

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

**INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (IDIS)**

**THE ROLE OF PEACE JOURNALISM IN THE MANAGEMENT OF  
CONFLICT: CASE STUDY OF CITIZEN TELEVISION, 2007-2013**

**JUDY JEPTUM KOSGEI**

**R52/ 67797/2013**

**SUPERVISOR: DR. PATRICK MALUKI**

**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT FOR  
THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE AWARD OF MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN  
INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT MANAGEMENT.**

**SEPTEMBER, 2015**

**DECLARATION**

I declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented in any other University.

Signature: .....  
Judy Jeptum Kosgei  
R52/ 67797/2013

.....  
Date

Supervisor:  
This project has been submitted for review with my approval as University supervisor:

Signature: .....  
Dr. Patrick Maluki

.....  
Date

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this work to my Husband Nabos Ekwam and Daughter Ikal Ayanae Kabon Ekwam. Kirai Ngipei. Yes, we did it. Again!

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

To my supervisor Dr. Patrick Muthegi Maluki, a lecturer, whose busy schedule never stopped him from picking my calls; mid-meetings and even weekends, when I get stuck mid-sentence or chapter. I can never thank you enough for the support and expert advice. Without your help, this work would not be complete.

## **ABSTRACT**

Whether to propagate the idea of peace or war journalism in media houses is the 21st century dilemma. The war vs. peace journalism debate has intensified than ever before. Those between a rock and a hard place are journalists caught between reporting the story the way it is, what has been called the ‘truth’ and reporting in a manner that will quell conflict in what has been termed as peace journalism (PJ). The peace vs. war journalism headache came to live in Kenyan Newsrooms, following the 2007/ 2008 Post Election Violence (PEV), what preceded the disputed presidential election. The role of the media in the blood bath was questioned. Various inquiries into the PEV pointed accusing fingers at the Media and it was unanimously concluded that; the media had a role. The fear in every newsroom in Kenya following the aftermath of the contested presidential election in 2007 was that history would repeat itself in the 2013 general election. The basic aim of this study therefore: is to investigate the role of peace journalism in the management of conflict in Kenya by establishing how the media changed in requirement of ‘peace journalism’. A descriptive research design was adopted in this study. The study relied on interview schedules as the main primary data collection instrument with the stratified and purposive sampling techniques employed. The Qualitative data from the respondents was organized according to the population and analyzed. Before commencement of the study, consent was sought from the Royal Media Services and the Media Council of Kenya through the University of Nairobi. The study applied the Agenda setting theory to investigate how the media employs peace journalism in their news and information dissemination. The findings of the study indicated that Majority of the respondents use their own discretion when it comes to making choices on what is best for the public to consume in times of conflict. The study however pointed out that war stories triumph in bulletins compared to peace stories with most respondents noting that, war stories are regarded as “Good Stories” that spice up the news bulletins. From the findings it is obvious that Citizen TV does not have a clear policy on conflict reporting and peace journalism hence paving way for personal judgment and reliance on the basic journalism ethics. It was recommended that a policy framework should be put in place and staff trained on conflict reporting.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration.....	i
Dedication.....	ii
Acknowledgement.....	iii
Abstract.....	iv
Table of contents.....	v
List of tables.....	viii
List of figures.....	ix
List of Abbreviations and Acronyms.....	x
<b>CHAPTER ONE:INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Background.....	1
1.1.1The Kenyan case.....	3
1.2 Statement of the Problem.....	4
1.3 Research questions.....	6
1.4Objectives of the Research.....	6
1.4.1 General Objective.....	6
1.4.2 Specific objectives.....	6
1.5Justification.....	6
1.5.1 Academic Justification.....	6
1.5.2 Policy Justification.....	7
1.6 Literature Review.....	8
1.6.1Historical overview of the Kenyan press.....	9
1.6.2 History of Royal Media Services (RMS).....	10
1.6.3Citizen Television.....	10
1.6.4The peace journalist dilemma.....	11
1.7 Theoretical Framework.....	16
1.7.1 Agenda-Setting Theory.....	16
1.7.2 Agenda Setting at Citizen TV.....	17
1.8Hypotheses.....	18
1.9 Research Methodology.....	18

1.9.1 Research Design.....	18
1.9.2 Study Area .....	19
1.9.3 Target Population.....	19
1.9.4 Sampling Procedures .....	19
1.9.5 Data Collection Procedure .....	19
1.9.6 Research instruments .....	19
1.9.7 Data analysis and presentation.....	20
1.9.8 Ethical considerations .....	20
1.9.9. Scope/Delimitations of the study.....	20
1.10 Definition of terms.....	21
1.11 Chapter Outline.....	21
<b>CHAPTER TWO:PEACE JOURNALISM AND CONFLICT MANAGEMENT...</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>CHAPTER THREE:PEACE JOURNALISM AND OBJECTIVITY IN THE MEDIA INDUSTRY .....</b>	<b>27</b>
Basic demographic characteristics of the respondents.....	27
Gender.....	27
Designation of Respondents .....	28
Field of specialization .....	28
Journalism Guiding Principle .....	29
Number of elections covered .....	30
Journalist’s Personal discretion in reporting conflict.....	32
‘Truth’ Journalism vs Peace Journalism.....	32
Peace Journalism: The Concept .....	33
<b>CHAPTER FOUR:MEDIA POLICIES AND PEACE JOURNALISM .....</b>	<b>35</b>
Conflict Reporting Policies: Citizen TV.....	35
War vs Peace Stories.....	36
Media Council of Kenya (MCK) .....	36
<b>CHAPTER FIVE:SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS ...</b>	<b>38</b>
Summary .....	38
Conclusion .....	39

Recommendations.....	39
Area for Further Study.....	39
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY .....</b>	<b>38</b>
APPENDIX 1:CONSENT LETTER- CITIZEN TV .....	45
APPENDIX 2:CONSENT LETTER- MEDIA COUNCIL OF KENYA .....	47
APPENDIX 3:INTERVIEW GUIDE: CITIZEN TV .....	48
APPENDIX 4:INTERVIEW GUIDE: THE MEDIA COUNCIL OF KENYA .....	52



## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1 Summary of Deaths Per Province (Source: Waki Report, 2008) .....	3
Table 3.1 Gender of Respondents (Source: Survey data (2015)).....	27
Table 3.2 Designation of Respondents (Source: Survey data (2015) .....	28
Table 3.3 Designation of Respondents (Source: Survey data (2015) .....	28
Table 3.4 Field of Specialization (Source: Survey data (2015)).....	29
Table 3.5 Journalism guiding principle (Source: Survey data (2015) .....	29
Table 3.6 Number of elections covered (Source: Survey data (2015)).....	30
Table 3.7 The 2013 election Coverage (Source: Survey data (2015) .....	30
Table 3.8 Personal discretion in reporting conflict (Source: Survey data (2015)).....	32
Table 4.1 war vs. Peace Stories (Source: Survey data (2015) .....	36

**LIST OF FIGURES**

Figure 1.1: Number of Radio & TV Stations in Kenya (Source: Ipsos Synovate Kenya) .. 9  
Figure 1.2: Media consumption incidence (Source: Ipsos Synovate Kenya)..... 11

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

AMWIK	- Association of Women Journalists in Kenya
BBC	- British Broadcasting Cooperation
BVR	- Biometric Voter Registration System
CTV	- Citizen Television
ECK	- Electoral Commission of Kenya
KANU	- Kenya African Union
KBC	-Kenya Broadcasting Cooperation
KTN	- Kenya Television Network
MCK	- Media Council of Kenya
NTV	- Nation Television
PEV	- Post Election Violence
PJ	- Peace Journalism
RMS	- Media Services
TV	- Television
PEV	- Post Election Violence

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 Background**

Conflict reporting and framing by media outlets and the ripple effect has been a subject of great interest to conflict resolution scholars and experts, governments and all parties to a conflict. The question of how media can be an agent of peace without compromising objectivity has always been the argument when journalists and conflict scholars meet at around table. Peace journalism is possible when editors and reporters make choices of what stories to report and about how to report them that create opportunities for society at large to consider and value non-violent response to conflict<sup>1</sup>. This chapter therefore is an introduction to the concepts of peace journalism: media, peace and conflict. It discusses and analyses the various facets and critical approaches in relation to information sharing and the impact it has on shaping public opinion. The concepts of news reporting, journalists training on conflict reporting as well as how media houses and government policies influence peace journalism are encompassed in this research.

The dissemination of information in the 21<sup>st</sup> century relies almost solely on the various forms of media. The number of people in today's society and even enterprises which rely on media reports to make crucial decisions are on the rise. With more people having access to Television sets, Radios, Newspapers and internet, the impact of information disseminated is bigger. A third of Kenya's population for example relies on Television to get information, with 49 percent being men, 34 percent of women can access the same. Three-quarters of Kenyan households own a radio and more than one-quarter own a television. Eighty six percent of households in urban areas own a mobile phone compared with 53% of households in rural areas<sup>2</sup>. With such penetration parties to conflict have also embraced the media, to deliver crucial information. To what extent therefore should the media therefore play the role of peace agent. The debate on the role of the media during conflict emerged between in the 1990's. In 1997 veteran BBC

---

<sup>1</sup> Lynch, J. and McGoldrick, A. (2005). Peace journalism in the Holy Land. *Media Development*, Vol. 52 Issue 1, pp.47-49.

<sup>2</sup> Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS) and ICF Macro. 2010. Kenya Demographic and Health Survey 2008-09. Calverton, Maryland: KNBS and ICF Macro. p25.

Journalist Martin Bell who coined the phrase ‘Journalism of Attachment’ arguing that the media plays a big role on the route a conflict will take, but it is political scientists and conflict resolution expert, Johan Galtung who is synonymous with the peace journalism concept.

The research therefore examines the dissemination of the message during conflict by journalists. As a result of information sharing through various media outlets, the message can be a weapon in conflict or used to quell conflict. Every news story on conflict is unique and has its own constraints but there is the principle of social responsibility which media must uphold at the same time uphold Professional standards in line with the duty to maintain social harmony. While the more objective a journalist is, the more difficult it becomes to report. The question of ‘where should the line be drawn’ between objectivity and peace journalism is one this work aims to underscore. The paper will further attempt to answer the question: Why do people report news? To mirror society or to change society, i.e peace journalism. This is the change vs. a mirror analogy. While Peace journalism is seen by its advocates as a deliberate creative strategy conceived as a specific response<sup>3</sup>. Its opponents view it otherwise. While examining this, censorship can easily be upheld, it comes out easily when engaging in peace journalism. The work will further indicate at what point peace journalism gets to censorship through answering a very crucial question, if violence is bad, peace is good, and so should we report peace?

This research project will provide an overview argument whether the media has changed in requirement of peace journalism, and how the later has affected conflict resolution.

In summary, this paper will focus on the Kenyan media bringing out the situations where war journalism was propagated and cases when peace journalism was employed and the outcome.

---

<sup>3</sup> Lynch, Jake and McGoldrick, Annabel, 2005. Peace Journalism, Stroud: Hawthorn Press. p. 23

### 1.1.1The Kenyan case

Media and politics are synonymous in Kenya, the two have more of a symbiotic relationship. Each thrives on the other. The general or presidential elections are undertaken every five years in Kenya. The media in Kenya has been cited to have had a hand in the 2007 / 2008 post election violence, following the contested presidential election in Kenya. 1,133 people were killed in an ethnic bloodbath with 600,000 displaced<sup>4</sup>.

**Table 1.1Summary of Deaths Per Province (Source: Waki Report, 2008)**

Rift Valley	744
Nyanza	134
Central	5
Western	98
Coast	27
Nairobi	125
TOTAL	1,133

The attention and coverage the 2007 general election received has been directly linked to the liberalization of the media which brought in new players hence the competition for information dissemination, the defunct electoral commission of Kenya (ECK) accredited 2,964 local and international journalists to cover the 2007 elections. The December 2007 elections were the tenth elections in Kenya since independence and the fourth since the country's return of multi-party politics in 1992. The 2007 elections were also the first since the 2002 watershed elections, when the country transitioned from the Kenya African Union (KANU) regime which ruled Kenya since independence in 1963.

---

<sup>4</sup>Waki, comp. Waki // Report of the Findings of the Commission of Inquiry into the Post-Election Violence in Kenya. Rep. Scribd., n.d. Web. 17 Aug. 2015.

In earlier seasons, such as in 1997 and 1992, electoral violence happened before the voting, but died off once the election was announced. In 2007, the election season was generally physical violence free, although a lot of structural violence was generated especially by politicians<sup>5</sup>. The aftermath of the 2007 election, has been widely attributed to information, the minute by minute updates by media outlets, regarding the stolen votes and interference by the government, and even live reports from the scene where violence had broke out fuelled the crisis.

The recommendations following the commission of inquiry on post election violence (PEV) chaired by Justice Philip Waki indicated that; with the full recognition of how close to the edge Kenya came during the 2007 post election violence, the Commission would not recommend a free for all monitoring of the press and other media. This would have the negative potential of taking the country back to the draconian days of a state controlled media, from which it has so recently just barely escaped. However, the Commission does believe that speech in the media, including in vernacular FM radio stations, aiming to foment ethnic hatred and/or incite, organize, or plan for violence should be investigated thoroughly in a timely fashion when it occurs<sup>6</sup>. This brought out the role of media in conflict management, that the information churned out, plays a big role in peace building or conflict escalation.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Following the 2007/ 2008 post election violence in Kenya, the role of the media in the blood bath was questioned. With various inquiries into the post election violence pointing out how the Kenyan media had a hand or played a role in escalating the violence, either directly or indirectly.

The fear in every newsroom in Kenya right after the events that preceded the contested 2007 presidential election was that history would repeat itself in 2013. Precautionary measures had to be put in place. There was a paradigm shift, five years later after the promulgation of Kenya's new constitution, and the first election under the new constitution, the Kenyan media also took a first, the Peace journalism path. Trainings

---

5MwagiruMakumi, The Water's Edge – Mediation of Violent Electoral Conflict in Kenya, (Nairobi, IDIS 2008)

6Waki, comp. Waki // Report of the Findings of the Commission of Inquiry into the Post-Election Violence in Kenya. Rep. Scribd., n.d. Web. 17 Aug. 2015.

on peace journalism were conducted prior to the general election. Organizations like Uwiano for Peace, Life and peace Institute and Saferworld conducted a media training in peace journalism.

The argument being that conflict needs the media to thrive and war stories sell compared to peace stories, but is it the truth being reported? If yes, does it mean peace journalism curtails the truth?

When peace journalism is practiced it curtails objectivity, during the 2007 general election the Kenyan media is seen to have reported the situation as it was, but in 2013, the media in Kenya seemingly compromised the true picture of the situation, which is the main principal in journalism. Majority of media houses chose not to broadcast or report anything that could raise tension between diverse groups.

What was visible during the 2013 election was the change in language and more cautious coverage by the various media, irrespective of political affiliation of the media owners or the media personalities, different from the media coverage during the 2007 election. Before the elections various media houses developed internal policies that outlines strategies of coverage and reporting<sup>7</sup>. Unlike 2007 where various media house had independent tallying systems running parallel for that of the electoral body in 2013 the media complied with the decree that results from only one source would be broadcast, the independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) had the mandate to tally and announce the results. What does this mean, there was no third eye, which is the media.

In 2007 accusations and counter-accusations as well as fights and running battles between the opposition and the incumbent's party were being broadcast live and being replayed but the situation was totally different in 2013 none of the media houses dared to focus on the electronic voting and tallying system which had failed.

The argument of pro peace journalism scholars and conflict management experts is that: Journalists should seek out other parties and other points of view. They should not only repeat old grievances by old elites. Journalists should examine what the parties are

---

<sup>7</sup> Lynch, Jake, 2006b. 'Peace Journalism', in: Johan Galtung and Charles Webel (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies*, Abingdon: Routledge



seeking and the possibility for withdrawal, compromise or transcendence. Journalists should write about these possibilities<sup>8</sup>.

The entire study of mass communication is based on the premise that the media have significant effects<sup>9</sup>. Therefore Peace Journalism can yield both Negative and positive results but limited research on the role of peace journalism in conflict management has been conducted in Kenya, however globally research on the same is extensive with a bias to western countries.

### **1.3 Research questions**

The following questions were posed to explore the role of the media in Kenya in promoting peace journalism.

1. What dominates news bulletins and news articles, war or peace journalism?
2. How does peace journalism affect objectivity?

### **1.4 Objectives of the Research**

#### **1.4.1 General Objective**

The overall objective of this study is to investigate the role of peace journalism in the management of conflict in Kenya.

#### **1.4.2 Specific objectives**

1. To establish how peace journalism has affected conflict management
2. To review current industry practices and the extent to which peace journalism affect objectivity.
3. To ascertain how the media has changed its policies in requirement of peace journalism

### **1.5 Justification**

#### **1.5.1 Academic Justification**

The result of this study will be valuable in the academic field because it will promote a better understanding of peace journalism in the African and more so in the Kenyan context, where the phrase is still very new in practice and theory. The study will explore a subject matter which limited research has been conducted.

The two varying and parallel examples from two different election years in

---

8 Howard, R. (2002) An Operational Framework For Media and Peacebuilding, Institute for Media, Policy and Civil Society (IMPACS), Canada. P. 13  
9McQuail, D. (1994). Mass communication theory: An introduction (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. p. 327

Kenya, and how the media reacted differently in each case, will form a very good analysis for scholars of conflict management. Therefore by linking what newsrooms have framed as ‘positive’ or sunshine stories with peace and ‘negative’ stories with conflict, the framing and agenda setting will bring forth fresh academic debates with regard to Kenya.

The question of objectivity and competition by media houses will also be delved into, whether the competition for viewers, readers and listeners has pushed the media further and deeper into focusing more on war than peace because war sells.

Journalism is, above all, a competitive business and economic demands and profits motivates, promote and reinforce the media’s event driven, drama seeking and conflict oriented reporting<sup>10</sup>. Further the study contributes to academic discourse on by expanding on the existing publications and knowledge on the role of peace journalism in conflict management

### **1.5.2 Policy Justification**

Decision making is a dynamic process: a complex search for information, full of detours, enriched by feedback from casting about in all directions, gathering and discarding information, fueled by fluctuating uncertainty, indistinct and conflicting concept. Research if well understood provides opportunities for analysts to provide and recommend solutions to suitable actors who are in a position to initiate change<sup>11</sup>.

With the extensive data gathering from various stakeholders in the media industry who contribute directly or indirectly to the agenda setting in newsrooms in Kenya the data analyzed will contribute to decision making in various levels hence change of policy regarding dissemination of information to the masses. With research on peace journalism, Journalists can grasp what to relay to the public and what not as well as know how to balance the truth with reason, without curtailing objectivity. A media policy plays a

---

10Wolfsfeld, G. (1997c). Promoting Peace through the News media: Some Initial Lessons from the Oslo Peace Process. Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics, 2(4), pp.55- 62

11 Schnabel Annabel et al, Researching Conflict in Africa: Insights and Experiences. (New York: UN Press, 2005)

significant role on the route a conflict will take, hence research is the backbone of any policy framework and the effectiveness of conflict management. It is through media that conflict in society is reported and it is the manner of reporting that can increase violence, even when this was not the intention<sup>12</sup>.

## **1.6 Literature Review**

Professor Johan Galtung argues that peace Journalism (PJ) uses conflict analysis and transformation to update the concept of balance, fairness and accuracy in reporting. The PJ approach 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. It opens up a literacy of non-violence and creativity as applied to the practical job of everyday reporting. “Peace Journalism makes audible and visible subjugated aspects of reality.

Peace journalism combines journalism with peace as an external aim. It understands itself as a normative mode of responsible and conscientious media coverage of conflict that aims at contributing to peacemaking, peacekeeping, and changing the attitudes of media owners, advertisers, professionals, and audiences towards war and peace<sup>13</sup>.

The pros of peace journalism have long been recognized by conflict management scholars with opponents of the said concept coming out strongly to defend objectivity in media reporting, when peace journalism is practiced. However numerous conflicts are now happening globally with conflict management experts raising concerns over the role of media in conflict management and escalation. The debate of war vs peace journalism has become heated than ever before as the world and Kenya in particular faces many facets of conflict.

The Kenyan media industry is no different since time immemorial the concept of peace journalism always crops up every election year. It became more dominant with the multi- party politics in 1992, with the media having being gagged and state controlled

---

<sup>12</sup> Francis Rolt, “The Media: Reaching Hearts and Minds”. In *People Building Peace*, edited By Paul Van Tongeren, Malin Brenk and Juliette Verhoeven, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 2005. pp.175-17

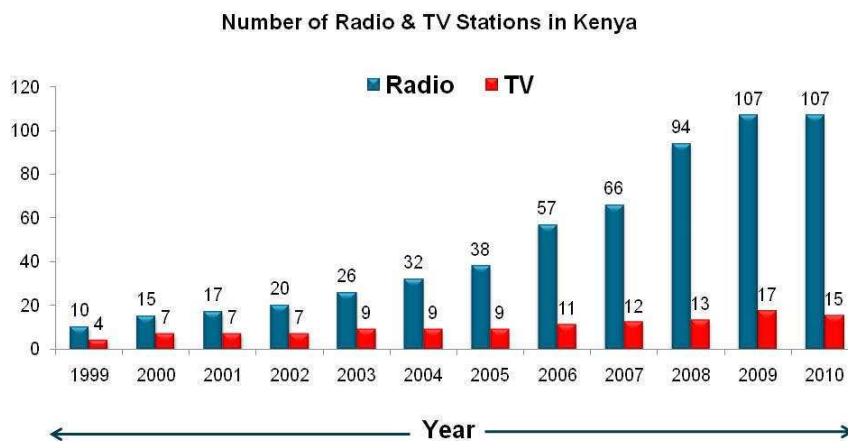
<sup>13</sup> Shinar. D. (2007). Epilogue: Peace Journalism – The State of the Art. *Conflict & communication online*, 6/1.

following the one party state the ruling party controlled what the public, media freedom was non-existent.

### 1.6.1 Historical overview of the Kenyan press

The Kenyan media and the Kenyan political history are like siamese twins. What is a now vibrant and diverse, fast growing media industry due to digital migration and freedom of the press, was dominated by privately owned media houses dates back to 1963 when Kenya attained independence. The media in Kenya has changed beyond recognition over the last decade. This has had profound impact on the way people consume information and by extension, advertising trends. Radio in particular has exploded with the latest data from synovate showing that radio stations have increased in tenfold over the last decade from 10 in 1999 to 107 in 2010. TV stations quadrupled from 4 to 15 over the same period of time<sup>14</sup>.

**Figure 1.1: Number of Radio & TV Stations in Kenya (Source: Ipsos Synovate Kenya)**



<sup>14</sup>Explosion in media changes audience and advertising trends, IpsosSynovate, 2012.

### **1.6.2 History of Royal Media Services (RMS)**

The parent company of Citizen Television (Citizen TV) is the Royal Media Services Limited (RMS) group is one the major companies controlling the media in Kenya, along with the state-controlled Kenya Broadcasting Corporation. RMS is owned by business mogul Dr. Samuel Kamau Macharia, often referred to as S.K Macharia. The group owns the dominant Television station in Kenya, Citizen TV and 14 radio stations: Inooro (Kikuyu), Ramogi (Luo), Mulembe (Luhya), Musyi (Kamba), Muuga (Meru), Chamegi (Kalenjin), Egesa (Kisii), Wimwaro (Embu), Bahari FM (Swahili and Mijikenda), Citizen FM (Swahili), Vuuka FM (Luhya/Maragoli), Hot 96 FM (English), Musyi FM (Kamba) and Radio Maa FM (Maasai)

RMS which has employed over 700 permanent employees and equal number of temporary employees, has carved a niche in vernacular programming with the group now owning a state of the art Gikuyu Television Station. The media company is the yardstick with which local Programming and vernacular broadcast is measured in Kenya.

The RMS group was established after the 1992 general elections when Dr. S.K Macharia witnessed the power of radio. The campaigns the opposition were active only in urban areas but unheard of in rural Kenya. This was because the state owned Kenyan Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) did not give coverage to the opposition at the time. Three weeks after the elections, he applied for a radio broadcast license, kicking off a long battle with the government.

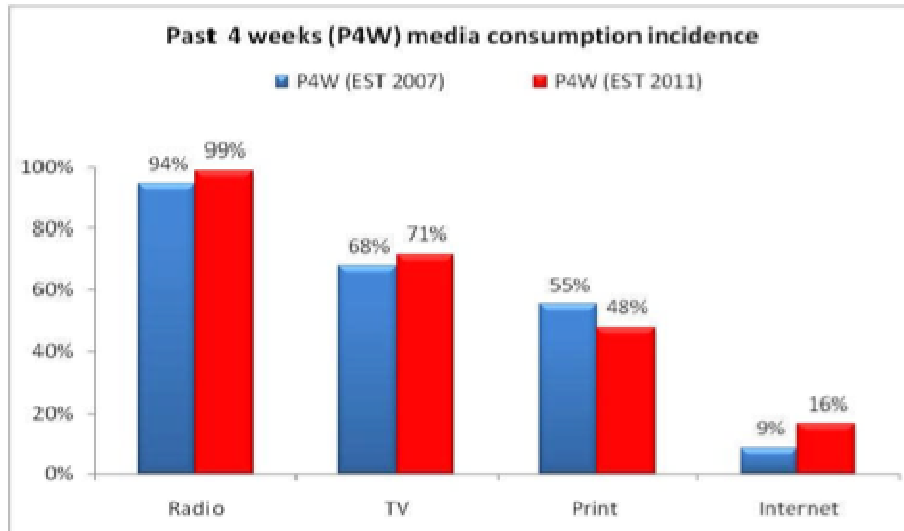
### **1.6.3 Citizen Television**

Why a Television station as a case study? The power of pictures cannot be underestimated. TV combines motion pictures and sound compared to other mediums of mass media. Although all Kenyans aged 15 years and above listen to radio at least once every four weeks in Kenya, whereas growth in radio has been driven by vernacular and community radio stations. Growth in TV viewership has been driven by rural electrification and cheaper TV sets. The growth is shown in the figure below with an increase of viewership between the periods of study 2007- 2011.<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup>Explosion in media changes audience and advertising trends, IpsosSynovate, 2012.

**Figure 1.2 Media consumption incidence (Source: Ipsos Synovate Kenya)**



Citizen TV is industry leader in Kenya, cited as the number one TV station in Kenya commanding a total reach of 90% and 12 years in existence. Its coverage on the free to air signal and on pay TV has expanded beyond Kenya and can be viewed in Uganda, Tanzania, Zambia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda and Burundi.

The poll by research services firm, Ipsos Synovate indicated that citizen TV, commands 63% of the audience in Kenya, followed by Kenya Television Network (KTN) with 14%, Nation Television (NTV) came 3<sup>rd</sup> with 9 % while Kenya Broadcasting cooperation (KBC) and K24 command 4% each. Citizen TV is therefore an appropriate case study, with the hindsight that majority of Kenyans watch the station hence the impact it has<sup>16</sup>.

#### **1.6.4 The peace journalist dilemma**

As David Loyn, a BBC correspondent and prominent critic of peace journalism, has maintained: "Our task is always to seek to find out what is going on, not carrying any other baggage"<sup>17</sup>.

---

<sup>16</sup>Explosion in media changes audience and advertising trends, IpsosSynovate, 2012.

<sup>17</sup>Loyn, D. (2003). Witnessing the Truth. openDemocracy.net, 20 February, at <http://www.opendemocracy.net/articles/ViewPopUpArticle.jsp?id=2&articleId=993>.

Loyn, further stated that, peace journalism's opposite is "good" journalism, which traditionally relies on objectivity to uncover a version of the truth that is less relativistic than that produced by the "journalism of attachment."

Peace Journalism is based on the proposition that the choices journalists make while covering conflicts tend inescapably either to expand or contract the space available for society at large to imagine and work towards peaceful outcomes to conflicts<sup>18</sup>.

There is a well established belief, that journalists can adopt a third position. Parties in a conflict plan their next move based on what the media will cover. It means "the facts" do not crop up innocently, waiting for journalists to come and report them. The reporting and a calculation or instinct about its effects on public opinion for instance is always already built in on the facts even as they occur. How can people know what facts to create, or how to present them, in order to be reported in a way they believe will further their interests.

War journalism is performed through a focus on overt acts of violence and on the most prominent national sufferings. It waits for and follows events, particularly violent tragedies<sup>19</sup>.

Amongst practitioners and scholars of journalism, a movement towards "Peace Journalism" is gaining momentum, and attracting controversy<sup>20</sup>. Loyn further disapproves peace journalism, stating that: reporters' sole purpose is "to be witnesses to the truth" and such commitment can only be kept by adhering to objectivity, which is "the only sacred goal we have". Its proponents see it as an expression of, and/or improvement upon, the best practices of actually-existing journalism, as well as a means of ameliorating conflicts and opening up new opportunities for their peaceful resolution<sup>21</sup>.

Peace Journalists regard conventional international news coverage its typical emphasis on violence, conflict as a two-sided win/lose struggle, government and military sources, and "our" suffering versus "their" villainy as comprising War Journalism.

---

18 Lynch, Jake, 2006b. 'Peace Journalism', in: Johan Galtung and Charles Webel (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies*, Abingdon: Routledge .

19 Lynch, J. &McGoldrick, A. (2005). *Peace Journalism*. Boulder CO: Rowman and Littlefield.

20 Hackett, R.A. (2006). Is peace journalism possible? Three frameworks for assessing structure and agency in news media. *Conflict & communication online*, 5/2.

21 Lynch, Jake and McGoldrick, Annabel 2005. *Peace Journalism*. Stroud, UK: Hawthorn Press.

By contrast, the opponents of Peace Journalism, raise a number of objections: Peace Journalism is an unwelcome departure from objectivity and towards a journalism of attachment; it mistakenly assumes powerful and linear media effects; it is a normative model, rooted in the discipline of peace research, that fails sufficiently to take into account the constraints imposed by the actual dynamics of news production (including professional values and organizational imperatives), and hence, may have little to offer journalists in practice<sup>22</sup>.

Loyn another opponent states that, good journalism has just one aim: to represent reality accurately. The other characteristics of good journalism: objectivity, neutrality and detachment are means to reach this aim<sup>23</sup>.

War journalism often focuses on violence as its own cause and is less open to examining the deep structural origins of the conflict<sup>24</sup>.

In many western countries however, the line between entertainment and news has become increasingly blurry<sup>25</sup>. This emphasis on strife and discord has a number of negative consequences for peace building. First, presenting conflict between the two sides in dramatic terms serves to inflame the political atmosphere. Such presentations, especially when they are amplified and reinforced by different media, have the potential of becoming self fulfilling prophecies.

Headlines that focus on threats, accusations and confrontations generate anger on both sides and demands for retaliation quickly follow. Minor glitches become major problems, disagreements are turned into crises. Enemies become more frightening,

---

22Hanitzsch, Thomas. 2004a. "Journalists as peacekeeping force? Peace journalism and mass communication theory." *Journalism Studies* 5 (4): 483-95.

23Loyn, D. (2007). Good Journalism or Peace Journalism? *Conflict & communication online*, 6/2.

24Galtung, J. & Vincent, R. (1992) *Global Glasnost: Toward a New World and Information*

*Order?* Creskill, NJ: Hampton Press. Grig, S. (2004) 'Amid all the terrible abuse of tribal people in the modern world, Indonesia's abuse of Papuans stands out as the worst.' *Outrigger*, 4(5).

25DelliCarpini, M. X., & Williams, B. A. (2001). Let us infotain you: Politics in the new media age. In W. L. Bennett & R. M. Entman(Eds.), *Mediated politics:*



opponents more vicious. The inevitable result is that news media are more likely to escalate a conflict than to pacify it<sup>26</sup>.

Journalists often dislike peace journalism because it is ‘too critical’; or rather, many of them dislike the critical self-aware-ness of journalistic structure and agency inscribed in peace journalism analysis and methods<sup>27</sup>.

Peace Journalism makes audible and visible subjugated aspects of reality thereby pointing to a possible way out of the conflict “trap”<sup>28</sup>. It is often said that it is much more difficult to build peace than to initiate conflict<sup>29</sup>. The same can be said perhaps about communication research concerning peace and war<sup>30</sup>.

The news media are most likely to play either a constructive or destructive role in a particular peace process<sup>31</sup>. The news media can have four major types of impact on any peace process. First, they can play a major role in defining the political atmosphere in which the process takes place. Second, the media can have an important influence on the nature of debate about a peace process. Third, they can have an impact on antagonists’ strategy and behavior. Fourth, they can raise and lower the public standing and legitimacy of antagonists involved in the process and their positions<sup>32</sup>.

All other things being equal, journalists prefer to tell stories about conflict. News is first and foremost about conflict and disorder. Protests, violence, crime, wars and disasters provide the most natural material for news projects. Many reporters dream of becoming War Correspondents for this is considered the height of professional accomplishment.

The very idea of a “peace correspondent”, on the other hand, sounds strange, even contradictory. When peace appears to be taking hold in a particular area, it is time for

---

<sup>26</sup>Wolfsfeld, Gadi, 1997. *Media and the Path to Peace*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pg. 19

<sup>27</sup>Loyn, David, 2003. *Witnessing the Truth*, from <http://www.opendemocracy.net>

<sup>28</sup>Lynch, Jake and McGoldrick, Annabel, 2005. *Peace Journalism*, Stroud: Hawthorn Press

<sup>29</sup>Phillips, Angela, 2006. Book review: *Peace Journalism*, *Global Media and Communications*, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp 236-239

<sup>30</sup>Communication in the future of democracy(pp.160-181). Cambridge, UK ; New York : Cambridge University Press. Retrieved from [http://repository.upenn.edu/asc\\_papers/14](http://repository.upenn.edu/asc_papers/14)

<sup>31</sup>Wolfsfeld, Gadi, 1997. *Media and the Path to Peace*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.10

<sup>32</sup>Wolfsfeld, Gadi, 1997. *Media and the Path to Peace*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, P 11

journalists to leave. Understanding that peace and news make strange bedfellows is an important starting point for all that follows<sup>33</sup>. Due to a fundamental contradiction between the nature of a peace process and news values, the media often play a destructive role in attempts at making peace.

This incongruence is rooted in the professional norms and routines that dictate how journalists construct news about peace. There are four major values that are the most problematic in the production of such news: immediacy, drama, simplicity and ethnocentrism. Journalists' obsessive search for drama also contributes to the problematic relationship between media and peace. Every act of violence, every crisis and every sign of conflict is considered news. The emphasis on drama not only affects what will be covered but also how it will be covered. Reporters have a professional interest in making all confrontations appear dramatic and extreme. Drama is the quintessential element of any "good" news story. Stories about internal discord are a mainstay of news, but points of internal agreement are taken for granted and are not worth mentioning.

The concept of objectivity has always been somewhat slippery, and it is mainly evoked when it is perceived to be absent. Few reporters could attest to total neutrality or impartiality. At best, journalists will admit a measure of detachment from their own personal biases in practicing their craft<sup>34</sup>.

Peace journalism is capable of becoming a third side to facilitate communication in times when lack of confidence and mistrust are rampant, and to ease tensions between rivals. Preventing conflict from escalating and diverting it from a destructive to a constructive path is not merely a journalist's job, but rather, everyone's job.

If there is no fire, then what the wind does is not so important. But if there is a fire, then the nature of the wind how strong, which direction it is blowing can have a major effect on what happens to the fire. News reports provide citizens with important clues about the political climate surrounding a peace process. Is the process moving forward or back? Does the overall level of hostility and violence appear to be rising or

---

33 Wolfsfeld, Gadi, 1997. *Media and the Path to Peace*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. PP 15-18

34 Peleg, Samuel (2007): In defense of peace journalism: A rejoinder. *Conflict & communication online*, Vol. 6/2 (2007), [http://www.cco.regeneration.de/2007\\_2/pdf/peleg.pdf](http://www.cco.regeneration.de/2007_2/pdf/peleg.pdf) (25-04-2015)

declining? the “other side” keeping its side of agreements? Are those opposed to the process succeeding?

### **1.7 Theoretical Framework**

The study applied the Agenda setting theory to investigate how the media employs peace journalism in their news and information dissemination. However there are two other key theories which are crucial undertaking research on peace journalism: Framing Theory and Gate keeping Theory.

The media framing model is attributed to psychology and sociology. A concept introduced in 1980 by Todd Gitlin. Framing is achieved in the way the news is packaged, the amount of exposure, the placement the tone of presentation the accompanying headlines and visual effects, and the labeling and vocabulary<sup>35</sup>.

The gate keeping theory model remains one of the oldest dating back to post world war 11, 1947 yet one of the most relevant models in any functional newsroom. Psychologist Kurt Lewin first endorsed it but was to be later expounded by David Manning White in 1950. Gate keeping in a typical newsroom will see wire editors making final decisions the editor in this case is the gatekeeper or Mr. Gate. Mr. Gate or selects the news inside the source of news item. After this selection, he decides which news is all right for their audience<sup>36</sup>.

#### **1.7.1 Agenda-Setting Theory**

To what extent does news coverage affect the perception of the public? The Shaw and McCombs Agenda setting theory explains how the Mass media sets the agenda for public attention and lay the groundwork for public opinion and why the public learn how much importance to attach to a topic from the emphasis placed on it in news coverage<sup>37</sup>.

In peace journalism this would mean focusing more or setting the agenda to have stories inclined towards peace “happy stories” and less of war stories “sad stories”.

---

35Parenti, M. (1993) *Inventing Reality The Politics of News Media*, Second Edition, St. Martin’s Press, New York. p. 201

36 Harmon, D. M. (1998) Coverage of Australia by CNN World Report and US television network news, *AustralianStudies in Journalism*, pp. 74-83.

37 McCombs, M., Shaw, D. L., & Weaver, D. (1997). *Communication and democracy: Exploring the intellectual frontiers in agenda-setting theory*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum. pp. 328-329.

To peace journalism proponents, the Agenda setting power bestowed to the media, is a crucial instrument which if utilized to the latter would ensure that a conflict can be managed faster and more effectively but on the down side it could also mean the truth is suppressed. However as Bernard Cohen stated in 1963, the press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling readers what to think about.

People acquire factual information about public affairs from the media, readers and viewers also learn how much importance to attach to a topic on the basis of the emphasis placed on it in the news. Newspapers provide a host of cues about the salience of the topics in the daily news, like lead story on page one, other front page display, large headlines, etc. Television news also offers numerous cues about salience as well as the opening story on the newscast, length of time devoted to the story<sup>38</sup>.

The agenda theory indicates that what the public consumes from the media depends in a big way with the ownership and control of the organization. Therefore the organizational structure of any media house will influence what will be churned out to the public and who makes the decisions as well as set the agenda.

The editorial team at royal media services are guided by the mandate and the core values of the organizations when making decisions on what should be aired or not, public interest is also a key determinant when making such decisions.

### **1.7.2 Agenda Setting at Citizen TV**

Citizen TV's agenda setting is widely guided by the editorial policy as well as the mission, vision and the core values of the parent company, Royal Media services Limited (RMS)

#### **Royal Media Services Limited Mission**

To provide our viewers, listeners and readers with captivating content that is rich in education, information and entertainment.

---

<sup>38</sup>Lang, K. & Lang, G. E. (1959). "Politics and Television". Chicago: Quadrant Books.

## **Royal Media Services Limited Vision**

To be the preferred media company within the wider East and Central African region.

### **1.8 Hypotheses**

This study aims to investigate what role peace journalism plays in conflict management with a focus on the Citizen TV newsroom. Three hypotheses will be used to test this:

- i. The practice of peace journalism has reduced violent conflict in Kenya.
- ii. Peace journalism changes the perception of parties to a conflict.
- iii. The practice of peace journalism is selectively employed depending on the kind of conflict and parties to the conflict.

### **1.9 Research Methodology**

This section covers the following: the research design, research site, sample selection, data collection instruments, data collection procedures and analysis. The ethical and legal considerations were put into perspective, and how the researcher adhered to the set regulations. Citizen TV Reporters, editors and the Media Council of Kenya (MCK), whose main mandate is the regulation of media, the conduct and discipline of journalists. With the intended outcome of this study being to determine the place of peace journalism in conflict management, the focus will be the news broadcasts between 2007- 2013, years where the last two general elections were held in Kenya.

#### **1.9.1 Research Design**

The purpose of this study is to obtain a deeper understanding of the role of peace journalism in conflict management, hence a descriptive research design was adopted. The research design relied on interview schedules as the main data collection instrument. The population of the study were in two different sites. The adoption of the design was arrived at because it gives room for the collection of extensive information and it is up to date. Descriptive research design is a description of the state of affairs as it exists at the present<sup>39</sup>.

---

39 Kothari, C. (2003). Research Methodology: Methods and techniques. H.S poplai New Delhi, p. 69

### **1.9.2 Study Area**

The main site for this research was Citizen TV, Kenya, a media organization housed at the communication center off Dennis Pritt Road in Nairobi. The other crucial site was the Media council of Kenya located in Upper Hill, Nairobi.

### **1.9.3 Target Population**

A target population comprises of all individuals, objects or things that the researcher can reasonably generalize his or her findings<sup>40</sup>. In this study the target population comprises:

- i. Citizen TV News Reporters
- ii. Citizen TV News Editors
- iii. The media council of Kenya

### **1.9.4 Sampling Procedures**

The stratified and purposive sampling techniques were employed in this study. Within each stratum, simple random sampling was used to identify the individual respondents. With the use of simple random sampling, it means that each individual in the population had an equal chance of being selected<sup>41</sup>.

### **1.9.5 Data Collection Procedure**

The research focused on collecting primary data, which is information collected for the first time. An interview schedule was the main primary data collection tool. The main intention for using interview schedules was to understand how news editors and reporters in Kenya select news items for various bulletins and publications in time of conflict. This allowed respondents to take the discussion to whatever direction they felt comfortable with no data collection tools barriers.

### **1.9.6 Research instruments**

The research instrument used in this study is an interview schedule. An interview schedule is an instrument for gathering data for a specific study. Its introduction should flow logically from the data required for the given study. Interview schedules with structured and semi- structured questions were administered to respondents in order to get

---

<sup>40</sup>Creswell, J. W. (2007). Educational research(3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

data for analysis. The data required for a research study can be determined by deep analysis of the research objectives and questions, to each of the research objective, hypothesis and the operational definition of concepts used in them. The researcher should decide what data are required to answer the research questions and to test the hypothesis<sup>42</sup>. The questions asked yielded information about the study phenomenon while addressing the aims and objectives of the study. Statements in the interview schedule will test about peace journalism, while the rest will be demographic data. This will be the main instrument in yielding qualitative data. The researcher explained the questions to the respondents to ensure that they understood the procedure.

### **1.9.7 Data analysis and presentation**

The Qualitative data from the respondents was organized according to the population i.e reporters, editors and the media council of Kenya. The Qualitative data was then analyzed in data categories thematic tables. The date was indicated as well as the details of the respondents who took part in the study, to ease the analysis process.

### **1.9.8 Ethical considerations**

Before commencement of the study, consent was sought from the Royal Media Services that owns the Citizen TV through the University of Nairobi. The consent enabled undertaking the research on the station's content. Information gathered from the station was used for the purposes of this study and will not be shared or distributed without consent of the Company. A consent letter was also sent to the media council of Kenya to seek the same. For respondents who requested to remain anonymous, the interview schedule offered the option, with the confidentiality of the participants was a vital consideration.

### **1.9.9. Scope/Delimitations of the study**

Considering that Citizen TV is the leading station in Kenya in terms of viewership this research may be suggestive, hence painting the picture of what actually happens in various newsrooms in Kenya. Being a case study however the results may not necessarily reflect what is happening in other media houses which own TV stations. The combination

---

<sup>42</sup>Trochim, William, M.K. "Types of Surveys", Research methods Knowledge Base, 2002

of Qualitative and Quantitative methods overcomes the validity hurdle. Validity is the ability of research instruments to measure what they are intended to measure<sup>43</sup>.

### **1.10 Definition of terms**

**Peace Journalism:** Peace journalism was used here in to mean when editors and reporters make choices of what stories to report and about how to report them that create opportunities for society at large to consider and value non-violent response to conflict<sup>44</sup>.

**Media:** was used in the broadest sense to mean the various mass information dissemination institutions in Kenya.

**Reporters:** Reporters in this study were used to mean any journalist employed at citizen TV who has in one way or another worked directly or indirectly on a conflict report or piece.

### **1.11 Chapter Outline**

Chapter one outlines the background and the statement of the research problem, objectives of the research, research questions, justification of the problem, literature review, theoretical framework, Hypothesis and the methodology. Chapter two gives an overview of how peace journalism affects conflict management. Chapter three discusses how peace journalism affects objectivity in the media industry. Chapter four gives an overview of how media policies have changed in requirement of peace journalism. Chapter five which is the last chapter in this work, expounds on the summary and conclusions of the research study while providing recommendations on areas of further research.

---

43Mugenda, O.M. & Mugenda, A.G. (2003). Research methods: Quantitative and Qualitative approaches. 2nd. Rev. ed. Nairobi: ACT Press. Nairobi.

44Lynch & McGoldrick (2005) (Lynch, J. and McGoldrick, A. (2005). Peace journalism in the Holy Land. Media Development, Vol. 52 Issue 1, Pp47-49.



## CHAPTER TWO

### PEACE JOURNALISM AND CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

The role of the media in conflict management is one which has been debated on for decades, with the peace journalism (PJ) concept being floated by some conflict management scholars and researchers as the light at the end of the tunnel.

Despite a large and growing literature relating to peace initiatives, it is remarkable how the role of the media has often been ignored. The capability of the media to inflame hatreds and promote violence has been relatively well documented<sup>45</sup>.

It is a fact however that war is now fundamentally conducted with and through information. This is evident in the increasing military reliance on information and communication technologies and the use of intelligence, deception and perception management to pursue a competitive advantage over an adversary<sup>46</sup>.

Although the field of peace journalism is a growing field that is being spread in all continents, it keeps attracting critiques. The controversy is still on-going whether the concept is needed first and can be practiced, second. Just as any new concept that seeks to correct a conventional reality, peace journalism is unwelcomed by some practitioners, particularly the ones who refuse the idea of problematizing mainstream media reporting that they belong to- generally speaking- as “war reporting”<sup>47</sup>. The Pro peace journalism supporters argue that, 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<sup>48</sup>. The Kenyan media is one of the most respected, thriving, sophisticated and innovative in Africa<sup>49</sup>.

In Kenya the relationship between peace journalism and conflict management came to a head following the disputed 2007 general election. In the late afternoon of 30

---

45 Allen, T and Stremmler, N (2005) Media policy, peace and state reconstruction. Crisis States Research Centre discussion papers, 8. Crisis States Research Centre, London School of Economics. P2)

46 Hirst, Paul (2001) War and power in the 21st century, Cambridge: Polity p.36

47 Richard Falk R. (2008) Foreword, in Lynch J. Debates in Peace Journalism, ix, Sydney University Press, University of Sydney, Australia Pp xi-xii

48 Lynch, J. & McGoldrick, A. (2005), Peace Journalism, Hawthorn Press, Stroud, UK.).

49 Abdi, J. and Dean, J. (2008). The Kenyan 2007 elections and their aftermath: The role of media and communication (Policy Briefing No. 1). BBC World Service Trust. p.3

December 2007, the Election Commission of Kenya declared Mwai Kibaki to be the winner of the country's election, the count of which was considered by both national and international observers as flawed, possibly rigged<sup>50</sup>. Within an hour, as Kibaki was sworn in as President in the capital, Nairobi, smoke could be seen rising from homes being burned in Kibera, the biggest slum in Africa. Within six weeks, more than 1,000 people across the country had been killed, and perhaps 500,000 others driven from their homes or fled in fear<sup>51</sup>. Widespread violence broke out in Kenya following the announcement of the results of presidential elections held on 27 December. In the ensuing days, official figures stated that over 1200 people were killed, there was massive destruction of property in some areas, and several hundred thousand Kenyans were displaced from their communities<sup>52</sup>.

With radio and television being the main sources of information on politics for 59 percent of the Kenyans<sup>53</sup>, the incumbent government put measures in place, following the live broadcast of pictures and information as the violence escalated. The ban on live radio and TV news reports constituted a de facto ban on news programmes as most of the broadcast media suspended all their news programmes. This may have contributed to disinformation and the spreading of rumors particularly as information allegedly continued to circulate via text messages. Contrary to the restrictions imposed on freedom of assembly and live media, several organizations expressed concern that the Government took little to no measures to put an end to inflammatory and ethnically divisive items aired on the call-in programmes of several vernacular radio stations.

On January 22, 2008, international reports began to appear, claiming that media, and particularly local language (commonly called vernacular) radio stations in Kenya, were responsible for fanning ethnic hatred and fuelling violence. The reports echoed previous such allegations, including around the 2005 referendum campaign in Kenya.

---

50Abdi, J. and Dean, J. (2008). The Kenyan 2007 elections and their aftermath: The role of media and communication (Policy Briefing No. 1). BBC World Service Trust. P.2

51 OCHA, Kenya Weekly Humanitarian Update, vol. 8, 28 Feb– 03 March, 2008. P 5

52Muriithi, A.G. and Page G. (2013). The Kenyan election 2013: The role of the factual discussion programme Sema Kenya (Kenya speaks), (Issue No 05 ). Bridging Theory and Practice Research Dissemination Series. BBC Media Action. p. 2

53 The International Republican Institute (IRI). (2007).Kenya presidential, Parliamentary And Local elections December 2007 Election (Observation Mission Final Report). Washington, DC 20005. p.18

While the mainstream media has been praised for trying to calm the situation, people within and outside the media argue that it has failed to live up to professional and ethical standards and has contributed to the crisis. Reports from a media monitoring initiative by the United Nations Development Program 2007 Elections Assistance Program indicated that some media houses accorded certain parties more coverage than others<sup>54</sup>. The first Sunday after the violent elections in 2007 in Kenya will mark a unique day in the nation's media history. All newspapers carried the same headline: "Save our beloved country" which appealed for return to peace in a nation that only seven days previously had been engulfed in violence. At 6:00 pm the same day, in a 60 minute program the electronic media switched to similar broadcast appealing for peace through an hour long prayer, patriotic poetry and solemn music that implored the nation to return to its senses and restore peace. The cut throat competition characteristic of the Kenyan media took backstage. That act has been derided by international correspondents working from Nairobi and some journalism scholars who question media's business in appealing for peace<sup>55</sup>. In the case of Kenya the conflict suddenly appeared in what was thought to be a relatively peaceful country. The media also attempted to connect readers to the conflict using the images already in their minds.

Kenya's media is vibrant; newspapers and radio stations provided a platform for the opposition groups during the struggle for multiparty politics, highlighted the Moi regime's corruption, and called on him to open up political space. Over the last decade, there has been a proliferation of radio stations. However, at the same time politicians and politically connected businessmen have been buying stakes in many media houses and increasing their influence. The media were ill prepared for the 2007-2008 post-election violence. They were unable to communicate the election results and the subsequent violence without partisan flavor. Worse still, some media houses, particularly the vernacular radio stations, stirred tensions by taking sides and providing politicians with

---

54 IRIN, Kenya: Spreading the Word of Hate, January 22, 2008. P.12

55 Obonyo, L. and Fackler, M. (2009). Peace Journalism as a Media Education Paradigm for East Africa. Paper submitted to the World Journalism Educators Congress (WJEC), July 5-7, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa. Pg.13

avenues to disseminate hate speech. The Waki commission collected data regarding the media's involvement in the post-elections violence. The report concluded the media contributed to the ethnic fervor as well as confusion and misinformation, which fuelled the violence<sup>56</sup>. In the 2007 election, intense media competition to be the first to release election results led to unverified and inaccurate reports that conflicted with official electoral commission tallies, causing further confusion. This exacerbated the already febrile atmosphere by creating an impression of vote rigging and providing more ammunition to those engaged in hate speech. Prior to the election, many media outlets released opinion polls that predicted high numbers for their preferred candidate. This added to the anger and accusations of vote rigging, when the official ECK tallies diverged from these opinion polls. The Kriegler commission identified this as a contributing factor to confusion and anger, and suggested additional regulation and training in electoral reporting. During 2013 there were guidelines to be followed by the media. New binding media guidelines published on 2 April 2012 by the Media Council of Kenya (MCK) intend to promote accurate, comprehensive, impartial, fair and responsible coverage of the upcoming elections and to ensure journalists are sensitive to the risk of conflict. Their objective is to enable voters to make informed choices and to hold media houses to account for their content, with the MCK publishing a monthly monitoring report on the press. However, according to a news editor, the media have learned little from the last elections violence, and, if anything, remain polarized. Following the commitment to the new guidelines, the media will stage live televised presidential debates that will also be broadcast over the radio. Three debates featuring all the presidential candidates have been planned, with a possible fourth to be organized should the election lead to a run-off<sup>57</sup>.

Mainstream Kenyan media has had a reputation for being vibrant and assertive in its role as the "fourth estate". The media contributed significantly to the introduction of multi-party politics in 1992 and regime change in 2002. In fact, the media in Kenya has gained a reputation for exposing corruption, acting as a platform for public debate and

---

56 International Crisis group (2013). Kenya's 2013 Elections (Africa Report No. 197). p.36

57 International Crisis group (2013). Kenya's 2013 Elections (Africa Report No. 197). p.39

being a guardian of the public interest against state power. However, following the post-election violence of 2007-08, parts of the media were widely accused by international and local observers of being complicit in inciting the conflict. The 2007 Kenya election and its aftermath had a significant impact on the way in which the media approached the 2013 election<sup>58</sup>. The media also had to contend with a complicated election, the numbers involved were mindboggling and posed a logistical challenge for the media, especially in deploying staff in the field. There were 33,000 polling stations, and voters were required to elect a president from eight candidates. Kenyans were also to elect 47 county governors, 337 members of the National Assembly, 47 senators, 47 women's representative to sit in the National Assembly and 1,450 county ward representatives. In a bid to put 2007-2008 firmly behind them, many donor and media organizations such as the Media Council of Kenya and Inter-news organized training sessions for the media across the country to enhance their skills to cover the election. Many of these initiatives focused on conflict sensitive and ethical journalism. When polling day finally arrived in 2013, the Kenyan media was walking gingerly in the shadow of 2007-2008, and had been sensitized and trained about peace so much that perhaps peace became everything<sup>59</sup>.

---

58Muriithi, A.G. and Page G. (2013). The Kenyan election 2013: The role of the factual discussion programme Sema Kenya (Kenya speaks), (Issue No 05 ). Bridging Theory and Practice Research Dissemination Series. BBC Media Action. p. 9

59Warugu, J. The Kenya elections, 2007 and 2013. In Muriithi, A.G. and Page G. (2013). The Kenyan election 2013: The role of the factual discussion programme Sema Kenya (Kenya speaks), (Issue No 05 ). Bridging Theory and Practice Research Dissemination Series. BBC Media Action. p. 10

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **PEACE JOURNALISM AND OBJECTIVITY IN THE MEDIA INDUSTRY**

The study is based on 26 guided interview schedules. 25 interviews were conducted with reporters and editors at Citizen TV and one with the media council of Kenya. Interviewees spoke on record with all the interviews recorded on a sound recorder as well as notes taken. The respondents were however given the option of on or off record. The interviews were conducted by the researcher, with the basic demographic data of the respondents presented in this chapter. Tables have been used to illustrate the findings of the study. Trough the interviews it was tested how peace journalism impacts objectivity in newsrooms with a special focus on how the 2007 and 2013 elections were covered in Kenya. The gauging of the two years was vital for the study with nine questions being used to find out the ground practices on conflict management vis-a-vis objectivity and journalism practices. The researcher stayed close to Data in the transcripts.

#### **Basic demographic characteristics of the respondents**

The basic demographic data was used to establish the gender, designation, field of specialization and experience of the respondents. The study targeted reporters and editors at Citizen TV, Kenya and the Deputy Chief Executive Officer and Programmes Manager at the Media Council of Kenya. Citizen TV has a total of 37 reporters and anchors and 12 editors.

#### **Gender**

A Total of Twenty Five respondents were interviewed at the Citizen TV newsroom. 15 respondents were female comprising 60% of the population while 10 were male making up 40% of the respondents.

**Table 3.1 Gender of Respondents (Source: Survey data (2015))**

<b>Gender</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Male	10	40
Female	15	60
Total	25	100.0

### **Designation of Respondents**

The designation of the respondents at Citizen TV is important demographic data, because the different posts or designations in the newsroom indicate who does what and who makes particular decisions. 8 editors, 6 Senior Reporters, 11 reporters making up 32%, 24% and 44% of the respondents respectively.

**Table 3.2 Designation of Respondents (Source: Survey data (2015))**

<b>Designation</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Citizen TV Editors /Producers	8	32
Citizen TV Senior Reporters	6	24
Citizen TV Reporters	11	44
Total	25	100

### **c) Experience**

The experience in the media industry is loosely related with the experience in covering conflict. It therefore crucial for this study because it will depict how many elections the journalists might have covered. According to the study most editors at the Citizen TV have worked in the media industry for between 11 and 15 years and 15 and 20 years meaning they have covered more than two elections in a country where 5 general elections have been conducted.

**Table 3.3 Designation of Respondents (Source: Survey data (2015))**

<b>Experience</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
0-5 Years	8	
6-10 Years	6	
11-15 Years	7	
15-20 Years	4	
Over 20 Years	-	
Total	25	

### **Field of specialization**

36 % of the of the respondents were editors and the newsroom managerial team, political, features and general news reporters were 4 for each category comprising 16% of the

population each. 12 business reporters were interviewed and 1 investigative reporter making up 12 and 4 percent of the population respectively.

**Table 3.4 Field of Specialization (Source: Survey data (2015))**

<b>Field of Specialization</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Editor/ management	9	36
Political reporter s	4	16
Features reporter	4	16
General news	4	16
Business Reporters	3	12
Investigative Reporter	1	4
Total	25	100

### **Journalism Guiding Principle**

For 6 (24%) journalist the rule of thumb when covering stories is objectivity while telling both sides of the story was crucial for 3 journalists comprising 12% of the respondents. 2 (8%) journalists indicated that the guiding principal is that; a story should be of public interest, for another 2 (8%) it is how factual a story is and for 3 (12%) the rule of thumb is how balanced a story is. 1 journalist making up 4% of the population indicated that the story should be ethically correct. The newsworthiness, timelines, non insightful messages and fairness were as indicators by 2 (8%) journalists in each category.

**Table 3.5 Journalism guiding principle (Source: Survey data (2015))**

<b>Rule of Thumb</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Objectivity	6	24
Both Sides of the Story	3	12
Story should be of Public interest	2	8
Factual	2	8
Balanced	3	12
Ethically correct	1	4
Not inciting or carry hate messages	2	8
Newsworthy	2	8
Timeless	2	8
Fairness	2	8
Total	25	100



### Number of elections covered

The number of general elections covered by the journalists was a crucial question in getting the differences with regard to conflict management and peace journalism. Majority of the respondents had covered more than two elections, meaning they were familiar with the modalities of the years of study which are 2007-2013.

Majority of the journalists which comprises 44% (11) of the respondents have covered 2 elections, 2007 and 2013, 6 (24%) covered 3 elections, 5 (20%) have covered 1 election while 3 (12%) covered 4 elections which means the only election they did not cover was the first ever election in 1992. However, the respondents who have covered between 3-4 elections were working in other media houses before other than Citizen.

**Table 3.6 Number of elections covered (Source: Survey data (2015))**

Number of Elections	Frequency	Percentage
1	5	20
2	11	44
3	6	24
4	3	12
5	-	
Total	24	100

### Coverage of 2013 Election vs. 2007 Elections

20 journalists comprising 80% of the respondents agreed that the 2013 elections were covered differently compared to the 2007 disputed presidential election. Only 5 (20%) respondents indicated that there was no difference in the coverage.

**Table 3.7 The 2013 election Coverage (Source: Survey data (2015))**

Was the 2013 elections different	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	20	80
No	5	20
Total	25	100

The study revealed that the media house aired a lot of peace messages prior, during and after the election with messages of peace being pushed on air. The outcome according to the respondents was a peaceful election compared to 2007. The study also revealed that content was guarded and the journalists were sensitive to the political situation in the country. By so doing, the media in Kenya across the board took a stand and focused on one angle, peace. According to the study, Majority of the respondents indicated that they were cautious on reporting violence hence a sense of media self censorship to avoid conflict.

One respondent reported that:

*“More caution was exercised in the newsroom with regard to inflammatory statements by the political class, the 2007 post election violence (PEV) was a lesson”*

With another respondent noting that:

*“I was very careful on the choice of words I used to convey the message to our viewers.”*

Similarities and differences between the 2007 and 2013 elections in Kenya?

The finding revealed that, in 2007 Kenyan journalists were not only biased, they were ill- equipped to cover an election with very high political stakes and when it took a tribal dimension that became explosive they had already lost the grip. In 2013 however journalists were more aware of the power of their words and toned down on the tribal rhetoric that often threatens Kenya’s peace every election year.

Although all elections were hotly contested, in 2007 it was largely a contest based on tribal alignments but in 2013, it was a do or die contest between ICC indictees and those seen to be pro- ICC. The study also highlighted. The study also revealed that the political landscape in the two elections was very different although as was the case in 2007, journalists had their political inclinations, however in 2013, there was an improved level of impartiality political inclinations and self censorship regardless. Majority of the respondents highlighted the fact that the 2013 election saw the voter go digital and despite the failure of Biometric Voter Registration System (BVR) when the tallying process was on going the media was not quick to report flare-ups or news that may incite communities .

The similarities between the 2007 and 2013 general elections were stated that although Kenyans voted along tribal lines although the media attempted to create a platform for issue based discussions e.g via the presidential debate. The media made sure there was no conflict related stories aired on national television. Compared to 2007 there was a lot of competition by the candidates in the media through adverts but in 2013 the media did not run the adverts but made a lot of peace messages. One respondent indicated that all the media houses in Kenya seemed to have agreed on who would win the election

Journalist’s Personal discretion in reporting conflict

When asked on whether there was as situation where the respondents used their own discretion not to report on an incident or use a picture for fear of igniting conflict, 76% of the respondents agreed to the statement while 24% said no.

**Table 3.8 Personal discretion in reporting conflict (Source: Survey data (2015))**

	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Yes	19	76
No	6	24
TOTAL	25	100

One respondent further clarified that,

*“While covering election stories in areas perceived to be Cord Zones, electronic voting machines failed and the leadership claimed that there was a conspiracy to steal the votes , I specifically reported the systems failure and intentionally left out the allegations of vote rigging.”*

The study also showed that, when politicians called for press conferences information was filtered first before airing, with what was considered as extreme, incite full utterances from politicians being edited out before broadcast. There were cases of candidates bribing and that would have sparked violence by inciting voters.

**‘Truth’ Journalism vs Peace Journalism**

When further probed whether the respondents felt that they went against the very basic principal of journalism “Truth’ by choosing not to report the incident as it unfolded with all the details, all the journalists agreed that they were not objective but as an individual

resorted to self censorship to avoid taking the country back to 2007, the brink of anarchy when inflammatory statements by politicians ignited conflict and set one tribe against another. The study also highlighted that most journalists were more patriotic than before with most indicating that as much as they were journalists by profession they were Kenyan first privy to the 2007/2008 post election violence they indicated that they do not regret the decisions they made. Hence the media had a role in conflict management and conflict escalation during the 2013 General Election in Kenya, while in 2007 the same media played a role in the conflict that rocked the country. Majority of the respondents who are pro peace journalism are female compared to the male respondents who prefer to report the situation as it is, regardless of the outcome.

Peace Journalism: The Concept

### **Have you heard of the peace journalism concept?**

The study revealed that; majority of the journalists are practicing peace journalism unknowingly. One respondent reported that

*“The unwritten rules from the chief operations officer is to have at least 1 or 2 happy stories or narratives that would take the country forward rather than cause discord. After the 2007 conflict newsrooms were more cautious with what is put in the running orders and what is aired.”*

While only 3 of the respondents indicated that they have never heard of the concept, majority of those who were alive to the idea indicated that they first heard of the concept in graduate school. One respondent said the concept was brought to life while working for the British Broadcasting Cooperation (BBC) while another heard about it in South Africa in 2008. The concept according to the respondents is practical as it offers ways and methods of resolving conflicts or avoiding them peacefully as well as advocating for harmony. According to the study however peace stories in newsroom set up don't sell. Although they all agree that peace journalism in modern day newsrooms could be the solution to prompt conflict management some respondents do not believe it is a journalists role. To ensure that peace prevails, adding that the job of a journalist is to inform the public to enable them make decisions on their own, anything else is public relations management. Considering the African set up where elections are emotive and

ethnic and a recipe for violence, the study revealed that with peace journalism plays an elaborate role.

**When reporting on a conflict which side would you be embedded with?**

23 (92%) Journalists revealed that they would be embedded with security forces or Non Governmental organisations (NGO) in times of conflict while only 2 (8%) would remain neutral or objective. The reasons for being embedded with government forces or security forces was security and facilitation.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **MEDIA POLICIES AND PEACE JOURNALISM**

An unprecedented public debate has been raging in Kenya over the role of the media before, during and after the 2007 General Election. Questions about media conduct continue to rise as the country attempts to define what it considers a desirable media. The manner in which the media reported and portrayed the violence that erupted between various ethnic groups around the country in January 2008 has come under special scrutiny. Religious organizations, civil society, government departments and foreign missions are some of the interest groups that have spoken out about the role of the media in that period. They have accused the media of incitement, promoting stereotypes, mis-reporting events and general misrepresentations<sup>60</sup>. The question of policies on conflict reporting then arises. How much information is too much information during a conflict?

#### **Conflict Reporting Policies: Citizen TV**

The study revealed that there are no written down policies on conflict management and reporting, with all respondents indicating that they are guided by basic journalism ethics and principals. Majority of the respondents indicated that they use their own discretion and editorial judgment when deciding what should be broadcast or not. The emphasis on fair, balanced and objective reporting as well as the value of fair comment or right of reply, was sighted as one of the main guiding principles. Following the 2007 post election violence there has been a paradigm shift on conflict reporting, although the respondents highlighted that both sides of conflict should be covered, they indicated that the unwritten rule was to avoid Inciting Communities by Using or Mentioning the tribes of those party to the conflict in the Story. With no stipulated policies, the unwritten policies vary from reporter to reporter, hence the fear of not having a uniform framework to govern the media house.

---

<sup>60</sup>Mbeke, P. O., Ugangi, W. and Orlale, R. O. (2010). *The Media We want: The Kenya Media Vulnerability study*. Nairobi: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES). P. 13

### **War vs Peace Stories**

Although the respondents agreed that the self-censorship in form of peace journalism reduced cases of conflict, the study revealed that the frequency of peace stories is still very low in Citizen TV bulletins. 92% of the respondents noted that War stories dominated news bulletins at Citizen TV while 8% were in support of peace stories. The research also highlighted that War or conflict stories are regarded as “Good Stories” that spice up the news bulletin.

This was also echoed by one of the respondents who reported that:

*“Very few conflict management stories, if any make it to the main news bulletins because conflict has always been a source of news and still is.”*

The study also highlighted that prior to the 2013 elections, during and after peace messages flooded the news bulletins like never before. Right after however most media houses are taking steps back to reckless journalism especially the back and forth between government’s supporters and the opposition. Live broadcasts across media houses are not censored anymore.

**Table 4.1 war vs. Peace Stories (Source: Survey data (2015))**

<b>Stories</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
War Stories	23	92
Peace Stories	2	8
Total	25	100

### **Media Council of Kenya (MCK)**

The mandate of the Media Council of Kenya (MCK) is to promote and enhance ethical and professional standards amongst journalists and media enterprises, promote and protect freedom and independence of the media, prescribe standards of journalists, media practitioners and media enterprises, ensure the protection of the rights and privileges of journalists in the performance of their duties as well as advise the Government or the relevant regulatory authority on matters relating to professional, education and the training of journalists and other media practitioners.

The MCK further develops and regulate ethical and disciplinary standards for journalist, media practitioners and media enterprises while at the same time Conduct accreditation of journalists by certifying their competence, authority or credibility.

MCK also conducts an annual review of the performance and the general public opinion of the media, and publish the results. It also establishes media standards and regulate and monitor compliance with the media standards and facilitate resolution of disputes between the government and the media and between the public and the media and intra media;

The study concurs with report that, although policies on conflict reporting are not clear at Citizen TV, the journalists are guided by article 34 of the Constitution and the Media Council Act 2013, Second Schedule, which is the code of ethics, is very particular on responsible journalism, including prohibition against propagating hate speech, incitement and war. The Council also has a full-fledged media monitoring unit which monitors media performance against the 25 articles in the code of ethics for the practice of journalism, among which is guidance on conflict sensitive reporting.

The study also highlighted that MCK supports objectivity with the cardinal responsibility of the council being to protect and promote professionalism in the media and objectivity is critical to professional journalism. With a Fully fledged Complaints Commission and the Multi Media tribunal at the Communications Authority of Kenya. There is a huge difference when reporting in a manner likely to be propaganda and war like activities and professional journalism as guided by the Code of ethics for the practice of journalism in Kenya hence the council supports conflict sensitive journalism leading to the production of a number of publications on the issue. The research further reveals that Peace journalism has not been publicly accepted according to MCK, the fear that peace journalism is a silent move to gag the media regardless however the frequency of peace and conflict management stories remain very low with war or conflict stories dominating most bulletins in Kenyan media houses. A according to the media council of Kenya deputy CEO and Programmes manager peace journalism has not reduced violent conflict in Kenya.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### Summary

Peace journalism (PJ) in Kenya is still as elusive as the policy guidelines with regard to conflict reporting and management by journalists. What is regarded as peace journalism by most respondents in this study is more of fear and firefighting measures rather than the PJ concept. With only one election after the disputed presidential election in 2007, in which the media was termed as having a hand in the conflict by commissions tasked to investigate the 2007 Post Election violence (PEV), non-governmental organizations, and human rights groups, the fear of another violence outbreak could slowly be forgotten and the political elite will once again be given the platform to spew hate leading to conflict eruption. Therefore the line between self-censorship for a period time by the media in Kenya and peace journalism remains thin. With cases of inciting content, which threatens peace and stability being aired for political mileage or gain gradually going up, the role of peace journalism in conflict management in Kenya therefore is key.

Majority of the respondents however use their own discretion when it comes to making choices on what is best for the public to consume in times of conflict. 76% of the Respondents at Citizen TV Kenya decided not to report on an incident during the 2013 election for fear of stirring up violence.

However 12% of the population had not heard about peace journalism, directly or indirectly. A journalist's discretion may not be the best and only tool for reporting conflict, laid down rules and regulations apart from the Code of conduct and stipulated regulations by the Media council of Kenya are needed for any well-equipped journalist in a conflict zone.

Objectivity and peace journalism seem to contradict each other in the modern day newsroom. All journalists interviewed agreed that they were not objective when reporting the 2013 General Election. They instead resorted to self-censorship to avoid a replica of the 2007 disputed election. The study further highlighted how most journalists were more patriotic having been affected by the PEV, the confusion between patriotism and Peace

Journalism was also brought out. Should an individual be a Journalist first or a Kenyan first?

### **Conclusion**

It is clear that Citizen TV does not have a clear laid down policy on peace journalism hence paving way for personal judgment and a journalist's or editor's discretion when it comes to deciding on what to and what not to air regarding conflict related stories.

### **Recommendations**

The study revealed the policy gap at Citizen TV with regard to conflict reporting and peace journalism. Therefore to have a uniform way of information dissemination and guidelines in time of conflict, it is recommended that the media house should put in place a policy framework and halt the use of the unwritten policies, which are subject to interpretation or misinterpretation by various editors and reporters. One of the dangers of having an unwritten policy on conflict management is the risk of airing damaging information by new staff or in the case of regime change there will be no structures to guide as well as stipulate the laid down rules. With a policy framework in place the editor at the desk or a reporter out in the field will know exactly what to do without airing inciting messages or leaving out crucial information in the name of self-censorship.

In order to have an informed newsroom and news managers, it is recommended therefore that; Citizen TV trains its staff on conflict reporting, management as well as peace journalism. The study revealed that some respondents have never heard of the concept, while others confuse peace journalism with fear of the unknown and others still have undergone some sought of training outside the jurisdiction of Royal media services. With Policies in place then the training can be conducted with the mission and vision of the media house in mind.

### **Area for Further Study**

From this study it emerged that the role of Female Journalists in promoting peace Journalism is an important area of study. From the research conducted majority of the female respondents were pro peace journalism, could there be a link between women journalists and peace journalism? Are women journalists more pro peace journalism compared to their male counterparts?

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abdi, J. and Dean, J. (2008). *The Kenyan 2007 elections and their aftermath: The role of media and communication (Policy Briefing No. 1)*. BBC World Service Trust.
- Allen, T and Stremlau, N (2005) *Media policy, peace and state reconstruction*. Crisis States Research Centre discussion papers, 8. Crisis States Research Centre, London School of Economics.
- Communication in the future of democracy*. Cambridge, UK ; New York : Cambridge University Press. Retrieved from [http://repository.upenn.edu/asc\\_papers/14](http://repository.upenn.edu/asc_papers/14)
- Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Educational research(3rd ed.)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- DelliCarpini, M. X., & Williams, B. A. (2001). *Let us infotain you: Politics in the new media age*. In W. L. Bennett & R. M. Entman (Eds.), *Mediated politics: Communication in the future of democracy*. Cambridge, UK ; New York : Cambridge University Press. Retrieved from [http://repository.upenn.edu/asc\\_papers/14](http://repository.upenn.edu/asc_papers/14)
- Explosion in media changes audience and advertising trends*, Ipsos Synovate, 2012.
- Francis Rolt, "The Media: Reaching Hearts and Minds". In *People Building Peace*, edited by Paul Van Tongeren, Malin Brenk and Juliette Verhoeven, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 2005.
- Galtung, J. & Vincent, R. (1992) *Global Glasnost: Toward a New World and Information Order?* Creskill, NJ: Hampton Press. Grig, S. (2004)
- Grig, S. (2004) 'Amid all the terrible abuse of tribal people in the modern world, Indonesia's abuse of Papuans stands out as the worst Outrigger, 4(5).

- Hackett, R.A. (2006). *Is peace journalism possible? Three frameworks for assessing structure and agency in news media. Conflict & communication online, 5/2.*
- Hanitzsch, Thomas. 2004a. "Journalists as peacekeeping force? Peace journalism and mass communication theory." *Journalism Studies 5/4.*
- Hanitzsch, Th. (2007). *Situating Peace Journalism in Journalism Studies: a critical appraisal. Conflict & communication online, 6/2.*
- Hirst, Paul (2001) *War and power in the 21st century, Cambridge: Polity.*
- Howard, R. (2002) *An Operational Framework For Media and Peacebuilding, Institute for Media, Policy and Civil Society (IMPACS), Canada.*
- International Crisis group (2013). *Kenya's 2013 Elections (Africa Report No. 197).*
- IRIN, Kenya: *Spreading the Word of Hate, January 22, 2008.*
- ISHinar. D. (2007). *Epilogue: Peace Journalism – The State of the Art. Conflict & communication online, 6/1.*
- Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS) and ICF Macro.2010. *Kenya Demographic and Health Survey 2008-09. Calverton, Maryland: KNBS and ICF Macro.*
- Kothari, C. (2003). *Research Methodology: Methods and techniques. H.S poplai New Delhi.*
- Lang, K. & Lang, G. E. (1959). "Politics and Television". *Chicago: Quadrant Books.*
- Loyn, D. (2007). *Good Journalism or Peace Journalism? Conflict & communication online, 6/2.*

Loyn, D. (2003). *Witnessing the Truth*. *Open Democracy.net*, 20 February, at <http://www.opendemocracy.net/articles/ViewPopUpArticle.jsp?id=2&articleId=993>.

Loyn, David, 2007. 'Good journalism or peace journalism?', *Conflict and Communication Online*, Vol. 6, No. 2

Lynch, J. &McGoldrick, A. (2005). *Peace Journalism*. Boulder CO: Rowman and Littlefield.

Lynch, Jake and McGoldrick, Annabel, 2005. *Peace Journalism*, Stroud: Hawthorn Press

Lynch, Jake, 2006b. 'Peace Journalism', in: Johan Galtung and Charles Webel (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies*, Abingdon: Routledge.

Lynch, J. &McGoldrick, A. (2005), *Peace Journalism*, Hawthorn Press, Stroud, UK.

Lynch, J. and McGoldrick, A. (2005). *Peace journalism in the Holy Land*. *Media Development*, Vol. 52 Issue 1.

Mbeke, P. O., Ugangu, W. and Orlale, R. O. (2010). *The Media We want: The Kenya Media Vulnerability study*. Nairobi: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES).

McQuail, D. (1994). *Mass communication theory: An introduction (3rd ed.)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Mugenda, O.M. &Mugenda, A.G. (2003). *Research methods: Quantitative and Qualitative approaches*. 2nd. Rev. ed. Nairobi: ACTS Press. Nairobi.

- Mugenda, O. M. and Mugenda, A. G. (2003). Research Methods: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches. Nairobi: African Centre for Technology Studies Press.*
- Mugenda, O. M. & Mugenda, A. G. (1999). Research Methods: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches. Nairobi: ACTS Press.*
- Muriithi, A.G. and Page G. (2013). The Kenyan election 2013: The role of the factual discussion programme Sema Kenya (Kenya speaks), (Issue No 05 ). Bridging Theory and Practice Research Dissemination Series. BBC Media Action.*
- MwagiruMakumi, The Water's Edge – Mediation of Violent Electoral Conflict in Kenya, (Nairobi, IDIS 2008)*
- Obonyo, L. and Fackler, M. (2009). Peace Journalism as a Media Education Paradigm for East Africa. Paper submitted to the World Journalism Educators Congress (WJEC), July 5-7, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa.*
- OCHA, Kenya Weekly Humanitarian Update, vol. 8, 28 Feb– 03 March, 2008.*
- Peleg, Samuel (2007): In defense of peace journalism: A rejoinder. Conflict & communication online, Vol. 6/2 (2007), [http://www.cco.regeneration.de/2007\\_2/pdf/peleg.pdf](http://www.cco.regeneration.de/2007_2/pdf/peleg.pdf) (25-04-2015)*
- Phillips, Angela, 2006. Book review: Peace Journalism, Global Media and Communications, Vol. 2, No. 2.*
- Richard Falk R. (2008) Foreword, in Lynch J. Debates in Peace Journalism, ix, Sydney University Press, University of Sydney, Australia.*
- Shinar. D. (2007). Epilogue: Peace Journalism – The State of the Art. Conflict & communication online, 6/1.*

*The International Republican Institute (IRI). (2007). Kenya presidential, Parliamentary And Local elections December 2007 Election (Observation Mission Final Report). Washington, DC 20005.*

*Trochim, William, M.K. "Types of Surveys", Research methods Knowledge Base, 2002.*

*Waki, comp. Waki // Report of the Findings of the Commission of Inquiry into the Post-Election Violence in Kenya. Rep. Scribd., n.d. Web. 17 Aug. 2015.*

*Warugu, J. The Kenya elections, 2007 and 2013. In Muriithi, A.G. and Page G. (2013). The Kenyan election 2013: The role of the factual discussion programme Sema Kenya (Kenya speaks), (Issue No 05 ). Bridging Theory and Practice Research Dissemination Series. BBC Media Action.*

*Wolfsfeld, Gadi, 1997. Media and the Path to Peace, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.*

**APPENDIX 1**  
**CONSENT LETTER- CITIZEN TV**

22<sup>nd</sup> September 2015

**The Chief Operating Officer,  
Royal Media Services Limited,  
Maalim Juma Road off Dennis Pritt Road,  
P.O Box 7468-00300,  
Nairobi.**

**Through;**

**The Human Resources Director,  
Royal Media Services Limited,  
Maalim Juma Road off Dennis Pritt Road,  
P.O Box 7468-00300,  
Nairobi.**

Attention Rose Wanjohi,

**RE: PERMISSION TO COLLECT DATA FOR ACADEMIC RESEARCH**

I am a student at the University of Nairobi undertaking Master of Arts in International Conflict Management under the supervision of Dr. Patrick Maluki. In partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of the degree, I am undertaking a research on the role of peace journalism in the management of conflict: A Case Study of Citizen TV 2007-2013. I am seeking to establish to what extent the media; specifically Television journalists influence the course of a conflict through the events they cover and whether they can play a role as peace agents and manage conflict while playing their watchdog role without compromising objectivity. Prior to undertaking the study I need your consent to approach Citizen TV editors and reporters to take part in the study. I will ensure that the study will not disrupt the newsroom working environment. The Results of this study will remain absolutely confidential. All information collected during this study will be used solely for the academic research specified in this application form. Upon completion of the study, I undertake to provide Royal Media Services Limited with a soft and bound copy of the full research report. I hope that the results of my study will be of benefit to Citizen TV. If



you agree, kindly sign the form below acknowledging your consent and permission for me to conduct this study at Citizen TV.

My research is supervised by:

Dr. Patrick Muthengi Maluki (PHD),  
Lecturer, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies,  
University of Nairobi,  
P.O Box 54984-00200, Nairobi.  
Tel: 0722 291 426  
Email: patrick.maluki@gmail.co

Your signature below indicates that you have granted this permission to collect data in line with the purpose of the study, the journalism ethics guidelines and confidentiality required.

Thank you for your consideration.

Yours Sincerely,

-----  
**Judy J. Kosgei,**  
P.O BOX 19726- 00202 .  
NAIROBI.  
Email: judyjeptumk@yahoo.com  
Cell phone: +254 -721 688812

**Signature of Consent**

Name: ROSE WANGICH

Designation: HR DIRECTOR

Signature: [Handwritten Signature]

Date: 22<sup>nd</sup> Sept 2015.

CC: Chief Operating Officer – Farida Karoney

**APPENDIX 2**  
**CONSENT LETTER- MEDIA COUNCIL OF KENYA**

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am a student at the University of Nairobi undertaking Master of Arts in international conflict management under the supervision of Dr. Patrick Maluki. In partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award of the degree, I am undertaking a research on the role of peace journalism in the management of conflict. I am seeking to establish to what extent the media; specifically Television journalists influence the course of a conflict through the events they cover and whether they can play a role as peace agents and manage conflict while playing their watchdog role without compromising objectivity.

If your organization agrees to take part in the academic research, I am requesting that you consent to the request through a letter.

My research is supervised by:

Dr. Patrick Muthengi Maluki (PHD),

Lecturer, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies,

University of Nairobi

P.O Box 54984-00200, Nairobi

Tel: 0722 291 426

Email: patrick.maluki@gmail.co

Thank you for your consideration

Yours Sincerely,

Judy J. Kosgei,

P.O BOX 19726- 00202 .

NAIROBI.

Email: judyjeptumk@yahoo.com

Cell phone: +254 -721 688812

### APPENDIX 3

#### INTERVIEW GUIDE: CITIZEN TV

Hello. My name is Judy Jeptum Kosgei .I am a student at the University of Nairobi in the institute of Diplomacy and International studies, undertaking Master of Arts in international conflict management. I am undertaking a research on the role of peace journalism in the management of conflict: A case study of Citizen Television. I am seeking to establish to what extent the media; specifically Television journalists influence the course of a conflict through the events they cover and whether they can play a role as peace agents and manage conflict while playing their watchdog role without compromising objectivity. The findings of this research will help in establishing the place of peace journalism in Kenya’s media industry and how the media can play a role in conflict management. I am inviting you to participate in this research. All information collected will be treated with outmost confidentiality. Thank you for your contribution.

***[Interviewers instructions: Ask all the questions and tick or circle the responses accordingly as required. All the interviewer instructions are in small caps, bold and italicized]***

Questionnaire number					
Date of interview <i>[Interviewer: Enter day, month and year]</i>	Day	Month	Year		
Time of interview <i>[Interviewer: Enter hour and minute]</i>	Start:				
	Hour	Minute			
Name of respondent <i>[Optional]</i>					
Designation of Respondent:					
Name of interviewer					

**PART A: DEMOGRAPHICS**

1. What is the gender of respondent?

Male		Female	
------	--	--------	--

2. How long has the respondent worked in the media?

0-5 Years	
6-10 Years	
11-15 Years	
15-20 Years	
Over 20 Years	

3. What is your field of specialization? *[prompt the respondent to elaborate the duties he/ she undertakes in the newsroom]*

-----  
 -----

**PART B: QUESTIONS RELATING TO PEACE JOURNALISM AND CONFLICT MANAGEMENT**

4. What is the rule of thumb when you go out for a story, assign, sub a script, or make the running order for the various news bulletins?

-----  
 -----

5. How many General election(s) have you covered in Kenya? *[ further inquire what role the journalist played]*

1	
2	
3	
4	
5	

6. Was the 2013 general election covered differently compared to the previous elections? *[What was different]*

YES		NO	
-----	--	----	--

7. What were the similarities or differences between the 2007 and 2013 election in Kenya? *[ If the respondent indicates that there were differences further ask him/her to state as well as elaborate why it was so and what was done differently ]*

-----  
-----

8. Was there a situation where you used your own discretion not to report about an incident or use the pictures for fear of igniting conflict? *[Probe further on the details of the incident if there is any]*

YES		NO	
-----	--	----	--

9. Do you feel by not reporting the incident as it unfolded with all the details, you went against the very basic principal of journalism “The Truth”?

-----  
-----

10. Do you think the media has a role in conflict management and Conflict escalation?

-----  
-----

11. Have you heard of the peace journalism concept? [*Probe further for details of when and where he/she first heard of the PJ concept, and whether it is practical in the modern day newsroom, if so which situation prompted peace journalism to be employed.*]

-----

-----

12. When reporting on a conflict which side would you be embedded with?

-----

13. Are there policies in place at Citizen TV on conflict reporting? (*Probe for specific policies, and further inquire for details and whether the media has been forced to change its policies in requirement of peace journalism*)

-----

14. How would you rate the frequency of stories promoting peace and conflict management in the various bulletins in your organization?

High	
Moderate	
Low	
None	

15. Between war stories and stories promoting peace which stories are given prominence in the media house you work for?

War Stories	
Peace Stories	

16. Do you think peace journalism has reduced violent conflict in Kenya?

YES	
NO	

## APPENDIX 4

### INTERVIEW GUIDE: THE MEDIA COUNCIL OF KENYA

Hello. My name is Judy Jeptum Kosgei. I am a student at the University of Nairobi in the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, undertaking Master of Arts in International Conflict Management. I am undertaking a research on the role of peace journalism in the management of conflict. I am seeking to establish to what extent the media; specifically Television journalists influence the course of a conflict through the events they cover and whether they can play a role as peace agents and manage conflict while playing their watchdog role without compromising objectivity. The findings of this research will help in establishing the place of peace journalism in Kenya's media industry and how the media can play a role in conflict management. I am inviting you to participate in this research. All information collected will be treated with utmost confidentiality. Thank you for your contribution.

*[Interviewers instructions: Ask all the questions and tick or circle the responses accordingly as required. All the interviewer instructions are in small caps,bold and italicized]*

<b>Questionnaire number</b>					
Date of interview <i>[Interviewer: Enter day, month and year]</i>	Day	Month	Year		
Time of interview <i>[Interviewer: Enter hour and minute]</i>	Start:				
	Hour	Minute			
Name of respondent <i>[Optional]</i>					
Designation of Respondent:					
Name of interviewer:					

*[All the interviewer instructions are in small caps, bold and italicized].*

**PART A: DEMOGRAPHICS**

1. What is the gender of respondent?

Male		Female	
------	--	--------	--

**PART B: QUESTIONS RELATING TO PEACE JOURNALISM AND CONFLICT MANAGEMENT**

2. What is the mandate of the media council of Kenya?

-----  
-----  
-----  
-----

3. Which mass media tool is the most influential in Kenya, expound on the statistics of the coverage of each medium? **[Ask for more details and statistics of each medium coverage]**

Radio	
Television	
Newspapers	
Internet	

4. Are there policies and ethical guidelines regarding conflict reporting meant to regulate what the public consumes from the media during conflict?

-----  
-----  
-----  
-----



5. How does the media council monitor journalists during conflict reporting? [*probe for more details of the monitoring procedures and the actions taken after the process is complete*]

-----  
-----  
-----

6. Does the media council of Kenya support Objectivity in journalism regardless of the outcome?

-----  
-----  
-----

7. Do you think the media has a role in conflict management and Conflict escalation?

YES	
NO	

8. Is there a tribunal which monitors and sermons journalist or laws which journalist incase they go against media ethics when covering conflict? [*Explore further and ask, How thin is the line between adhering to media ethics and gagging the media*]

-----  
-----  
-----

9. Does the media council of Kenya support the principals of peace journalism in conflict management? *[If the respondent answers to the affirmative, Inquire the support documented, and if so which document is it?]*

-----  
 -----

10. Do you think Peace journalism is a silent move to gag the media?

-----

11. How would you rate the frequency of stories promoting peace and conflict management in the Kenyan media?

High	
Moderate	
Low	
None	

12. Between war and stories promoting peace which stories are given prominence in Kenyan media?

War/ Conflict Stories	
Peace/ Conflict management stories	

13. Do you think peace journalism has reduced violent conflict in Kenya?

YES	
NO	