated will also determine the importance and priority attached to them.

2.14 Core Assumptions and the theory
This theory assumes that Agenda setting is the creation of public awareness and concern of significant issues by the news media. According to Bernard Cohen (1963) two basic assumptions underlie most research on Agenda-Setting.

(1) The press and the media do not reflect reality; they filter and shape it;

(2) Media concentration on a few issues and subjects leads the public to perceive those issues as more important than other issues.

One of the most critical aspects in the concept of an agenda-setting role of mass communication is the time frame for this phenomenon. In addition, different media have different agenda-setting potential. Agenda-setting theory seems quite appropriate to help us understand the pervasive role of the media-for example on political communication systems.

CHAPTER THREE: CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presented the methodology, which was used to carry out the study. It further described the type and source of data, the target population and sampling methods and the techniques that were used to select the sample size. It also described how data was collected and analyzed. The suitable methodology in this study gave the guidelines for information gathering and processing.

3.1 Research Design

Oso W.Y and Onen D. (2005) says research design describes the nature of the pattern the research intends to follow. It describes the plan or strategy for conducting the research. This study used secondary source of data and the research design that was employed as a content analysis. The use of content analysis technique was quite suitable, as it is popular with researchers of media because of the clarity, truthfulness and objectivity. This is because content analysis technique provides an effective way of examining media content, besides being a useful tool in addressing many pertinent media questions (Wimmer and Dominick, 1978).

Content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid references from date to their context (kripperndorf, 1980). McQail (1987) further explains that content analysis is a research design for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the content of communication. The benefits of content analysis was twofold: it made it possible for the research to apply both quantitative and qualitative operations and it is unobtrusive method of data gathering and hence the problem of undue influence on the subject of study and participants is ruled out.

3.1 Target Population

Target population as described by Borg and Crall (2009) is a universal set of study of all members of real or hypothetical set of people, events or objects to which an investigator wishes to generalize the result. The target population in this research were conflict managers in regional and sub-regional organisations; Policy makers in conflict management in regional and sub-regional organisations; conflict management lecturers; journalism professional bodies in Africa and journalists training bodies. The researcher also targeted journalists in the leading mainstream local and international media-namely: Nation Media Group-Print and Broadcast; the Standard Group- Print and Broadcast; Capital Group- Broadcast; Citizen Group- Broadcast; British Broadcasting Group- Broadcast and Associated Press.

3.3 Sample and Sampling Procedure

Wimmer and Dominick (1987), state that determining adequate sample size is one of the most controversial aspects of sampling. However sample size can be determined by methodology, cost and time among other factors. Krejcie and Morgan (1970) further explain that is to provide a table for determining sample size from a given population. It is on the basis of this table that the sample was arrived.

Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) define sampling as the process of selecting a number of individuals for a study in such a way that individuals selected (the sample) represent the large group from which they are selected (the population). Each member of a sample is referred to as a subject.

A representative sample was one containing essentially the same variations that exist in the population and which therefore when studied provides useful descriptions of the total population.

For various reasons including limitation of time, funds and resources, it was not be possible to scrutinize entire population under study. This therefore made it necessary to conduct multi-stage sampling. Multi-stage sampling involved selecting a sample within each cluster, rather than including all units in the cluster. Thus in multi-stage, there was selection of a sample in at least two stages. Firstly, large groups were selected. Secondly, units were chosen from large groups (Nachmias and Nachmias, 2005). In the context of this study, large groups were the mass media and from the mass media, the study zeroed in media in the East African region.

In order to select a representative sample, researcher must have a sampling frame i.e. a list of cases from which a sample is selected. A probability sampling technique was used to come up with this sample. These techniques included random sampling, simple random sampling, systematic random sampling, stratified random sampling and cluster sampling. Probability sampling was the primary method for selecting a sample for Social Science research.

3.4 Data Collection

To meet objectives of this study, both quantitative and qualitative data was collected. The study used descriptive research design with the preferred data collection method being content analysis. Wikipedia (online encyclopaedia) indicates that descriptive research, also known as statistical research, describes data and characteristic about the population or phenomenon being studied. This type of research answered the questions *who, what, where, when and how.*

Kothari (1990) says that descriptive research includes surveys and fact-finding enquiries of different kinds. He states that the major purpose of this research is description of the state of affairs as it exists at a particular time. Kothari goes on to say that the main characteristic of

this method is that the researcher has no control over the variables; he/she can only report what has happened or what is happening.

3.5 Unit of Analysis

According to Schultz (1996) unit of analysis is the level of social life which the research question is focused. Stacks and Hocking (1998) define unit of analysis as what the researcher actually counts and assigns categories, adding that this is the area of social life on which research question focuses. The unit of analysis for this study was the stories, advertisements, cartoons, opinions and commentaries that covered the conflict resolution process. These were in terms of the following variables.

Type of Story: defined as the categories of newspaper items-news, features, editorial, letters to the editors, opinions, cartoons, pictures and adverts. The editorial is the heart of the newspaper as it gives the opinion or the position of the media house on a particular issue. It is a very serious section in the print media. News on the other hand is that what sells a media. The juicier the news, the more the sales and this explains why most newspapers carry sensational stories to entice the readers into buying. Features are also important as they tackle a particular issue in detail but not really to give a particular position but to explain and give facts on a particular issue as they are. Cartoons and caricatures are popular as they look at topical and salient issues in the society and give an interpretation. They make us laugh and critic ourselves and the society at large. They make us mirror the society by making us laugh at our mistakes and at the same time find solutions for our problems.

Placement: where an item appeared- this could be front page, inside pages, back pages, the kind of headline a story made. Placement of a story on the front and the back of a newspaper signify the importance of a story as compared to the inside pages. The type of headline a story gets also sends a very strong message in that the bigger the banner or headline, more

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importance is placed on that particular story. This is because the headline is intended to capture the attention of the reader and even make them think seriously about it.

Treatment: this depend on whether the article carried hate messages, reconciliatory messages, incitement, peace messages, ethical stereotypes, retaliation or anxiety and fear messages. It may also take the form of illustrations, photographs, graphs and charts among other illustrations that will add weight to the article. In journalism it is said that a photograph speaks a thousand words, so if an article accompanied by a photograph or an illustration, then that adds more weight to the article or the message. The way the article is presented also matters a lot as this may take various forms of interpretations by various groups of people.

Size of Story: size of the article will be categorised as big, medium, small and very small depending on the article length. Big articles are those with more than 1,500 words (more than a page of the newspaper). Medium articles are articles that have between 1001 and 1499 words (one page of the newspaper). As for small articles the length is from 501 to 999 words (two third of a page of the newspaper) and very small articles are those with below 500 words (one third of a page of a newspaper).

Tone of Language: it can be described as the nature of language employed by the writer, it maybe objective, fair, balanced and conciliatory. The language can also be perceived by some groups as indecent, dehumanising and even stereotyping. For example when Sulman Rushdie wrote the *Satanic Verses*, he was declared as *persona non grata in the Islamic world* over what they termed as indecent and stereotyping of their religion. In Rwanda Radio-Television Libre des Milles Collines (RTLM) referred to the Tutsi as *inyenzi* or cockroach and this led to the killing of millions of the Tutsi in the Rwandan Genocide. How stories regarded the resolution process: very useful, useful, and completely useless. Aspects given to the

resolution process (what was regarded important) deal, deadlock, bargaining, whole process, etc.

3.6 Coding

Coding entailed putting the units of analysis into the already constructed content analysis categories. But before embarking on the actual coding of content, a code sheet and code book was constructed and then piloted exercise of coding conducted.

3.7 Data Analysis

Analysing data employed quantitative techniques that used systematic scientific numerical information. The objective of quantitative was to develop and employ mathematics models, theories and hypotheses pertaining to natural phenomena (Chandran, 2004). In this study quantitative technique involved reducing text to numbers and then those numbers counted, summed up and compared. Data was analysed using Statistical Packages for Social Sciences (SPSS) edition 18.0 and Microsoft Office Excel 2007.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

The researcher was committed and applied the ethics of research during and after data collection. This involved the treatment of research respondents with sensitivity, care and dignity. The researcher ensured that the respondents remained anonymous and one way of achieving this was by not asking the respondents to write their names address and contacts on the questionnaire. The researcher undertook to explain the purpose of the research and the right of the respondents at the beginning of every interview. The respondents were given opportunity to ask questions for clarity of the exercise before and during the interview.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATIONS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents data presentation and interpretations of the findings of the relationship between journalism and conflict management.. The data has been presented using tables and graphs with interpretation provided. Findings from open-ended questions were also presented in prose. In the case of data from the interview guides, content analysis was used to present the findings in a prose form in reflection of the relevant themes depicted from the data collected.

4.2 Specific actions that should be taken to bring journalists on board in conflict management processes

4.2.1 Do journalists play a role in conflict situations

The study in this area sought to establish whether the journalists played any role in conflict situations. The findings are shown in figure 4.1 below.

Figure 4.1 Do journalists play a role in conflict situations
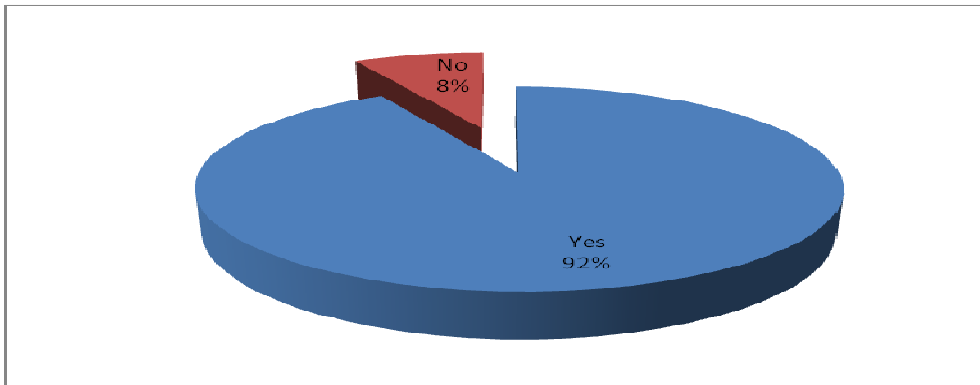
From the figure, 92% of the respondents agreed that journalist's role players in conflict situations while 8% felt that journalists do not play any role in conflict situations. The findings therefore indicate that journalist's were role players in conflict situations.

The study also sought to find out the reasons why journalists were role players in conflict situations and majority of the respondents highlighted that the way journalists reported may contribute to the escalation or reduction of conflict; they reported on conflict situations in east

Africa; they can also contain the conflict situation by reporting objectively without taking sides of the conflicting parties as the way they report influence how conflicts take shape and Journalists' report exposes causes of conflict.

Further, most of the respondents indicated that Journalists' reports bring highlights to the plight of victims; they expose the key players in a given conflict and by airing or publishing stories, which are not subjective was likely to trigger tension among communities. On the other hand, Journalist/media could be peace agents by ensuring that governments act to prevent the escalation of conflicts when they report on existing conflict situations and by calling for possible solutions to the conflicts. It's through journalists that the rest of the country learns of conflicts. It is journalists who will keep tabs on the rise of conflicts, what they think need to be done or not as journalists are part of society.

The media also plays an important role by getting the public to know about the goings on concerning the conflict. They report about the demands by either side or report about the gives and take by either side to the conflict. Journalists play a role because they are a medium through which the initial exchanges between the parties can be transmitted. Through coverage and publishing/broadcasting of news in conflicts hit areas, their coverage could have either negative or positive impact or a bit fuel the conflict depending on how they report. Presence of journalists in a conflict area could also provoke more conflict.

4.2.2 Link between journalists and conflicts

The study further sought to establish the link between journalists and conflicts. From the study findings, majority of the respondents indicated that the links between journalists and conflicts was very close and was all journalists had to balance by presenting the two opposing views and having the public to be the judge. However, how they present these two opposing sides carriers the day; journalists were always present in conflicts as the link between the parties in conflict and the external world; stories which were published by journalists in some cases triggered revenge attacks; journalists reported on conflicts and made those in power act to stop them and the link occurs when they (journalists) highlight emerging issues on the conflicts.

On the other hand, journalist's fuel and protected conflict by showing people how their people were being killed and could protect by airing peace. Others cited that journalists either helped in detecting, preventing end or fuelling conflicts; their reporting form a link to the

audience-the public-and conflict situations and therefore the link is in the reporting through which perceptions are created or demystified.

Most of the respondents further indicated that journalists conveyed the message, either of peace or hate; they highlight the issues that create awareness and keeps people informed on the possible causes of the conflicts to ensure they were avoided in future; they could either polarize or mend relations; journalists may reduce or add to conflict depending on the information they give to the masses and journalists may also cause conflicts by reporting about intentions or actions of a party which others don't like.

4.2.3 Do journalists fuel conflicts?

The study also sought to find out whether journalists fuelled conflicts. The findings are shown in table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1 Do journalists fuel conflicts?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	3	11.1
No	24	88.9
Total	**27**	**100.0**

From the table above, majority of the respondents (88.9%) cited that journalists do not fuel conflicts with 11.1% who were of the opinion that journalists fuelled conflicts. This implies that journalists do not fuel conflicts.

4.2.4 Examples where journalists had fuelled conflict

The study further asked the respondents to give examples where journalists had fuelled conflict and the following examples were highlighted. The post election violence experienced in Kenya after 2007 elections where journalist Joshua Sang was in court over remarks he made on radio that fuelled post election violence in Kenya in 2007/2008; where journalists take a position view (i.e.) deliberate favour one side in ongoing conflict, which could fuel conflict; the 1994 Rwandan genocide where several journalists and media stations were used to propagate conflict and when journalists sided with the aggressor rather than being neutral to both sides.

Most of the respondents further cited the Migingo Island tiff between Kenya and Uganda where journalists often reported about incidences based on one side only which could be an

exaggeration because other parties often denies; reporting that a certain community was fighting another like the case of Tana river which this fuelled the attacks and members of the other community fought back.

4.2.5 Do journalists help contain conflicts?

The study further sought to find out whether journalists helped in containing conflicts. The findings are shown in figure 4.2 below.

Figure 4.2 Do journalists help contain conflicts?
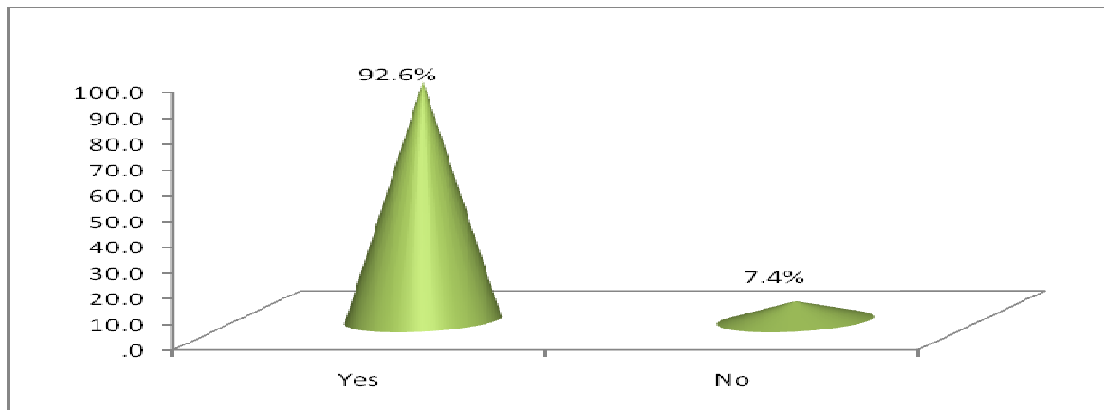
When further asked whether journalists helped in containing conflicts, 92.6% agreed while 7.4% disagreed that journalists helped in containing conflicts. The findings therefore indicate that journalists helped in containing conflicts.

4.2.6 Ways in which journalists helped contain conflicts

For those who agreed that journalists helped in containing conflicts, the study sought to find out they ways through which they did this. From the study findings, majority of the respondents cited that journalists helped in containing conflicts by exercising conflict-sensitive reporting guided by their code of conduct and professional ethics; by reporting responsibly i.e. being neutral; by making reports which might help the conflicting parties understand each other's predicaments and by engaging the community in peace initiatives through sensitizing the people about the dangers of engaging in conflict.

Most of the respondents further indicated that journalists helped in containing conflicts by airing peace messages and acting like protective of the rights of the challenged, marginalized and vulnerable; by acting as deterrents where they sieve the hate messages and let peace stories go through; by approaching the issues at hand in a sober and calm way while reporting

and maintaining a mature, healthy balance of events and running away from out-throat opinions from some leaders not to aggregate the situation. In this they exercise self extranet and they regulate themselves.

Further, journalists helped in containing conflicts by not reporting exaggerated figure and getting all facts right; by continually doing stories on peace be it in print or broadcast; by publishing a public appeal for conflict parties to reach the table and solve their issues; by giving people more information on the causes of conflict which makes the conflicting parties understands and are able to deal with the conflict and journalists through the media can help pass peace messages and unite the citizens through campaigns to educate citizens, through reporting in a responsible manner in a manner that does not provoke tensions.

4.2.7 Good reporting and bad reporting by journalists in a conflict situation

The study also sought to find out whether there was anything such as good reporting and bad reporting by journalists in a conflict situation. The findings are shown in figure 4.3 below.

Figure 4.3 Good reporting and bad reporting by journalists in a conflict situation
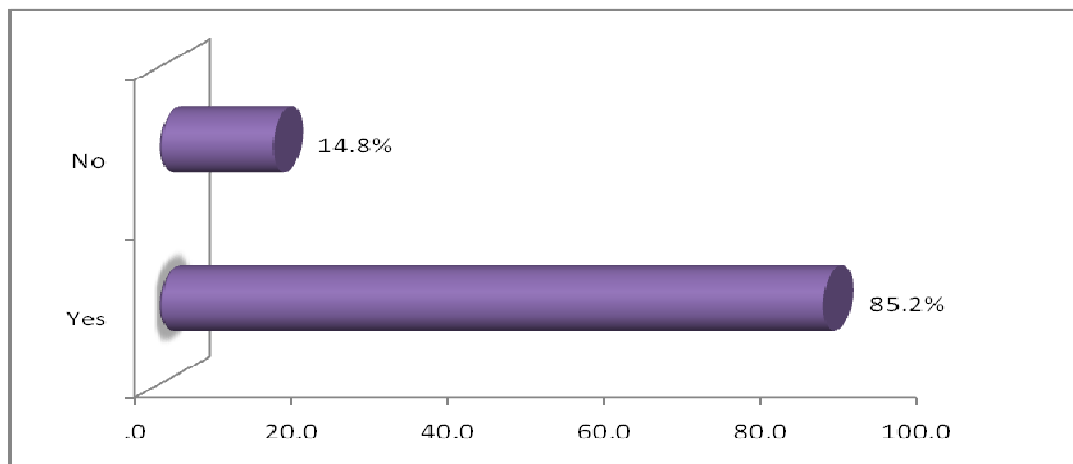
From the findings of the study, 85.2% of the respondents were of the opinion that there was good reporting and bad reporting by journalists in a conflict situation. On the other hand, 14.8% disagreed that there was anything like good reporting and bad reporting by journalists in a conflict situation. This therefore implies that there was good reporting and bad reporting by journalists in a conflict situation.

4.2.8 Examples of good reporting and bad reporting by journalists in a conflict situation

The study further asked the respondents to provide examples of whether there was anything such as good reporting and bad reporting by journalists in a conflict situation. From the study, the following were cited; good reporting was when reporters focused on the substance of the conflict rather than siding with the parties which helped to please both sides and therefore encourage the search for a solution; good reporting was geared towards resolving conflicts by exposing the dangers of war while bad reporting tends to fuel conflicts in a way that incites one or both parties involved and good reporting gives confirmed and accurate information while bad reporting on the other hand gives biased, exaggerated and even false information.

Most of the respondents further indicated that bad reporting was where for example journalists reported exaggerated numbers of the deed or situation in a conflict zone and good reporting was telling about the situation as it was and propagating peace; bad reporting involved giving out non-factual information, being biased and failure to give insight into a conflict situation or story while good reporting was in-order in all aspects of ethical reporting and good reporting was giving the truth in a balanced way with the goal of pacifying the situation while bad reporting was conveying the truth or lies or both with the goals of inciting further violence.

4.2.9 Conflict Sensitive Reporting

The study further sought to establish whether there was anything such as conflict sensitive reporting. The findings are shown in figure 4.4 below.

Figure 4.4 Conflict Sensitive Reporting
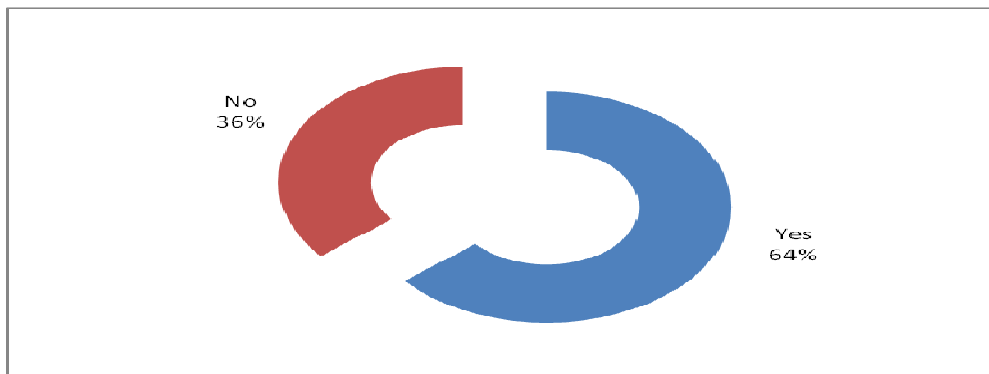
The study further established that there was anything such as conflict sensitive reporting as indicated by 64% of the respondents who agreed. Further, 36% of the respondents disagreed on there being anything such as conflict sensitive reporting.

The study further asked the respondents to provide examples of conflict sensitive reporting and the following examples were highlighted; conflict sensitive reporting involves whoever fitting copy deliberately issues that could be taboo culturally to antagonists involving the conflict; conflict sensitive reporting was when a journalist was aware of the prevailing forces and tries his best to avoid being seen to be supporting one side and during the post-election violence in Kenya, many media houses were careful not to report the conflict in a manner that would fuel it further. So they took great precaution reporting only issues they thought needed highlighting and sieving out what they felt would precipitate a recurrence of the violence.

Most of the respondents further indicated sensitive reporting as getting the views of either side impartiality; having in mind the impact of the information they disseminate. e.g. when Kibera is burning, a journalist should not say that Luos are burning down Kibera considering the impact such a story could have and in violence situations, journalists have to think first about the outcome of their articles when it goes out to the public. Picture exposing a beating by one side may aggregate the other to retaliate.

4.2.10 How journalists engage in conflict

The study found out that the journalists could negatively engage in conflict through inciting and taking sides; being subjective; by not being factual; airing steaming stories that people feel they were being expected by the other group and serving the interests of parties that may be paying the journalists to do so. On the other hand, journalists could negatively engage in conflict through reporting issues that will fuel conflicts; airing negative comments from one party against the other and showing image of injured and dead people from one community after a violence attack which may cause the other party to have the urge for revenge and by providing the wrong information on the cause of conflict or siding with one part.

On the other hand, the study found out that the journalists could positively engage in conflict through reporting messages that would invoke peace and negotiations; upholding the tenets of journalisms-factual objective, without bias; being neutral and trying to help solve the conflict; through balanced reporting, avoiding taking sides, helping propagate peace and preaching peace; urging calm and offering alternative paths of resolution. Further, the journalists could

positively engage in conflict through airing the grievances of one party bringing about peace between the two parties in row in cases where they don't see eye to eye; being objective; addressing the effects of conflict for people to understand the damages that are likely to occur and by showing reasons why we need o live in harmony with one another.

4.2.11 would you say journalists therefore have a place in conflict management

The study further sought to establish whether journalists had a place in conflict management. The findings are shown in figure 4.5 below.

Figure 4.5 Would you say journalists therefore have a place in conflict management
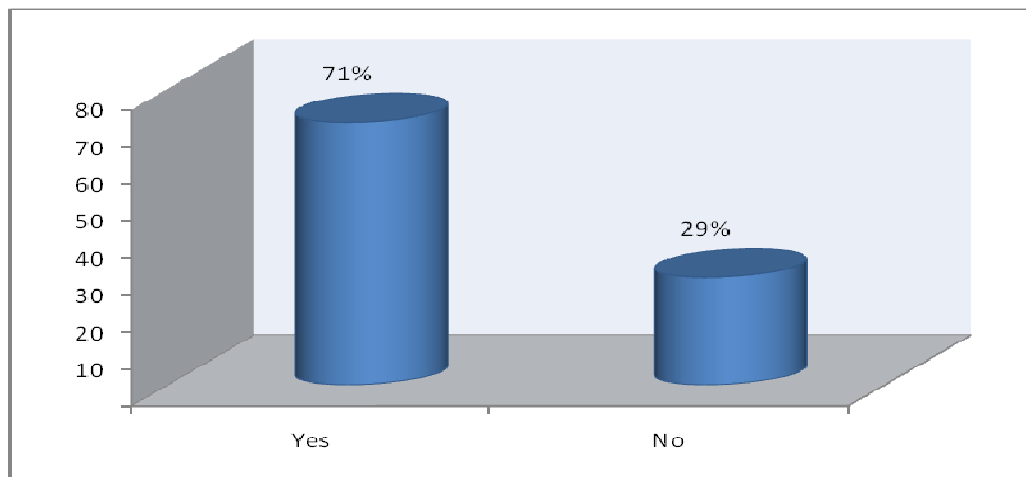
When asked whether journalists had a place in conflict management, 71% of the respondents agreed with 29% disagreeing that journalists had a place in conflict management. This therefore implies that journalists had a place in conflict management.

For those who agreed that journalists had a place in conflict management, the study sought to establish ways in which journalists could engage in conflict management and the following were highlighted; by identifying potential causes of conflicts and highlighting them early for interventions to be established; reporting on situations that are likely to cause conflict so that relevant people can avert the conflict; by airing stories that provide solutions to issues that cause conflicts; by having a balance and objective reporting and by spreading peace message.

Others felt that journalists had a place in conflict management through acting as role models to the audience; encouraging peace through dialogue; helping set the agenda away from conflicts by reporting accurately and preaching importance of peace; by engaging in

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campaigns to end conflict situations which could be achieved during the conflict or before it is an anticipated situation; capacity building through regular trainings on how to report on conflicts where they should be warned of the dangers of being partisan in their reportage of conflicts.

Most of the respondents further felt that journalists could be included in the boards of managing conflict; they should provide a historical point of view to the conflict and hence help mediators in finding solutions; as peace campaigners, journalists can be to the forefront of peace search by publishing reports that call for peace, argue for peace and challenge authorities or parties to choose peace; by letting the conflicting parties speak up publicly; through public awareness and highlight causes of conflicts which in return will act as a lesson on things to avoid that might lead to conflicts.

4.3 Conflict managers need to acknowledge journalists as key actors in conflicts

4.3.1 Role of journalists in conflicts

The study in this area sought to establish whether journalists were aware of their role in conflicts or whether they understood their role in conflict situations. . The findings are shown in figure 4.6 below.

Figure 4.6 Role of journalists in conflicts
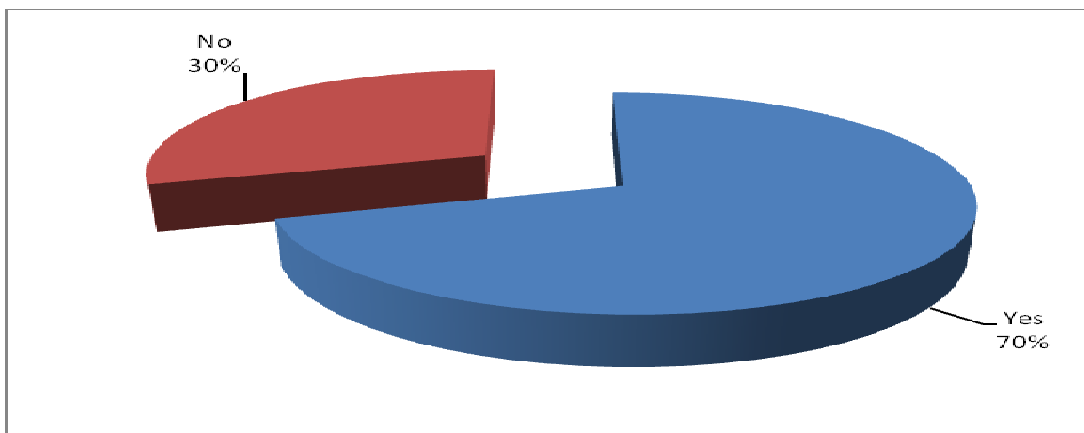
From the study findings, majority of the respondents (70%) agreed that journalists were aware of their role in conflicts and they understood their role in conflict situations while 30% disagreed. This therefore implies that journalists were aware of their role in conflicts or whether they understood their role in conflict situations.

4.3.2 Do players in conflict understand the role of journalists in conflicts

The study further sought to find out whether players in conflict understood the role of journalists in conflicts. The findings are shown in figure 4.7 below.

Figure 4.7 Do players in conflict understand the role of journalists in conflicts
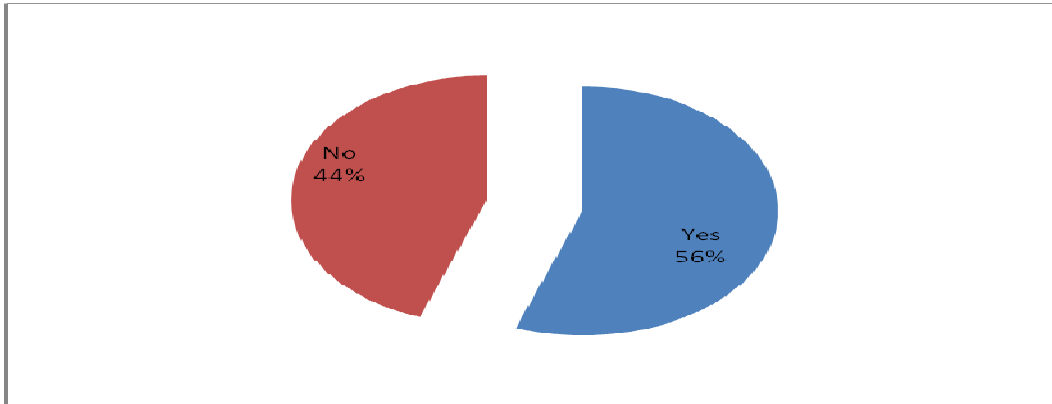
When asked whether players in conflict understood the role of journalists in conflicts, majority of the respondents (56%) agreed while 44% disagreed. This finding implies that players in conflict understood the role of journalists in conflicts.

4.3.3 Do conflict managers consider journalists as key players in conflicts

The study further sought to find out whether managers considered journalists as key players in conflicts. The findings are shown in figure 4.8 below.

Figure 4.8 Do conflict managers consider journalists as key players in conflicts
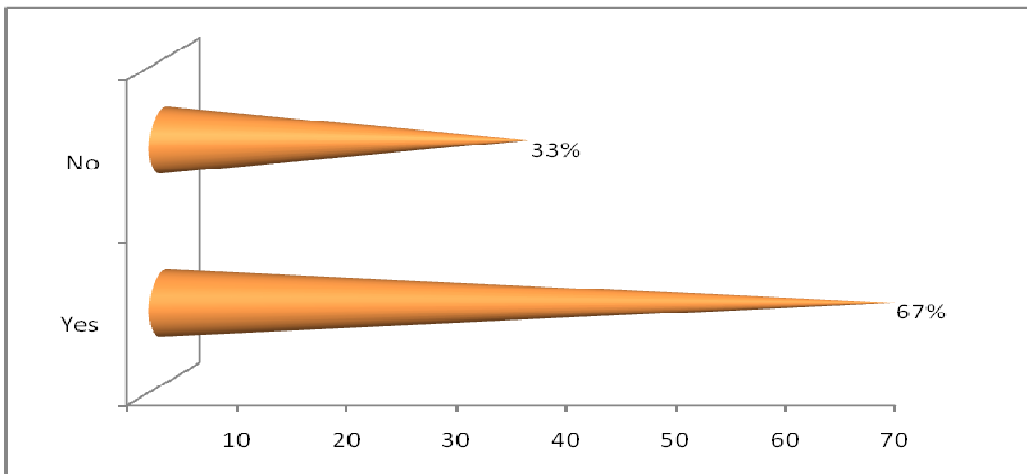
From the figure above, majority of the respondents (67%) agreed that managers considered journalists as key players in conflicts with 33% disagreeing that managers considered

journalists as key players in conflicts. This finding indicates that managers considered journalists as key players in conflicts.

4.3.4 Do conflict managers bring journalists to the table in conflict management strategies

The study also sought to find out whether managers brought journalists to the table in conflict management strategies. The findings are shown in figure 4.9 below.

Figure 4.9 Do conflict managers bring journalists to the table in conflict management strategies
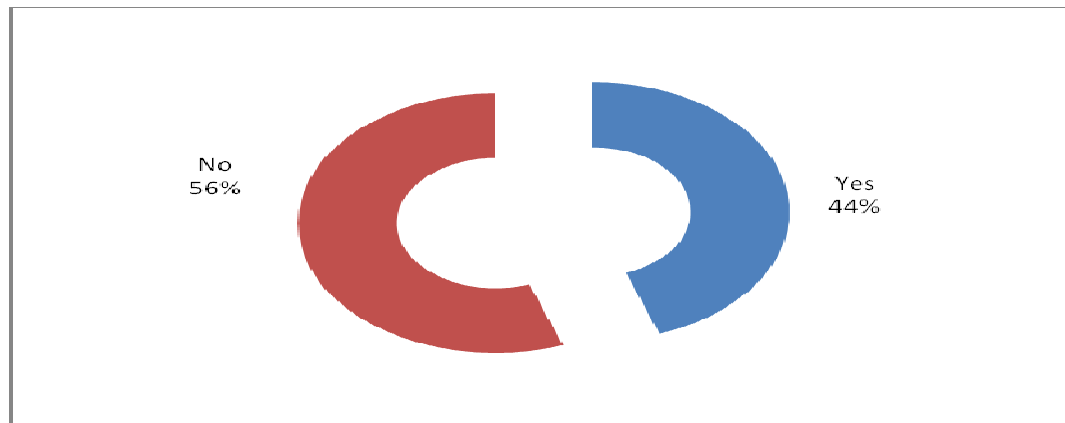
When further asked whether managers brought journalists to the table in conflict management strategies, 56% of the respondents indicated that managers do not bring journalists to the table in conflict management strategies while 44% were of the opinion that managers brought journalists to the table in conflict management strategies.

4.3.5 Do other stakeholders attempt to reach out to journalists in attempts to deal with conflicts

The study on the other hand sought to find out other stakeholders attempted to reach out to journalists in attempt to deal with conflicts. The findings are shown in figure 4.10 below.

Figure 4.10 Do other stakeholders attempt to reach out to journalists in attempts to deal with conflicts?
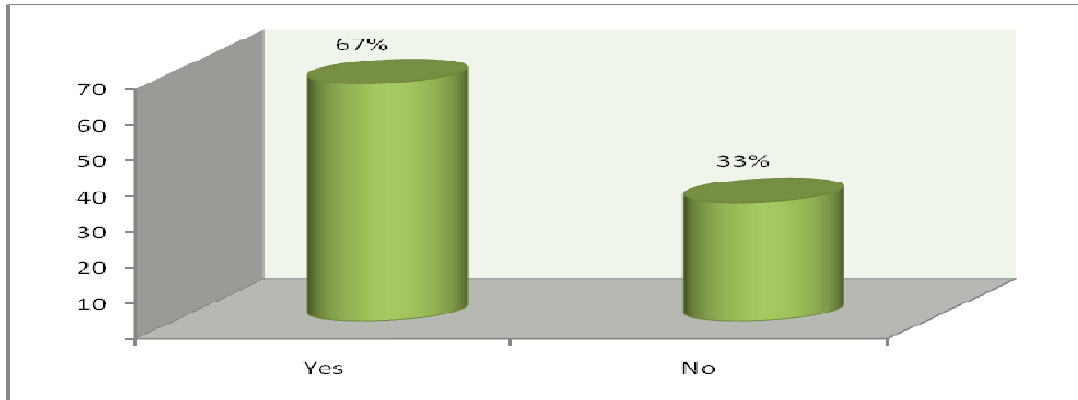
From the figure above, 67% of the respondents agreed that stakeholders attempted to reach out to journalists in attempt to deal with conflicts while 33% were of the opinion that stakeholders had not attempted to reach out to journalists in attempt to deal with conflicts. This finding therefore implies that stakeholders attempted to reach out to journalists in attempt to deal with conflicts.

4.3.6 Effectiveness of stakeholders in attempting to reach out to journalists in attempt to deal with conflicts

The study also sought to find out how effective have been stakeholders in attempting to reach out to journalists in attempt to deal with conflicts. The findings are shown in figure 4.11 below.

Figure 4.11 Effectiveness of stakeholders in attempting to reach out to journalists in attempt to deal with conflicts
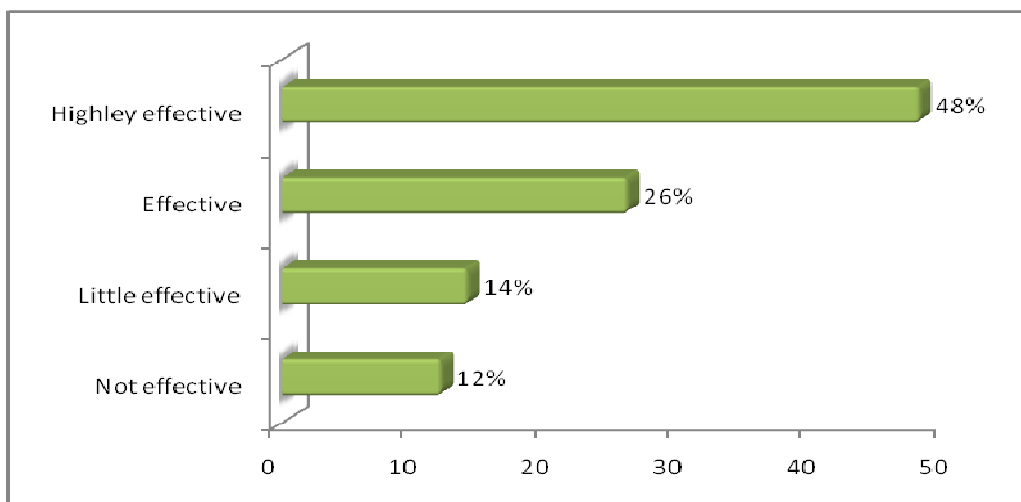
From the study findings, most of the respondents (48%) indicated that stakeholders attempts to reach out to journalists in attempt to deal with conflicts was highly effective, 26% indicated that they were effective while 14% and 12% indicated that stakeholders attempts to reach out to journalists in attempt to deal with conflicts was Little effective and not effective respectively. This therefore implies that stakeholder's attempt to reach out to journalists in attempt to deal with conflicts was highly effective.

On the other hand, respondents felt that the level of efficiency was directly proportional to the level of journalist involved; this has often been limited to press leases, press conferences and interviews with journalists. It has been effective as far updating interested people on the going-on of the conflict and the real role of journalists as direct parties was yet to be taken into consideration; had increased recently after the 2007/08 incident in efforts to avoid a repeat of the same and many journalists had been trained on how to report on conflicts. In the long run it has assisted in improving how they package their information.

4.3.7 Do journalism colleges train journalists on conflict management

The study also sought to establish whether journalism colleges trained journalists on conflict management. The findings are shown in figure 4.12 below.

Figure 4.12 Do journalism colleges train journalists on conflict management
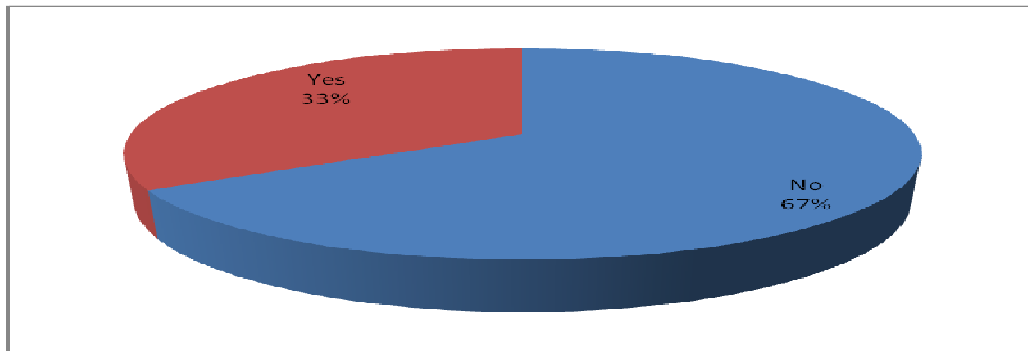
From the figure above, majority of the respondents (67%) agreed that journalism colleges trained journalists on conflict management. This implies that journalism colleges train journalists on conflict management.

4.3.8 Has the concept of conflict sensitive journalism or reporting been embraced in the media sector

The study further sought to find out whether the concept of conflict sensitive journalism or reporting had been embraced in the media sector. The findings are shown in figure 4.13 below.

Figure 4.13 Has the concept of conflict sensitive journalism or reporting been embraced in the media sector
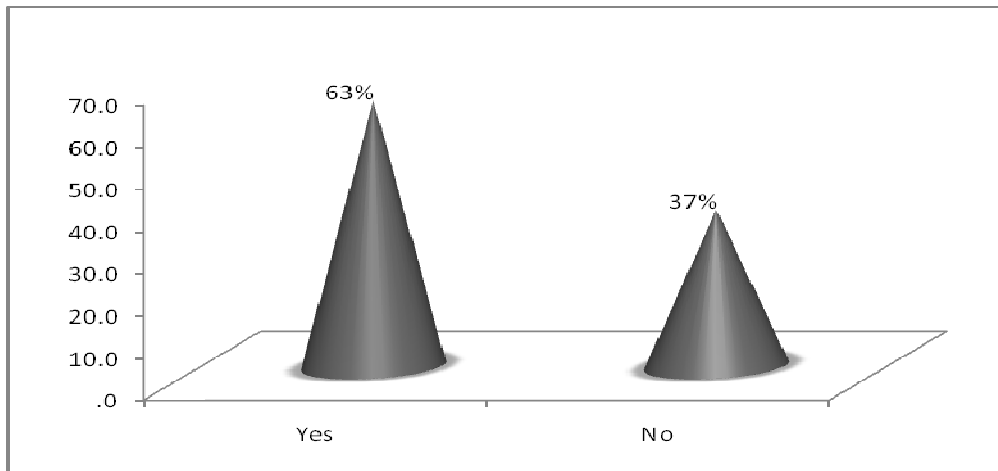
From the study findings, majority of the respondents (63%) agreed that the concept of conflict sensitive journalism or reporting had been embraced in the media sector.

The study further sought to find out how the concept of conflict sensitive journalism or reporting had contributed to the management of conflicts. From the study findings, majority of the respondents cited averting post-election violence in 2013; by withholding information that would otherwise would have led to escalated conflicts; embraced and could be seen in the guidelines from the media council on reporting in conflict situations as well as the various media houses editorial policies contain such rules and media no longer gives audiences to those slanting their contributions toward forming hate or conflict.

However, more training was required; Radio, TV and newspapers no longer give too much priority to the cause of conflict, rather the outcomes. The stations are objectively reporting conflicts and war and through this, the journalists had been able to understand their role in fuelling or abating conflict and the impact they had in the community through bad reporting.

4.4 Ways that journalists can be empowered to understand their role in conflict management

4.4.1 Should conflict managers consider journalists as key players in conflicts

The study in this section sought to find out whether conflict managers should consider journalists as key players in conflicts. The findings are shown in table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2 Should conflict managers consider journalists as key players in conflicts

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	24	88.9
No	3	11.1
Total	**27**	**100.0**

From the study findings, majority of the respondents (88.9%) were of the opinion that conflict managers should consider journalists as key players in conflicts.

The study also sought to find out why conflict managers should consider journalists as key players in conflicts and the following were highlighted: by giving necessary information, holding meetings to discuss how best to air the conflicts; by involving them and sensitizing them in solving managing conflict; by being taken on board, and be seen as parties, not outsiders; by acting as a medium for informing publics on what parties are doing about the conflict and by influencing either positively or negatively and even creating mass movement or revolution and or changing a situation from worse to good or vice verse.

On the other hand, conflict managers should consider journalists as key players in conflicts by being pivotal in either uniting or disintegrating the community through their reporting; by reviewing of conflict prone areas and running programmes that help bring coexistence between the parties; training journalist on various facts of conflict management-while they are collecting processing and disseminating information and by engaging them via editorials opinion columns, special reports, issue-specific editions and engaging journalists at the early stage of conflicts by providing information when required.

4.4.2 Specific ways journalists can be engaged positively in conflict management

The study in this section sought to find out the specific ways in which journalists could be engaged positively in conflict management. From the findings of the study the following were highlighted: training and counselling; journalists could be relied on as indicators of

conflict as they meet relevant stakeholders in their line of duty hence they can tell where conflict is losing; facilitating coverage where need be; reporting on the positive stories and through sensitization workshop/field.

On the other hand journalists can act as peace ambassadors; helping create awareness on importance of peace; through special, issue-centric pullout/productions; by being the voice of reason, highlighting perils of conflict/war; fostering openness and participation; controlling rumour and propaganda; encouraging journalists to chronicle the real impact of those conflicts as a lesson into the future and avoiding scenes that were likely to spur retaliation from the other side.

4.4.3 Results/benefits of engaging journalists in the conflict management process

The study further sought to find out results/benefits of engaging journalists in the conflict management process. From the findings the following were highlighted: conflict-sensitive journalism would take root; they educate the public on the effects of conflicts; there will be reduced cases of conflicts and warning parties might opt for peaceful resolution of differences; availability of accurate information; holding people to account and peace-building.

Further, most of the respondents cited results/benefits of engaging journalists in the conflict management process as more informed reporting; factual and un-biased reporting on emerging issues on the conflict; minimal escalation of conflicts; peaceful co-existence because conflicting parties would see each other as brother and sister; peaceful stable and move developed society; fair and truthful reporting and there would be a methodological approach to conflict resolution on approach that would be sustainable and permanent.

On the other hand, they would be knowledgeable on the matter hence immensely improving their reporting skills on conflict management; there would be positive impact of fair reporting which could help cool down tempers or tension among groups or forces; unity and peace in the community; stability in the country and consequently development; there would be knowledge on the matter hence immensely improving their reporting skills on conflict management and there would be less conflicts and retaliations of war.

4.4.4 Journalists qualify as actors in conflicts

The study further sought to find out whether Journalists qualify as actors in conflicts. The findings are shown in figure 4.14 below.

Figure 4.14 Journalists qualify as actors in conflicts
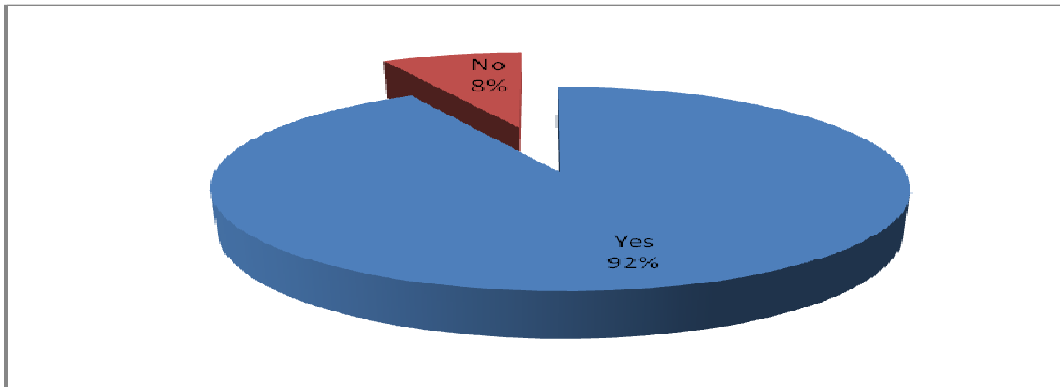
When further asked whether Journalists qualify as actors in conflicts, 92% agreed implying that Journalists qualify as actors in conflicts.

4.4.5 Support for conflict sensitive reporting training for all journalists

The study also sought to find out whether the respondents supported conflict sensitive reporting training for all journalists. The findings are shown in figure 4.15 below.

Figure 4.15 Support for conflict sensitive reporting training for all journalists
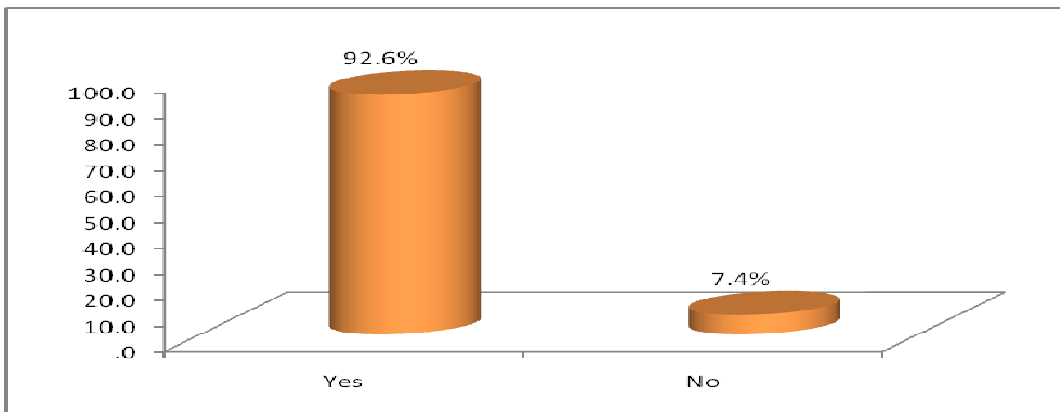
When further asked whether they supported conflict sensitive reporting training for all journalists, majority of the respondents (92.6%) agreed that they supported conflict sensitive reporting training for all journalists.

4.4.6 Other information to relevant to the study

In this section, the study asked the respondents to give other information that they found relevant to the study and the following were highlighted: Top media managers should be trained on how to control content that may spur conflicts; local conflicts and how they have

been solved should be a compulsory part of the studies. Many journalism schools, as the case of East African region, should be introduced to train reporters based on textbooks, Western experiences and based on archaic theories as it would help a great deal if journalist don't separate these subjects: peace, conflict studies form journalism. Further, journalist should stop focusing on conflicts as sources of stories and focus on conflict resolution which is beneficial; conflict management should go with conflict resolution which comes about in time of conflict journalism as a small part and conflict and so other root causes of conflicts needed to be addressed so as Journalism can play its role effectively.

Most of the respondents also indicated that Journalists should be trained on how to strike the balance between the need to inform of what is happening and the need to avoid fanning conflicts; there was need to be open on the issues current emerging in the conflict; Journalists should be developed on conflict reporting; all stakeholders including the government and political leaders should be engaged in conflict resolutions and there should be constant training for journalists and media owners as well.

4.5 Discussions of the findings

The study found out that journalist's were role players in conflict situations because the way they reported contribute to the escalation or reduction of conflict; they reported on conflict situations in east Africa; they also contain the conflict situation by reporting objectively without taking sides of the conflicting parties as the way they report influence how conflicts take shape and Journalists' report exposes causes of conflict.

These findings are similar to Salawu, (2009) who found out that The media as a social institution are also involved in conflicts in the society in a different ways, but mainly through releasing of information and analysis that is basing on one side. As a result, media is ending up fuelling existing conflict or creating a news conflict. Gilboa Etyan in Marquette Law Review; Fall 2009, Vol. 93 Issue 1, p87) also found out that the role of the media in solving conflicts. Etyan states that due to advancement in media, people are well informed about the news.

The study also found out that journalists qualify as actors in conflicts as stakeholders attempted to reach out to journalists in attempt to deal with conflicts. Cottle, (2006) also found out that 'mediatized' by journalists paying more attention on certain issues than others. In journalistic life, reporters must have a story to tell because their business is to gather and

disseminate news in daily basis. Further, political influence, some politicians have created a bond with some media organization or journalists. As a result, this bond tends to affect media decision of what to report and what not to report. For example, during election time, the media role of information become very important for informing the public and the politicians about each sides; such as what the politicians promise the public and what the public expect from the politicians.

The study also found out that the links between journalists and conflicts was very close and was all journalists had to balance by presenting the two opposing views and having the public to be the judge. On the other hand, journalist's fuel and protected conflict by showing people how their people were being killed and could protect by airing peace. However, the study found out that journalists do not fuel conflicts.

This agrees with Etyan (2009) who found out that an analysis of media and conflict resolution adds that successive evolutions in communication technologies have significantly altered the conduct of conflict, warfare, and conflict resolution, noting that compared to people of earlier ages, people around the world today know much more and much sooner about major developments in international relations.

The study further found out that journalists helped in containing conflicts due to good conflict sensitive reporting in a conflict situation. On the other hand, the study found out that journalists could negatively engage in conflict through inciting and taking sides; being subjective; by not being factual; airing steaming stories that people feel they were being expected by the other group and serving the interests of parties that may be paying the them.

This finding is similar to what Sandra D. Melone, GeorgiosTerzis, Ozsel Beleli (2005) observed that *The Common Ground Experience*; say although many examples of the media's negative contribution to the escalation of violent conflicts exist, fair and accurate journalism and media content that builds confidence and counteracts misperceptions may have a potential in both conflict prevention and transformation.

The study found out that journalist were aware of their role in conflicts and they understood their role in conflict situations and that player's in conflict understood the role of journalists in conflicts. Further, conflict managers considered journalists as key players in conflicts and they brought journalists to the table in conflict management strategies.

This agrees with Peter du Toit in the Reporting for Peace Manual (2000) who observed that by developing a better understanding of conflict, journalists can be equipped to give more comprehensive coverage that has the potential to make a positive contribution. This can include understanding of the following; conflict can exist in a latent form for a long time before the confrontations actually break out.

The study found out that stakeholders attempted to reach out to journalists in attempt to deal with conflicts, journalism colleges train journalists on conflict management and that the concept of conflict sensitive journalism or reporting had been embraced in the media sector.

This concurs with Kamara, (2010) who observed that conflict should not be confused with violence, conflict triggers should not be confused with the causes of conflict. By drawing on the different theories relating to the causes of conflict, journalists can make their own assessment of what is taking place Journalists can point out the dangers of conflict spirals to parties involved by asking questions about strategies. Journalists can also play an important role in offering people at different levels opportunities to speak through the media- both to other members of their group and to people on the other side. As parties work together to transform the conflict, journalist have a critical role to play in keeping everyone updated Journalists should critically follow what is happening during peace negotiations. Avoid attaching simple labels to conflicts that oversimplify issues.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of study findings, conclusions and recommendations which are provided below based on the objectives of the study.

5.2 Summary of the findings

The study found out that journalists play a role in conflict situations in the way they report. They can contribute to the escalation or reduction of conflict.

The study also found out that journalists, therefore, qualify as actors. There is evidence that stakeholders have attempted to reach out to journalists in attempt to deal with conflicts.

The study also found out that reports by journalists' reports are critical in that they highlight the plight of victims by exposing the key players in a given conflict. On the other hand, journalists/media have played the role of peace agents by ensuring that governments act to prevent the escalation of conflicts when they report on existing conflict situations and by calling for possible solutions to the conflicts.

The study further found out that the links between journalists and conflicts was very close and journalists had to balance by presenting the two opposing views and having the public to judge. Further, journalists helped in containing conflicts by exercising conflict-sensitive reporting guided by their various Codes of Conduct and professional ethics; by reporting responsibly i.e. being neutral; by making reports which helped the conflicting parties understand each other's predicaments and by engaging the community in peace initiatives through sensitizing the people about the dangers of engaging in conflict.

The study also found out that the links between journalists and conflicts was very close and was all journalists had to balance by presenting the two opposing views and having the public to be the judge. On the other hand, journalists fuel and protected conflict by showing people how their people were being killed and could protect by airing peace. However, the study found out that journalists do not fuel conflicts.

The study further found out that journalists helped in containing conflicts due to good conflict sensitive reporting in a conflict situation. On the other hand, the study found out that journalists could negatively engage in conflict through inciting and taking sides; being subjective; by not being factual; airing steaming stories that people feel they were being expected by the other group and serving the interests of parties that may be paying the them.

The study found out that journalist were aware of their role in conflicts and they understood their role in conflict situations and that player's in conflict understood the role of journalists in conflicts. Further, conflict managers considered journalists as key players in conflicts and they brought journalists to the table in conflict management strategies.

The study found out that stakeholders attempted to reach out to journalists in attempt to deal with conflicts, journalism colleges train journalists on conflict management and that the concept of conflict sensitive journalism or reporting had been embraced in the media sector. The study further found out that the level of efficiency was directly proportional to the level of journalists involvement which has often been limited to press leases, press conferences and interviews with journalists.

The study found out that conflict managers should consider journalists as key players in conflicts and by giving necessary information. Further, holding meetings to discuss how best to air the conflicts; by involving them and sensitizing them in solving managing conflict; by being taken on board, and be seen as parties, not outsiders; by acting as a medium for

informing publics on what parties are doing about the conflict and by influencing either positively or negatively and even creating mass movement or revolution and or changing a situation from worse to good or vice verse.

5.3 Conclusion of the study

The study concludes that journalists play a role in conflict situations. The way they report on issues contributes to the escalation or reduction of conflicts. They can contain a conflict situation by reporting objectively without taking sides with the conflicting parties or can fuel a conflict by doing the latter. Their reports can influence how conflicts take shape and they can help expose causes of conflict.

The study concludes that journalists, therefore, qualify as actors in conflicts. This is because there is evidence from the responses that stakeholders attempted to reach out to journalists in attempt to deal with various conflicts.

The study also concludes that journalists' reports highlight the plight of victims in conflicts by exposing the key players in a given conflict. On the other hand, it concludes that journalists/media were peace agents by ensuring that governments act to prevent the escalation of conflicts when they reported on existing conflict situations by calling for possible solutions to the conflicts.

The study further concludes that the link between journalists and conflicts was very close and journalists have to balance by presenting the two opposing views and leaving the public to judge. Further, the study concludes that journalists helped in containing conflicts by exercising conflict-sensitive reporting guided by their various Codes of Conduct and professional ethics; by reporting responsibly i.e. being neutral; by making reports which helped the conflicting parties understand each other's predicaments and by engaging the

community in peace initiatives through sensitizing the people about the dangers of engaging in conflict.

The study further concludes that journalists helped in containing conflicts through good conflict sensitive reporting in conflict situations. On the other hand, the study concludes that journalists could negatively engage in a conflict situation through inciting and taking sides; being subjective; by not being factual; airing steaming stories that people feel they were being expected by the other group and serving the interests of parties that may be paying the them.

The study concludes that journalist were aware of their role in conflicts and they understood their role in conflict situations and that player's in conflict understood the role of journalists in conflicts. Further, the study concludes that conflict managers considered journalists as key players in conflicts seen through their attempts to bring journalists to the table in conflict management strategies.

The study concludes that stakeholders attempted to reach out to journalists in attempt to deal with conflicts and that the concept of conflict sensitive journalism or reporting had been embraced in the media sector. The study further concludes that the level of efficiency in management of any conflict was directly proportional to the level of journalists' involvement in a conflict situation, which has often been limited to press leases, press conferences and interviews with journalists.

The study concludes that conflict managers should consider journalists as key players in conflicts and by giving necessary information. Further, holding meetings to discuss how best to air the conflicts; by involving them and sensitizing them in solving managing conflict; by being taken on board, and be seen as parties, not outsiders; by acting as a medium for informing publics on what parties are doing about the conflict and by influencing either

positively or negatively and even creating mass movement or revolution and or changing a situation from worse to good or vice verse.

5.4 Recommendations of the study

The study recommends that top media managers should be trained on how to control content that may spur local conflicts. The study also recommends that journalism schools should introduce conflict sensitive reporting as core units in their training curriculum.

Further, journalists should be encouraged to stop focusing on conflicts as sources of stories and focus more on conflict resolution which is beneficial. Further, conflict management should go hand in hand with conflict resolution conflict sensitive journalism should play a key role in both processes.

The study recommends that journalists should be trained on how to strike the balance between the need to inform of what is happening and the need to avoid fanning conflicts. Further, the study recommends that journalists should be empowered on conflict reporting; all stakeholders including the government and political leaders should be engaged in conflict resolutions and there should be constant training for journalists and media owners as well.

The study recommends that journalists should be knowledgeable on the matter they are reporting so as to improve their reporting skills on conflict management which would have positive impact of fair reporting and help cool down tempers or tension among groups or forces. The study also recommends that journalists should be provided with training and counselling; as they meet relevant stakeholders in their line of duty to help them tell where conflict is losing; facilitating coverage where need be; reporting on the positive stories and through sensitization workshops/field.

The study recommends that conflict managers should consider journalists as key players in conflicts by giving necessary information, holding meetings to discuss how best to air the conflicts and by involving them and sensitizing them in solving and managing conflicts. Further, journalists should be on the forefront of peace search by publishing reports that call for peace, argue for peace and challenge authorities or parties to choose peace; by letting the conflicting parties speak up publicly; through public awareness and highlight causes of conflicts which in return will act as a lesson on things to avoid that might lead to conflicts.

5.5 Recommendations for further study

Further research is necessary as the findings were based on a relatively small sample that may have influenced the nature of results that were obtained. There is need to expand on the sample size and carry out similar research in other areas. The descriptive analysis that was used is always not sufficient to draw conclusions on a phenomenon, and to provide adequate information that can be used for policy development. Further research focusing on journalists as new actors in conflict situations in Africa needs to be carried out.

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QUESTIONNAIRE

You have been selected as a respondent in the study: **Journalists as New Actors in Conflict Situation in East Africa.** This questionnaire is a research instrument of the project for an

MA in International Conflict Management at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, (University of Nairobi-2013). Kindly spare a few minutes to respond to this questionnaire.

Your sincere responses will be highly appreciated and treated in confidence. Please do not indicate your name anywhere in this questionnaire.

1.   Do journalists play a role in conflict situations?

Yes ☐   No ☐

1b. If yes please specify how.

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2.   What in your view is the link between journalists and conflicts?

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3.   In   your   view;
a)   do journalists fuel conflicts?

Yes ☐   No ☐

ai) Give an example where journalists have fuelled conflict

…………………………………………………………………………………………
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b)   Do journalists help contain conflicts?

Yes   ☐   No   ☐

If yes, in what ways, please explain

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4.   Is there anything such as good reporting and bad reporting by journalists in a conflict situation?

Yes   ☐   No   ☐

4i) Please provide a brief example.

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5.   Is there in your view, anything such as conflict sensitive reporting?

Yes ☐   No ☐

5i) Give any examples if you have any.

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6.   Why in your view how would journalists engage in conflicts;

a)   Negatively (fuel)

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b)   Positively (contain)

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7.   Would you say journalists therefore have a place in conflict management?

       ☐   ☐

Yes   ☐   No   ☐

8.   If the answer to the question above is yes, in what ways can journalists be engaged in conflict management

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9.   If your answer is no, explain why

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10.   Are journalists aware of their role in conflicts?/ Do journalists understand their role in conflict situations.

☐   ☐

Yes   No

11.   Do players in conflict understand the role of journalists in conflicts?

Yes ☐   No   ☐

12.   Do conflict managers consider journalists as key players in conflicts?

☐   ☐

Yes ☐   No

13.   Do conflict managers bring journalists to the table in conflict management strategies?

☐   ☐

Yes   No

14.   Do other stakeholders attempt to reach out to journalists in attempts to deal with conflicts?

Yes ☐   No ☐

If so, how effective has this been?

……………………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………

15.   Do journalism colleges train journalists on conflict management?

☐   ☐

Yes   No

16.   Has the concept of conflict sensitive journalism or reporting been embraced in the media sector?

☐

Yes ☐   No

17.   If the answer to the above question is yes, how has this contributed to the management of conflicts?

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18.   Should conflict managers consider journalists as key players in conflicts?

                    ☐
     Yes   No   ☐

   18 i) If yes, briefly explain how

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18 ii) If no, why?

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19.   In what specific ways can journalists be engaged positively in conflict management?

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20.   What in your view would be the results/benefits of engaging journalists in the conflict management process?

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21. ☐ Journalists qualify as actors in conflicts:-

Agree Disagree ☐

22. Would you support conflict sensitive reporting training for all journalists?

Yes ☐ No ☐

23. Please give any other information to relevant to this study.

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Thank you for your responses!