University of Nairobi
Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies

Media and Ethnic Conflict Management: Case study Nation Media Group

Mangwana Christine Khaende

Research Project submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for a Degree of Master of Arts in International Conflict Management of the Institute of Diplomacy & International Studies

November 2013
DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

Signed: ……………………………………. Date: …………………………………

Name: Mangwana Christine Khaende
Reg. No R52/69791/2011

This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as university supervisor

Signed: ……………………………………. Date: …………………………………

Name: Patrick Maluki
ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I take this opportunity to give thanks to the Almighty God for seeing me through the completion of this project. I am greatly indebted to my supervisor for his professional guidance, advice and unlimited patience in reading through my drafts and suggesting workable alternatives, my profound appreciation to you.

Thank you all. May the Almighty God bless you abundantly.
DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my family, and most importantly my mother for their support and believing in me.
ABSTRACT

The growth of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) has led to rising worldwide connectivity and both states and societies are being impacted by these changes. Mobile phones and Internet have provided many new possibilities and media for communication. This paper highlights the impacts of ICTs on conflict management, although it mainly focuses on the Media and Ethnic Conflict Management with case study of Nation Media Group. With the coming of the fiber optic and the increase with the number of people with mobile phones, communication has become more effective despite the good that comes with increased platforms of communication and interaction, the society has made this a battle field, with criminals using this platform to create war among the communities. This therefore is a great challenge in conflict management because this is a virtual platform where it would be difficult to bring the culprits to book. The objective of this study is to assess the Media and Ethnic Conflict Management by looking at various ways through which the media have been abused which include; through blog sites, hate speech messages and incitement. The primordialist theory indicates that the starting point of technological development, changes and innovation is always people. Proponents of primordialist accounts of ethnic conflict argue that ethnic groups and nationalities exist because there are traditions of belief and action towards primordial objects. This theory provides a way to assess the organization or community readiness for technological innovation. The study used a descriptive design approach. The target population in this study is Nation Media group departments. The researcher used a stratified sampling approach to cover the total population and examined a sample of 47, which is 60% of whole population. The data collection instrument used was self-administered questionnaire. The data collected was presented in tables and graphs. The findings indicated that 66.6% of the respondents trust blogs sites, 68.2% of the respondents felt that hate speech is widespread among Kenyans and 68.1% of the respondents indicate that incitement is rampant in the media fraternity which therefore affect conflict management. The researcher recommends that the young generation benefited a lot from the use of ICTs with an increasing access to information, freedom of expression and dissemination of information. At the same time ICTs can contributed to the promotion of peace, being the most obvious instrument among people using it on a daily basis. Greater and closer attention needs to be paid to the new media in order to regulate how private companies could work together taking the states responsibility and legitimate regulation of new media into account. There should be an increased focus on ensuring peace and security to states. Basically, governments should identify strategies to engage with private companies through opportunities such as consultative workshops to which commercial actors can actively participate that would help to develop an ethical framework, which could be used to guide the commercial media sector in their work. In order to appropriately prevent the negative impact of ICTs and social media, such ethical framework is needed for a responsible use of new media and to regulate the content of social media.
# TABLE OF CONTENT

Declaration....................................................................................................................... i

Acknowledgment ........................................................................................................ iii

Dedication ..................................................................................................................... iv

Abstract ....................................................................................................................... v

**CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION** ......................................................................... 1

1.1 Background to the study .................................................................................... 1

1.2 Problem statement ........................................................................................... 9

1.3 General objective ............................................................................................ 10

1.3.1 Specific objectives ................................................................................... 10

1.3.2 Research questions ................................................................................ 10

1.4 Justification of the Study ................................................................................ 11

1.5 Scope of the study .......................................................................................... 12

1.6 Limitations and Delimitations of the Study ................................................... 12

1.7 Assumptions of the Study ............................................................................ 12

1.8 Operational definition .................................................................................. 13

**CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW** .......................................................... 15

2.1 Introduction .................................................................................................... 15

2.1.1 Blogs Sites ............................................................................................ 15

2.1.2 Hate Speech Messages .......................................................................... 18

2.1.3 Incitements .......................................................................................... 23

2.1.4 Ethnic Conflict Management .................................................................. 29

2.2 Theoretical Framework ................................................................................ 32

2.2.1 Primordialist Theory ............................................................................ 32

2.3 Empirical Review .......................................................................................... 33

2.4 Summary ........................................................................................................ 35

2.5 Research Gap ................................................................................................ 36

**CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY** ........................................ 37
3.1 Introduction .................................................................................................................. 37
3.2 Research Design ......................................................................................................... 37
3.3 Target Population ........................................................................................................ 37
3.4 Sampling Methods ....................................................................................................... 38
3.5 Sample Size ................................................................................................................ 38
3.6 Data Collection Method ............................................................................................. 39
3.7 Data Analysis and Presentation .................................................................................. 40

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATIONS AND INTERPRETATION .... 42

4.1 Introduction ................................................................................................................ 42
4.2 Demographic Information .......................................................................................... 42
  4.2.1 Gender of the Respondents .................................................................................... 42
  4.2.2 Age of the Respondents ....................................................................................... 43
  4.2.3 Highest level of Education of the Respondents .................................................... 44
  4.2.4 Period of Service .................................................................................................. 44
4.3 Blogs sites .................................................................................................................... 45
  4.3.1 If the respondent blogs ........................................................................................ 45
  4.3.2 Rating the Extent does blogs influence conflict .................................................... 46
  4.4.4 If respondent trust what bloggers say ................................................................... 48
  4.4.5 If the respondents work influence him or her to blog sites ................................ 49
4.5 Part 3: Hate speech messages ..................................................................................... 50
  4.5.1 If the level of your qualification influence the your understanding of information from media ............................................................................................... 50
  4.5.2 If allow hate speech information to be part of your news .................................... 51
  4.5.3 If respondent feel that hate speech is wide spread among Kenyans on social media..... 51
  4.5.3 If age influence your ability to interact with others on media platform such as internet 52
  4.6.1 If the media propagate incitement to violence ...................................................... 53
  4.6 2. Rating extend does media influence people to violence and hatred through inciting messages ............ 54
CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS .......... 55

5.1 Discussion of Findings .................................................................................................................. 55
  5.1.2 Blogs sites ................................................................................................................................. 56
  5.1.3 Hate speech messages ............................................................................................................... 56
  5.1.4 Incitement ................................................................................................................................. 57

5.2 Conclusion ........................................................................................................................................ 57

5.3 Recommendations .......................................................................................................................... 58

REFERENCES ......................................................................................................................................... 59

Appendix i: Data collection instrument. (Questionnaire) ................................................................. 62

List of Tables
Table 4.2.2 Age of the Respondents
Table 4.2.4 Period of Service

List of Figures
Figure: 4.2.1 Gender of the Respondents
Fig 4.2.3 Education level of Respondents
Figure 4.3.1 If the respondent blogs
Figure 4.3.2 Rating the extent does blogs influence conflict
Figure 4.3.3 If respondent think information on the blog sites may influence the other people to violence
Fig 4.4.4 If respondents trust blog sites
Fig 4.4.5 If the respondent work influence you to blog sites
Fig 4.5.1 If the level of your qualification influence the understanding of information from media
Figure 4.5.2 If respondent allow hate speech information to be part of news
Fig 4.5.3 If respondent feel that hate speech is wide spread among Kenyans on social media
Fig 4.5.4 If age influence your ability to interact with others on media platform such as internet
Fig 4.6.1 If media propagate incitement to violence
Figure 4.6.2 Rating extent does media influence people to violence and hatred through inciting messages
Abbreviations and acronyms

**ICERD**: International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination

**ICCPR**: International Convention on Civil and Political Rights

**ICTs**: Information and Communication Technologies

**IP**: Internet Protocol

**SMS**: Short Messages Services

**NCIC**: National Cohesion and Integration Commission

**NSCMM**: National Steering Committee on Media Monitoring

**UN**: United Nations
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Freedom of expression and access to information represents a cornerstone of democratic rights and freedoms. In its first session in 1946, before any human rights declarations or treaties had been adopted, the United Nations (UN) General Assembly adopted resolution 59(I) stating "freedom of information is a fundamental human right …the touchstone of all the freedoms to which the United Nations is consecrated."\(^1\)

Communications have evolved notably since the invention of the telegraph. Today, the use of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) via tools such as computers, Internet and mobile phones, brings a larger diversity of agents to the conversation in many directions such as appreciating diversities, solving problems, sharing experiences and voicing out opinions without fear\(^2\). In previous times the world media have struggled to develop effective communication channels to serve the people. In the ICTs era the custom of media has rapidly changed: new opportunities have arisen for greater freedom of expression, even though new threats are also emerging at the same time.\(^3\)

---

The application of ICTs in the prevention and managing of conflicts is greatly contributing to the promotion of peace. ICTs serve as a channel for information exchange and to create understanding among different groups in societies. It is evident that conflicts arise due to a lack of discussion as well as misunderstandings among conflicting parties\textsuperscript{4}.

Thus the use of ICTs can be a route towards peace and security, embracing the participatory governance principle through user friendly, harmonized and effective management tools and mechanisms. Based on that, ICTs have a great impact as they reach individuals, groups and organizations around the world. This has greatly contributed to an easier and more rapid dissemination of information, and to an increased visibility of potential and actual conflicts\textsuperscript{5}.

It is not just criminal behavior that the internet facilitates and incites – once attitudes have been established within an individual’s mind-set, the internet plays a key role in maintaining and supporting attitudes. The internet has the potential to influence and support suicidal behavior and incite vulnerable individuals to action. The internet offers unrestricted access to uncensored information\textsuperscript{6}; while beneficial in some respects it is negative in others. For instance, Haut and Morrison\textsuperscript{7} discuss the case of a female who twice attempted to commit suicide via methods she’d found on the internet which reported that death would be certain. Following this admission, the authors indicated shock at the number of websites offering details about the amount to take of a number of substances which would constitute an overdose\textsuperscript{8}.

\textsuperscript{4} Ibid p.6
\textsuperscript{5} Ibid p7
\textsuperscript{6} Grahame T. (1999) \textit{Globalization in Question}: The international economy and the possibilities of governance
\textsuperscript{8} Ibid pp8-9
On top of that, ICTs propose ways to unveil human rights abuses, promote transparent governance, and give people living under repressive regimes access to free information to make public the injustices they suffer and ask for support. Networks such as social media are starting to discover the different ways in which ICTs can bring people together. Through the networks it is achievable to work together with different individuals, groups and organizations for various operations that can be related to conflict management, emergency response, disaster reduction and actions for post-conflict reconstruction.\(^9\)

Furthermore, hosting discussion forums and meetings that can provide a framework for learning, have a positive impact for networking, notably in the areas of conflict mediation, reconciliation and resolution. During the skirmishing in Burundi, online discussion groups hosted by Burundinet and the Burundi Youth Council allowed Burundi to have different sources to discuss the situation, debate root causes, and figure out ways to move forward.\(^10\)

However, an opportunity to build coherent communities of practice is being missed by ICTs and social media. This overlooked position can be attributed to a lack of understanding within the communities. Despite the fact that ICTs can significantly contribute to peace building and conflict management, holding a potential to be positively used in this respect, negative aspects and limitations should be equally recognized. It should be noticed for example that people living in rural areas and illiterate populations mostly do not have access to modern information and

\(^9\) Ibid p.10
\(^10\) Supra
communication technologies. Strategies therefore need to be put in place towards eliminating illiteracy in these societies.\textsuperscript{11}

Additionally, while ICTs and social media have allowed for the creation of better communication and coordination mechanisms, they have recently equally contributed to provoking conflicts, especially through the engagement of extremist groups for their own purposes.\textsuperscript{12} ICTs have a fundamental role in preventing post-election violence, guaranteeing civil and political rights of citizens such as transparency of elections, which has taken root in a few countries, making visible the election process through the use of these ICTs. They have also an essential role in providing distance voting service to ensure broad participation in the election.\textsuperscript{13}

From the occurrence of these revolutions and post-election conflicts it emerged that the use of social media tools has high potential in bringing about political and social change, enhancing opportunities for political participation and opening new spaces for active citizenship.\textsuperscript{14}

In the past years, ICTs have facilitated significantly in improving the well-being of individuals and communities at risk. In the era of the information society, social media gives a new meaning to human rights, particularly freedom of expression and information, by promoting access to knowledge, mutual understanding and ways to reveal human rights abuses and promote transparent governance.

\textsuperscript{11} Supra
\textsuperscript{12} Ibid
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid
The media has for an extensive period of time been recognized as a catalyst in many intra- and inter-state conflicts that have afflicted the African continent. Nothing raises so much fear and apprehension in Kenya as the spectre of fresh `ethnic conflicts'; similar to those that rocked the country in the post election violence period of 2007-2008. The wave of inter-ethnic conflicts in the Rift Valley, Nyanza, Western and some parts of the slum dwelling areas in Nairobi went down in Kenya's history as the worst since independence\textsuperscript{15}. The notion that violence may arise prior to and or after each successive General elections has made the issue of `ethnic conflicts' a very sensitive, yet important subject for discussion, aimed at formulating policy options for conflict management. Indeed, whenever the issue is raised, there has often been panic, confusion and skepticism, within the government, opposition as well as within the entire public circles\textsuperscript{16}.

Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) have resulted into rising worldwide connectivity and both states and societies are being impacted by these changes. Mobile phones and Internet have provided many new-fangled possibilities and media for communication. Freedom of expression and access to information represents a foundation stone of democratic rights and freedoms. In its first session in 1946, before any human rights declarations or treaties had been adopted, the United Nations (UN) General Assembly adopted resolution 59(I) stating "freedom of information is a fundamental human right; the touchstone of all the freedoms to

\textsuperscript{15} Bohler-Muller, Narnia and Charl van der Merwe,(2011). \textit{The potential of social media to influence socio-political change on the African continent}, policy brief (Briefing 46

which the United Nations is consecrated. Communications have evolved notably since the invention of the telegraph\textsuperscript{17}.

Today, the use of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) via tools such as computers, Internet and mobile phones, brings a larger diversity of agents to the conversation in many directions such as appreciating diversities, solving problems, sharing experiences and voicing out opinions without fear. In previous times, the world media have struggled to develop effective communication channels to serve the people. In the ICTs era, the custom of media has rapidly changed: new opportunities have arisen for greater freedom of expression, even though new threats are also emerging at the same time.\textsuperscript{18}

In relation to peace and security, ICTs have positive impacts on peace building and conflict management. They are also crucial in the construction of resilient communities enabling to prevent conflicts. Besides, ICTs can help addressing the root causes of violent conflicts by promoting mutual understanding, as they constitute an essential factor in conflict prevention and a vital tool in peacekeeping and post-conflict reconciliation.\textsuperscript{19}

Using social media web sites is among the most common activity of today's children and adolescents. Any web site that allows social interaction is considered a social media site, including social networking sites such as Facebook, MySpace, and Twitter; gaming sites and virtual worlds such as Club Penguin, Second Life, and the Sims; video sites such as YouTube;

\textsuperscript{17} ibid
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid
\textsuperscript{19} ibid
and blogs. Such sites offer today's youth a portal for entertainment and communication and have
grown exponentially in recent years.²⁰

Engaging in various forms of social media is a routine activity that research has shown to benefit
children and adolescents by enhancing communication, social connection, and even technical
skills. Social media sites such as Facebook and MySpace offer multiple daily opportunities for
connecting with friends, classmates, and people with shared interests. During the last 5 years, the
number of preadolescents and adolescents using such sites has increased dramatically. According
to a recent poll, 22% of teenagers log on to their favorite social media site more than 10 times a
day, and more than half of adolescents log on to a social media site more than once a day.²¹

Seventy-five percent of teenagers now own cell phones, and 25% use them for social media,
54% use them for texting, and 24% use them for instant messaging. Thus, a large part of this
generation's social and emotional development is occurring while on the internet and on cell
phones. Because of their limited capacity for self-regulation and susceptibility to peer pressure,
children and adolescents are at some risk as they navigate and experiment with social media.
Recent research indicates that there are frequent online expressions of offline behaviors, such as
bullying, clique-forming, and sexual experimentation, that have introduced problems such as
cyber bullying, privacy issues, and “sexting”.²²

²⁰ supra
²¹ Monty M.(2003). The Impact of past and potential ethnic conflicts on Kenyan's stability and development. A
paper prepared for the USAID Conference on Conflict resolution in the Greater Horn of Africa p.56
²² Omotosho, Babatunde Joshua,(2007). Youths, technology and violent conflicts in Africa: A Serious Issue
Demanding Attention From African Union, to be published p.7
African countries today face greater challenges to peace and stability than ever before. The countries of sub-Saharan Africa are a volatile mix of insecurity, instability, corrupt political institutions and poverty. Alarmingly, most of these countries lack the political will to maintain previous peace agreements, and thus have fallen prey to continuous armed ethnic conflict\(^\text{23}\). This is partly due to ineffective conflict management. The conflicts in these countries are mostly between ethnic groups, not between states. If not checked, ethnic conflicts are contagious and can spread quickly across borders like cancer cells. Ted Gurr and Monty Marshall have written that most African conflicts are caused by the combination of poverty and weak states and institutions\(^\text{24}\).

One of the key drivers of conflict in Kenya is the dimension of community identities, which is itself closely, related to the issue of land, borders and associated historical grievances plus a challenging regional environment and political transition. Ethnic conflicts entail intense negative emotions among rival groups, which often carry over to the global community and potential third-party interveners. In Kenya, the social media has gone beyond being Facebook friends and sharing funny videos to a platform with the ability to change the world.\(^\text{25}\)

With the advent of the Twitter community, known as #KOT (KenyansOnTwitter) is particularly active, using this social media platform for online activism (#PeremendeMovement), praising corporate brands or calling them out (#TwitterBigStick and #TwitterThumbsUp) and even rallying others to help in cases of famine (#Kenyans4Kenya and #FeedKe) or

\(^{23}\) ibid
\(^{24}\) Peace and Conflict,(2003). *Church and Politics in East Africa* Uzima Press
\(^{25}\) Ibid p.8
#KOTAgainstMPBonus protest campaign led by blogger @RobertAlai, that called for Kenyans to meet at Bata Hilton and march to parliament. A platform such as this can be used for the good of the society or conversely. Social media is playing an increasing role in public awareness of issues and information that was known to only a few well-connected people in the past.  

1.2 Problem statement
When Kenya held its general elections in 2007, internet penetration in the country was very low. However, today, due to fibre-optic cables and increased mobile access, many Kenyans are running blogs and actively using social media sites such as Twitter and Facebook. According to the National Steering Committee on Media Monitoring (NSCMM) (2012). Although this is as a blessing, it is also proving to be a curse and could even be detrimental to the country stability individuals are left unpunished who continues abusing social media by propagating hate.

Despite the decreased of hate speech in mainstream media, the use of politically inflammatory statements and incitement is alarmingly on the rise on social media. In the 2007-2008 post-election violence, mobile text messages were sent to rally crowds and incite the public. The violence resulted in about 1,200 people dead and about 300,000 displaced, according to the United Nations. Ministry of Information Communication former Permanent Secretary Bitange Ndemo said it is possible to use social media to champion peace that Kenyans should use online platforms to interact with their leaders and hold them accountable for their promises, not to whip up ethnic and political emotions that can lead to violence.

---

It is a historical fact and current reality that most Kenyan districts are haunted by actual or potential ethnic conflicts. This is partly because of the fact that different communities continue to consciously or unconsciously rely on ethnicity to perpetuate their dominance and hegemony in an atmosphere characterized by scarce resources, fear and prejudice. The proliferation of ethnic conflicts in this country is so widespread that there is hardly any region where the problem has not reared its ugly head. In this regard, with the rise of the number of people connected to the internet and the increase in social media platforms where many people interact, this forms a potential area where conflict could be reduced or enhanced. This study therefore looks at the Media and Ethnic Conflict Management in Kenya with special look at the Nation Media Group as a case study and a representation of the population.

1.3 General objective
This study seeks to assess the Media and Ethnic Conflict Management: Case study of Nation Media Group

1.3.1 Specific objectives
1. To assess the effect of blogs sites on ethnic conflict management in Kenya
2. To assess the effect of hate speech messages on ethnic conflict management in Kenya
3. To assess the effect of incitement on ethnic conflict management in Kenya

1.3.2 Research questions
1. What is the effect of blogs sites on ethnic conflict management in Kenya
2. How does hate speech messages affect ethnic conflict management in Kenya
3. Does incitement have effect on ethnic conflict management in Kenya
1.4 Justification of the Study

Despite the lively debate, there is very little systematic research on the impact of social media on conflict. The outcome of this research will outline and demonstrate how social media can be instrumental in averting ethnic conflicts through spreading positive peace building messages, resolving conflicts and consequences of ill use of social media through various media participation. This research will also inform stakeholders who wish to have basic knowledge or advance skills of social media in conflict intervention.

An analytical perspective that this research seeks to share will add to the body of knowledge in setting precedence on social media as a medium of social interaction and management tool in conflict studies by analysing the ways in which social media is impacting peace and national cohesion in Nairobi, Kenya.

This will especially, be useful to law makers who will be guided on what clauses to include or remove in the constitutional clause and other legislation such as Acts of Parliament that govern press freedom and media licensing and use of social media in promoting national healing and cohesion which in turn will further provide a basis for strengthening implementation of existing national integration laws and policies against hate speech through social media.

To the Kenyan authorities: the study will be invaluable to the Kenyan government in that it will provide an insight into the use of social media and its effect on conflict management and enact laws that curb miss-use of this platform.

To the academicians: the study will provide a useful basis upon which further studies on social media in conflict management and the factors that make it hard for this to happen. This is
because, the study will add to the existing pool of knowledge and therefore form part of literature on social media and conflict management in Africa.

1.5 Scope of the study
The study will be limited to the Nation Media Group Nairobi. This is because Nairobi is the main branch of the institution and although the company has been decentralized to other parts of the country, all its main operations emanate from Nairobi. The research will interview employees. This will be done to save time and avoid repetition. Data collection will be done during the month of July and early August 2013.

1.6 Limitations and Delimitations of the Study
One of the major limitations is in terms of respondents’ ready and willingness to respond to enquiries on the research, also the data collected might be too little in relation to the number of variables; it may be too small to assess the statistical significance of many of the findings or to generalize them in any way. Limited accessibility to information in the organization due to confidentiality being maintained which strained accessibility of data, there might also be lack of cooperation from staff during interviews, as they will have to go out of their work schedule to respond.

1.7 Assumptions of the Study
This study will be conducted at the nation media house in Nairobi assuming that the data collected could be a representative of all other media houses in Kenya and Africa. The researcher further assumes that since the medium of expression under research is social, it is a reflection of the common citizen whose views can be placed within those of employees of the
case study. The researcher also assumes that the information provided during the data collection is true and could provide the reality on the ground.

1.8 Operational definition
Blogsites: This is a web site containing the writer's or group of writers' own experiences, observations, opinions, etc., and often having images and links to other Web sites.

Hate speech: This is a speech that attacks a person or group on the basis of ethnicity, race, religion, gender, or sexual orientation

Incitement: This is an act of urging on or spurring on or rousing to action or instigating; "the incitement of mutiny" or the act of arousing; "the purpose of art is the arousal of emotions"

Ethnicity: Ethnicity in this context is viewed as an inclusive concept that defines groupings on the basis of indicators such as color, appearance, language, race, religion, common ancestry, height complexity, body structure, level of education and the like. It is an inscriptive phenomenon largely based on the myth of common ancestry, belief systems, physical settlements, group affiliations and relationships. It is a common phenomenon in plural societies like Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Somalia, Ethiopia and South Africa, to mention but a few. The experience in Kenya has shown that ethnicity tends to create a culture that is sometimes incompatible to human resource capacity. As Okullu further observed: "Tribalism is a wasteful practice when the employment of all human resources for development is considered”. It is inconceivable that there could be such a big concentration of talent training and experience in just one area of the nation. According to the late Tom Mboya, (1963), ethnic conglomeration has two functions; one is positive while the other is negative. He argues that the promotion and
safeguarding of traditional cultural and social practices of a particular ethnic group is vitreous and extremely necessary in Africa's search for an authentic culture of its own.\textsuperscript{28}

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction
Literature review refers to a systematic identification, location and analysis of documents containing information related to the research problem being investigated. It is aimed at determining what has already been done relating to the research problem under investigation. It forms a framework within which the research findings will be interpreted and similarity with the existing body of knowledge. This chapter reviews relevant literature to this research. It comprises of theoretical framework, empirical review and research gaps.

2.1.1 Blogs Sites
Zarrella\textsuperscript{30} defines a blog as a website that contains an online personal journal with reflections, comments and often hyperlinks provided by the writer. Blogs provide a variety of social features, including comments, blog rolls, trackbacks and subscriptions that make it perfect for marketing purposes. Blogs also possess good connection capabilities for other social media marketing efforts, due to the fact that they can be integrated into almost every other marketing tool and platform. In addition, he defines blogs in a similar manner and states that they are online journals that can be personal or corporate, where people can post ideas, images and links to other websites. Micro blogging is a form of blogging that limits the size of each post Twitter updates, for instance, can contain a maximum of 140 characters.\textsuperscript{31}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{29} Mugenda and Mugenda,(1999) Research methods: Qualitative and Quantitative approaches, published by African Centre for Technology Studies. P.103
\end{flushleft}
People have chosen new social media for various reasons such as their low cost, their accessibility (at home, at work, through smart phones, in Internet cafes), their immediateness, and inclusiveness, in the sense that more people can be included in a dialogue using new media platforms.\(^{32}\) They also require fewer skills, and can be consequently managed with less training. On the other hand, traditional media’s information and its sources may actually be considered as more static and invisible compared to ICTs, which provide much better services. The underlying argument is that the increase of these technologies is causing rapid transformations in all areas of life; and that ICTs perform an important role in unifying cultures.\(^{33}\)

Besides, the government’s control over communications, which includes licensing and inspections, can be used to threaten the traditional media. This could represent another reason for preferring ICTs to the traditional media, as the control over ICTs is normally less intrusive than the control over traditional media.\(^{34}\)

In these conditions and as a result of the restriction to the freedom of expression through press and broadcasting legislations, companies and organizations were looking to the ICTs and especially Internet as a mean for countervailing the mainstream media and provide the population with more reliable information and analysis.\(^{35}\)

\(^{32}\) supra
\(^{33}\) Supra
\(^{34}\) Supra
\(^{35}\) Supra
As a result, ICTs allowed for extensive political expression against governments and made substantial contributions to these protest actions.\textsuperscript{36}

Zarrella further describes Twitter as an easy tool, which requires little time; but can quickly become valuable in increased buzz, sales, and consumer insight. Twitter has been used for announcing offers or events, to promote new blog posts, or to keep readers “in the know” with links to important news stories. When people believe that the information posted on blogs are believable, reliable, fair, and trustworthy, they tend to use these information as the basis for making a decision.

The social network Facebook, which was one of the first social media tools of its kind, was launched in 2004 and today has over 600 million users worldwide. The Facebook “event” in support of the Egyptian revolution was joined by more than 80,000 people online. The socio-political activism in Tunisia, namely the Tunisian revolution, also known as the “Jasmine” or “WikiLeaks revolution” and the Egyptian revolution of 2010-2011, were largely organized, supported and driven through the use of social media-based tools such as Facebook and Twitter. Besides, the students protests in Tehran in 2009-2010, known as the “Green or Facebook revolution” and the “Red Shirt” protests in Thailand in 2010 revealed a crucial impact of ICTs in a new age of social protest.\textsuperscript{37}

On the other hand, post-electoral violence and institutional fragility are still among the vital political problem in Africa. For instance, following the disputed presidential elections in 2007,
Kenya was thrown into post-election violence which allegedly caused the loss of more than 1200 lives and which displaced an estimated 350,000 people.

Likewise in May 2005 Ethiopia witnessed a similar incident which led to the death of more than 193 people and the detention of more than 40,000 people. Mobile phones and Short Message Service (SMS) were the key technologies used by the opposition for organizing protests and coordinating its supporters in the circumstances of both countries.\(^{38}\)

### 2.1.2 Hate Speech Messages

Hate speech is defined as bias-motivated, hostile, malicious speech aimed at a person or a group of people because of some of their actual or perceived innate characteristics. It expresses discriminatory, intimidating, disapproving, antagonistic, and/or prejudicial attitudes towards those characteristics, which include gender, race, religion, ethnicity, color, national origin, disability or sexual orientation. Hate speech is intended to injure, dehumanize, harass, intimidate, debase, degrade and victimize the targeted groups, and to foment insensitivity and brutality against them. However, in practice, legal definitions of hate speech tend to place questions of race and ethnic origin, and religion and philosophical belief in the foreground, with increasing attention being paid to sexuality, but relatively little being paid to gender, or “disability”. For instance, Denmark defines hate speech as publicly making statements that threaten, ridicule, or hold in contempt a group due to race, skin color, national or ethnic origin, faith, or sexual orientation.\(^{39}\)

---

\(^{38}\) Ibid

\(^{39}\) Danish Penal Code, Straffeloven, section 266.
A key question in discussions of hate speech is the nature of harm, and how the inflicting of harm is ascertained. This in turn poses the question as to whether evidence of psychological or other forms of harm and injury must be produced before ideas of hate speech can be legitimated. On one level, while no forms of speech cause intrinsic harm, some terms, as Judith Butler argues, have a particular power to injure because they “carry their (socially produced) contexts with them”.

Hate speech regulation can be understood as the protection of a certain sort of precious public good: a visible assurance offered by society to all of its members that they will not be subject to abuse, defamation, humiliation, discrimination, and violence on grounds of race, ethnicity, religion, gender, and in some cases sexual orientation. Hate speech laws actually reduce discrimination, violence, and so on, or that they make it more likely that hatemongers will give up their bigotry and become good, tolerant citizens. Hate speech laws may work as part of a broader campaign for equality and toleration. The aim is simply to diminish the presence of visible hatred in society and thus benefit members of vulnerable minorities by protecting the public commitment to their equal standing in society against public denigration.

Sindre Bangstad describes efforts to “Europeanize” a vision of the US First Amendment, where “the only legitimate restriction of speech pertains to any utterance functioning as an incitement to

“immediate” violence against particular individuals, if and when the listening audience is in fact liable to act upon such speech.  

As a consequence, any argument made in relation to hate speech can be cast as not just a restriction, but an “attack” on free speech. More and more regularly, “free speech debates” are instigated as a way of creating a legitimate space for racist utterances, and for rejecting criticism of these utterances as a lack of openness or a betrayal of European or Enlightenment values. This tactic also depends on a power inversion: if restrictions are placed on speech - particularly speech that only seeks to “tell the truth” and “break taboos” about the impact of migrants or minorities on society - then this can be held to represent an imposition on the natural functioning of democracy (and the natural honesty of the ordinary people) by political correctness, multiculturalism, or human rights orthodoxies. Ergo, “hate speech” is an elite strategy used to limit and suppress truths that elites do not wish to hear, truths that just so happen to represent the opinions of the put-upon majority, that is now, in fact, the victim of this power inversion.

This poses a challenge for human rights education where human rights language is used to justify hate speech, and where young people acting against hate speech can be strategically cast as censors, or as “elites” afraid of open debate.

The utopian rhetoric predicting an imminent digital revolution is simplistic and often oblivious to complex historical processes (however)…such pervasive talk about revolutionary change implies ——

41 Sindre, B. (2009) The Faces of Secularism. Published at Universitetsforlaget. p88
some fundamental dissatisfaction with the established order. Even if we believe that the concept of a digital revolution is empty rhetoric, we must still explain why a revolution, even a virtual one, has such appeal.

One of the tendencies inherent in this has been to celebrate the democraticizing tendencies of networked participation, and most recently, the ways in which social media provide extensive political tools for civil society and young people to organize protests, campaigns, political action and social projects, and to communicate transnationally, bypassing mainstream media gatekeeping and (some or most) national systems of political control. In his new book, Why It’s Kicking Off Everywhere, the BBC journalist Paul Mason provides an interesting synthesis of the political uses of social media platforms, as observed in his coverage of Greece, Tunisia and Egypt over the last two years.

If one looks at the full suite of information tools that were employed to spread the revolutions of 2009–11, it goes like this: Facebook is used to form groups, covert and overt – in order to establish those strong but flexible connections. Twitter is used for real-time organization and news dissemination, bypassing the cumbersome newsgathering operations of the mainstream media. YouTube and the Twitter-linked photographic sites – Yfrog, Flickr and Twitpic – are used to provide instant evidence of the claims being made. Link-shorteners such as bit.ly are used to disseminate key articles via Twitter.

At the same time, there are several compelling arguments being made not to over-estimate the power and potentials of networked social media. The writer Evgeny Morozov is hugely critical
of what he terms the “Google Doctrine”; the idea that the free flow of information (in and of itself a mythic idea) renders established forms of political power meaningless. “Cyber-centrism”, he argues, is often substituted for patient political analysis of complex situations.

The starting point of the Rwandan genocide is widely accepted as being 6th April 1994, when President Habyarimana’s plane was shot down, resulting in his death.\textsuperscript{42} Rwanda has been beset by ethnic tension between the Tutsi and the Hutu populations due to their unequal status in the country over time the relationship reversed so that by 1994 the Hutu were in the dominant position.\textsuperscript{43} The victims of massacres such as those carried out in Rwanda tend to belong to groups that have not threatened or acted in a hostile way to the group that perpetrates the massacre.\textsuperscript{44} Caplan coined the term moral panic whereby the media defines a group of individuals as a threat to society and societal values.\textsuperscript{45} In Rwanda, the media defined the Tutsi population as folk devils, which served to legitimize violence against the group carried out by the Hutu.

In Kenya, the decisive definition of hate speech has not been adequately provided for leaving a loophole for interpretation of offences derived only from Acts of Parliament. The creation of the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) under the National Cohesion and Integration Act of 2008 whose mandate is to foster peace, national healing facilitate equality of opportunity, good relations harmony and peaceful co-existence in Kenya has spear headed the

\textsuperscript{44} Kelman,P (2009). \textit{The Kenya 2007 Elections and their aftermath: the role of media and communication Reporting for Peace-} Book 1
\textsuperscript{45} ibid
campaign for promotion of peace and national healing but since its onset has been faced with a number of challenges ranging from favoritism and allegations of allegiance to certain political parties or persons of political influence to the commission lacking prosecutorial powers in comparison to a bull with “no teeth to bite”.

2.1.3 Incitements
Incitement is the process of urging an individual to action.\textsuperscript{46} In the UK on 1st October 2008, the Serious Crime Act 2007 came into effect, which abolished incitement under section 59. Prior to this, the Act stated that an individual would be guilty of the offence of incitement if; ‘a. s/he incites another to do or cause to be done an act or acts which, if done, will involve the commission of an offence of offences by the other; and b. s/he intends or believes that the other, if he acts as incited, shall or will do so with the fault required by the offence(s).\textsuperscript{47}

Even though social media are critically important and encompass great potential for democratic dialogue, a number of risks and challenges must be identified. First of all, it is important to recognize that not everyone is ethically guided or rights-oriented. Thus, though new media can be a source for good, they can also be a source of evil. The Internet is the biggest tool for expression and information-sharing in the world but can also be used for instance as a platform for extreme right-wing groups, even though the international and regional instruments such as Article 20 sub-article 2 of the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), Article 4 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) and the United Nations Human Rights Committee General Comment

\textsuperscript{46} Supra
\textsuperscript{47} Serious Crime Act 2007 amended 2010
No. 34 on the ICCPR article 19 and 20 strictly prohibit the use of any means to promote hate speech and incite to violence.\textsuperscript{48}

Likewise, the African Charter on Human and Peoples\textsuperscript{□} Rights Article 9 and Article 28 prohibits hate speech. This leads us to another question concerning the regulation and limits of the new media, which can apparently have a potential for conflict and can be also used as a threat to international peace and security.\textsuperscript{49}

The other significant concern is the difficulty of ensuring the reliability and accountability of facts and information disseminated through the Internet. “Facts” are usually circulated with proposed actions, as we have seen in the Arab uprising. The social media users often do not give attention to the accuracy of the information and are not interested in verifying or contextualizing the information provided. This lack of accuracy and/or false information in the Internet could lead to the promotion of conflicts.\textsuperscript{50}

Inaccurate or misleading information can have serious consequences on conflict’s arising and even basic issues concerning the quality of information can make people feel that sharing information will entail a risk for their own credibility and security.\textsuperscript{51}

\footnotesize{\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{48} Supra
\item \textsuperscript{49} Melvin, Neil & Tolkun Umaraliev,\textit{(2011). New Social Media And Conflict In Kyrgyzstan}, SIPRI Insights on Peace and Security (Number 2011/1), at p. 1.
\item \textsuperscript{50} Ibid 2
\item \textsuperscript{51} Ibid pp2-3
\end{itemize}}

24
Despite not having a specific law relating to the offence of incitement, the UK has a number of laws prohibiting incitement to specific crimes. In contrast to the UK, the first amendment of the US constitution outlines that all citizens are granted the freedom of speech and expression, such as religion, and no laws will be created abridging these rights. As such, there is no legislative approach to curb incitement in the USA.  

Incitement can be split into two main types incitement to attitudes and incitement to actions. Hate media is used to encourage ‘violent activities, tension or hatred between races, ethnic or social groups, or countries for political goals and/or to foster conflict by offering a one-sided or bias view or opinion, and/or resorting to deception. The use of hate media can cause incitement to attitudes, which provides grounds for action to take place— for instance Nazi Germany used propaganda to inspire racial hatred, which subsequently resulted in the Holocaust.

The internet can help facilitate crime— an example of such is the growth in the problem of child pornography, where the internet acts as a medium for the access and distribution of images. Furthermore, it is arguable that the internet can incite individuals to attitudes resulting in action, such as those constituting hate crimes—these include the threat of physical attacks, actual physical attacks and verbal abuse (WestMidlands Police, 2012). Hate crime in the UK is any crime that is motivated by the offender’s hatred of the victim due to their race, religion, gender, sexual orientation or disability.

52 Supra Howard
54 ibid
According to Angela Crandall of iHub- Kenya she notes that there is more polarization online, with communities appearing to align with one side of their ethnic background prior and after elections. As a result, the organization has created an iHub research project named Umati to monitor Kenyans’ online conversation actively since September 2012 prior to the 4th March 2013 General Elections.

Under Section 62 of the National Cohesion and Integration Act 2008 “any person who utters words intended to incite feelings of contempt, hatred, hostility, violence or discrimination against any person, group or community on the basis of ethnicity or race, commits an offence and shall be liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding one million shillings or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years or both.” The dilemma facing the NCIC is that although it identifies culprits propagating hate speech and inciting masses through social media and public utterances especially by the politicians, it is limited to powers of forwarding such culprits to relevant investigative and prosecutorial authorities who mostly do not take the seriousness it deserves and parties that allegedly charged walking scot-free.

Aside from the shoddy investigations conducted and the acquittal of accused persons on the incitement charges, the lack of legislation has largely been faulted for not providing punitive measures to perpetrators of hate speech and incitement. Noting the various hurdles facing the NCIC, the Ministry of Information and Communication is still working on legislation to among other things, ensure that internet users register their Internet Protocol (IP) addresses as is the

_____________________

56 An innovation Hub for the technology community in Kenya offering an open space for the technologists, investors, tech companies and hackers in the area
case now with mobile phone SIM cards to establish for instance where certain hate messages emanate from online.\textsuperscript{57}

On the contrary, traditional media require higher standards and sense of responsibility for the accuracy of the information provided. Information through the Internet lies on the commercial companies\textsuperscript{□} personal abilities and ethics responsibility and are often not accountable for consequences and consumer’s reactions.

Another problem arises from the unstructured nature of the Internet, which is difficult to regulate. In fact regulating new media is more difficult than regulating traditional media. Besides Internet and other social media networks are not “human rights platforms”, they are rather collectively part of a “business-dominated platform”. In any case, media, whether new or old, represent a big business. Business companies\textsuperscript{□} priority concern is their own profit and commercial interest to ensure the maximum economic benefit and not the respect of international norms and standards of human rights. They are therefore likely to offer whatever the market demands, as far as that supply of service is not limited by the legal frameworks in which they are operating.\textsuperscript{58}

On the other hand, state regulations and self-regulatory mechanisms are among the measures taken for regulating Internet and the new media online. Google and Facebook have been for instance removed from some Indian domains websites following an Indian court decision. The rationale behind this decision entails that the governments should take the necessary measures, as

\textsuperscript{57} National Cohesion and Integration Commission website’s http://www.cohesion.or.ke/ accessed on 27\textsuperscript{th} July 2013

\textsuperscript{58} Supra
the court has done in this case, as “the companies did not take steps to protect religious sensibilities”.

Apart from that there is also a problem concerning the feasibility of early-warning mechanism through ICTs and social media. Early-warning is a system, not a technology. The identification, detection and risk assessment of a conflict, the accurate identification of the vulnerability of a population at risk and finally the communication of information to the vulnerable population about the threat in sufficient time and clarity, constitute the system of public warning. Warning allows people to act in order to prevent conflict. Predictions of conflict based on inadequate theoretical constructs and formal models cannot capture the unique circumstances on the ground in a given region. It is ideally difficult and potentially dangerous as frequently altering the dynamics of conflict.

The modeling frameworks need to be enlarged in order to deal with the complex feature of conflict. On the other hand, given the important role that ICTs have played in several popular uprisings, states have tried to limit their potential, using them for their own purposes such as propaganda and observation. On top of that, both governments and the international community have made no clear attempt so far in order to activate basic conflict prevention mechanisms and have remained silent as concerning the threat of new platforms such as social media.

59 Supra
60 Supra
2.1.4 Ethnic Conflict Management

An ethnic conflict or ethnic war is a conflict between ethnic groups often as a result of ethnic nationalism and ethnic hatred. They are of interest because of the apparent prevalence since the Cold War and because they frequently result in war crimes such as genocide. Academic explanations of ethnic conflict generally fall into one of three schools of thought: primordialist, instrumentalist or constructivist. Intellectual debate has also focused around the issue of whether ethnic conflict has become more prevalent since the end of the Cold War, and on devising ways of managing conflicts, through instruments such as socialism and federalization.\(^\text{61}\)

Conflicts start because people do not agree about an issue and the reasons can be both economic and political. In many circumstances, root causes of conflicts are reflected in the diversity and complexity of issues which include for example border conflict, religious views, natural resources, ethnicity or race and migration issues.\(^\text{62}\)

The reasons behind the popular uprising that started in North Africa and disseminated to the rest of the Arab world were essentially related to questions of equality, corruption, justice and human rights.\(^\text{63}\)

The use of social media such as Internet and mobile phones enabled the “silent majority” (silent either by oppression or lack of good governance) to stand for their rights. In Egypt social marginalization can be considered as a root cause of conflicts illustrated by the fact that, while

\(^{61}\) Supra  
\(^{62}\) Supra  
\(^{63}\) Supra
around 150,000 businessmen and their families lived in exclusive resorts around Cairo, millions of people lived in 1500 slums.\textsuperscript{64}

In the case of Tunisia, protests came from social demands for employment, and soon were extended also to political demands. In addition the Tunisian people suffered from social injustice, restrictions on freedom of speech and lack of political freedom.\textsuperscript{65}

The protests in Egypt and Tunisia show that also unemployment can be considered as a considerable root cause of conflict. Internet usage in 2009 was slanted heavily towards younger generations, consulting Internet and using mobile technologies for extended periods of time because of their unemployment’s condition. In Tunisia the high unemployment rate, especially among young university graduates, made their lives and their families\textsuperscript{66} difficult. Gradually people became frustrated as the government of Tunisia failed to reduce unemployment rate. The numbers of unemployed people increased up to 700,000 in 2009 including 170,000 students graduating from university and was expected to increase in the following year.

As a consequence of unemployment, people were unable to cope with the rapid increment of food price. Food security has been challenged with the rise in food prices began in early 2007. Social insecurity together with the unaffordability of the food price resulted in the life

\textsuperscript{64} Supra \textsuperscript{65} Supra \textsuperscript{66} Supra
threatening of people living in North Africa. Consequently, people were discussing on Facebook about the issue, believing in a possible change of the situation.\textsuperscript{67}

People were aware of the fact that, if the government could not solve the problem within a reasonable time-frame, a conflict would have occurred. Indeed the young generation benefited a lot from the use of ICTs thanks to an increasing access to information, freedom of expression and dissemination of information. At the same time ICTs contributed to the promotion of peace, being the most obvious instrument among people using it on a daily basis.\textsuperscript{68}

In the year 2011 alone, however, United Nations reported that 6.1 per cent of the total world’s population, equivalent to 203.3 million people is unemployed and that 152 million people’s income is 1.15 dollar per day. This means that there is still a huge potential for conflict arising as it has been shown in the cases of Egypt and Tunisia and that the dissemination of inaccurate or misleading information among people on the Internet can easily lead to the arising of conflicts.\textsuperscript{69}

The ICTs and social media’s users, in fact, especially the young generations, do not usually put too much attention about the accuracy of the information provided and are not always concerned about verifying it.\textsuperscript{70}

\textsuperscript{67} Supra
\textsuperscript{68} Supra
\textsuperscript{69} Supra
\textsuperscript{70} Supra
2.2 Theoretical Framework

2.2.1 Primordialist Theory

The starting point of technological development, changes and innovations is always people. It is the people who create, initiate, use and manage ideas that are the bases and directions of technology. This theory provides a way of assessing individual relations to organizational objectives and national goals and enables us to understand human resource inspiration and readiness for technology innovation. Proponents of primordialist accounts of ethnic conflict argue that ethnic groups and nationalities exist because there are traditions of belief and action towards primordial objects such as biological features and especially territorial location. The primordialist account relies on a concept of kinship between members of an ethnic group Donald & Horowitz argue that this kinship “makes it possible for ethnic groups to think in terms of family resemblances. There are a number of political scientists who refer to the concept of ethnic wars as a myth because they argue that the root causes of ethnic conflict do not involve ethnicity but rather institutional, political, and economic factors. These political scientists argue that the concept of ethnic war is misleading because it leads to an essentialist conclusion that certain groups are doomed to fight each other when in fact the wars between them are the result of political decisions. Opposing groups may substitute ethnicity for the underlying factors to simplify identification of friend and foe.

This study has established the research variables derived from literature to test whether there are significant relationships between the independent variables and the dependent variable. It focuses

---

74 (United Nations Information and Communication Technologies Task Force, 2005).
on the determinant variables identified in the study, which would be associated with the ethnic conflict management in Kenya. In this research, the explanatory variables have been classified as; blogs, hate speech messages and incitement as examples of media in the independent variables.

2.3 Empirical Review
According to B&C\textsuperscript{75} the term “social media” is widely used nowadays. The first time it appeared prominently was in 2004, after LinkedIn created its social networking application. The application is primarily an online technology tool to allow people to communicate easily, utilizing the internet to share and discuss information.

According to report by the Immigrant Council of Ireland, Online “hate” accounts for more than 10 per cent of racism cases reported. Figures released by the council to coincide with European Day for the Victims of Hate show that internet “hate speech” or the use of social media to attack or spread hatred of people on race grounds is on the increase. In past 12-months, online hate speech has accounted for 11 of 100 racism cases reported to the council. Incidents include abuse through posts on social media, but the council was concerned about right wing websites many with Irish contributions which despite complaints from members of the public often remain online for weeks or months.

Extensive research has been carried out into media effects, with a particular focus on screen-based media violence and the effects it has on young children.\textsuperscript{76} For instance, it has been

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{75} B&C (2010), \textit{What’s This Stuff Called “Social Media”?} \textsuperscript{\textcopyright} \textit{Benefits & Compensation Digest March 2010, Vol. 47 Issue 3, p 1550 – 4190}

\textsuperscript{76} Funket, R (2004) \textit{The Social Media Marketing Book}. O\textsuperscript{\textcopyright}Reilly Media, Inc.
\end{footnotesize}
suggested that children repeatedly exposed to media violence become desensitized and are therefore more aggressive in real life as a result.\textsuperscript{77}

According to Howard\textsuperscript{78}, the significance of social media tools cannot be appreciated without being placed within the context of media culture in the Arab world. Over the last ten years, the Arab region has experienced the highest rates of technology adoption amongst all developing nations. As Internet access has proliferated across the Arab region, a highly ambivalent and complex relationship between media and governments. With a lack of truly independent and representative media, disenfranchised youths have searched for an alternative method of participation in the public and political spheres.

It is difficult to evaluate the true extent of incitement as there is nothing tangible to measure. It is not possible to measure incitement based on the number of deaths as the reasons for participation in the genocide are not clear-cut. For instance, analysis demonstrates that victims and perpetrators hold different views regarding reasons for involvement in the genocide. This is in stark contrast to the perceptions of those who actively participated in the violence and killings. A survey conducted with individuals who took part indicated that some of their motivations for involvement include imitation, obedience, anger and fear – none cited radio broadcasts as the reason behind their offending. Furthermore, when specifically asked whether the radio was the reason for them taking part in the genocide, 85\% answered ‘no’\textsuperscript{79}

\textsuperscript{77} Farrell, K and Bruce, M (1997). \textit{Politics and Society in contemporary Africa}, Boulder Lynne Rienner Publishers
\textsuperscript{78} Supra
Since its initial conception, the internet has grown exponentially. However, while the internet has been taken advantage of by entrepreneurs and consumers, it has also attracted attention from criminals. Communication on the internet is hallmarked by the traits of anonymity, disembodiment and outreach.

The internet offers a new means of communication and many hate groups now publish hate information on the internet. For instance, Pierce, the author of The Turner Diaries, recognized the potential of the internet and subsequently created websites on which he could publish racist viewpoints. There has been a growth in hate sites on the internet; this growth can be associated with the anonymity offered by the internet, as it allows for opinions not supported by all members of the public - such as those of racial hate groups - to be voiced. Furthermore, the internet breaks down traditional geographical boarders meaning that such opinions reach a wider audience.

2.4 Summary
Studies have shown that social media has a lot of impact on the ethnic conflict management. The literature above looks into the theory associated with ethnic conflict, it also scrutinizes the variables on social media components which include blogs and other social sites that could be used to propagate ethnic hatred and tension among communities. The literature addressed how communication is a fundamental social process in order to move forward access to information and freedom of expression. On the other hand, it discussed the current situation of ICTs and of their impact on peace building and conflict management, addressing the risks and

---

80 Supra
81 Bargh & McKenna.(2004). *The Internet and Social Life*. Published by New York University press. P577
82 Ibid 578
challenges of ICTs and social media with a particular reference to the situation of conflict management. The literature tried to explain that though every technology can be used for good or evil, no technology is a magic remedy for human problems. Understanding the potential and proper use of technologies can however allow us to work on peace and security more effectively.

2.5 Research Gap
From the foregoing studies have generally described the increasing role of social media in ethnic conflict management. It further finds out that social media could be a tool that could be used to reduce ethnic conflict and could also be used to propagate it. There are important measures that the studies indicate that should be considered to curb incitement and hate speech online.
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction
This chapter presents the research methodology, which entails research design, target population, instruments, and data collection procedures and data analysis.

3.2 Research Design
The study were used a descriptive design approach. According to Hackman & Oldham,\textsuperscript{83} descriptive research utilizes elements of both quantitative and qualitative research methodologies within the same study. The two techniques were given a strong base to the methodology. Descriptive design was used to obtain information concerning the status of the phenomena to describe, “What exists” with respect to variables or conditions in a situation. It is appropriate for gathering information about practical problems for more precise investigation (Berret, 2010).

This application was to be able to give a detailed insight on the factors that factors effect of social media on ethnic conflict management in Kenya hence discovers events that might not have become apparent through more research findings.

3.3 Target Population
According to Mugenda & Mugenda,\textsuperscript{84} the target population refers to that population which a researcher is targeting to draw a sample and to generalize the results of the study. The target population in this study is nation media group departments. The case study was carried out in

\textsuperscript{83} Hackman & Oldham (2004), \textit{A handbook on research analytical writing}. Published by New York Willey P. 89

\textsuperscript{84} Supra
Nairobi offices, on employee categories that include the senior managers, middle level and lower level staff to get a representative sample for the research topic.

3.4 Sampling Methods
According to Mugenda & Mugenda, sampling method in this case was a systematic process of selecting individuals to represent the larger group from which they were selected. The researcher intended to use stratified sampling approach to cover the total population, given the nature of the respondents since the nation media group had a stupendous population. A sample is a proportion of the target population that was representative of the whole population from which it was drawn. The main advantage of sampling was that it was difficult to observe the whole population, therefore sampling helps to reduce costs and time related to observing the entire population as observed in case of censuses.

3.5 Sample Size
Sample size refers to the number of subjects selected through a sampling method. According to Mugenda & Mugenda the sample size should be as large as possible so as to produce the salient characteristics of the accessible population to an acceptable degree. The sample size should be sampled in such a way that it is within plus or minus 0.05 of the population proportion with a 95 percent level of confidence.

Remenyi et al argues that 10 % to 20% of accessible population is acceptable in a descriptive research. The researcher examined a sample of 47, which is 60% of whole population in company office. Stratified random sampling technique was used in order to divide members of

85 Supra
the population into homogeneous subgroups before sampling and subdivided into group or strata to obtain a representative sample. Stratification of the sample size were represented as in Table 3.1

### Table 3.1 Sampling Frame

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Target population</th>
<th>% (percentage)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Top management</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21.28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle level management</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support staff</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>68.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: field data

### 3.6 Data Collection Method

The data collection instrument to be used was self-administered questionnaire. According to Remenyi\(^{87}\), a questionnaire is a list of logically framed questions that each respondent in a survey answers in writing or by making answers on an answer sheet. A questionnaire was preferred in this study because it allows easy collection of large quantity of data within a short period of time. It was also the most economical method since finance for facilitating the data collection exercise is limited.

The questions were both closed and open-ended. This was based on the various variables and concepts covered in the literature review. The open-ended questions on the other hand provides

\(^{87}\) Supra 60
an opportunity to respondents to give in their opinions, remarks, and clarify points which may not be covered by the closed ended questions. The questionnaire was divided into two sections. The first section required respondents to provide demographic information while the second section was to have questions on the variables and how they impact on conflict management. The questions were preceded by small introduction section, which assured respondents of confidentiality in order to win their total confidence in their responses.

The questionnaires was randomly distributed to respondents based on the sample size in each stratum and respondents was allowed ample time (three days) to fill in their responses. Follow-ups was made through phone calls and short electronic messages to enhance speed of data collection.

3.7 Data Analysis and Presentation

The collected data was sorted, edited and coded for analysis using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). The data then was analyzed using descriptive techniques. Descriptive statistics deals with methods of organizing, summarizing and presenting data in a convenient and informative format.

It refers to the analysis and synthesis of data so that better description of the situation can be made and thereby promoting better understanding of facts. This includes percentages and frequencies. The data was presented in tables and graphs.

---

CHAPTER FOUR
DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATIONS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction

Data was collected from 47 staff members working at nation media group using questionnaires. 47 questionnaires were issued filled and returned though three were discarded due to incompleteness therefore 44 questionnaires were analyzed representing an overall response rate of 94%. In this chapter, presentation of study findings is done using tables, figures and narratives.

4.2 Demographic Information

4.2.1 Gender of the Respondents

![Gender of the Respondents](image)

**Figure: 4.2.1 Gender of the Respondents**
Source: field data

As indicated on figure 4.2.1, Majority 65.91% (n=29) of the respondents were females, while only 34.09% (n=15) were males.
4.2.2 Age of the Respondents

Table 4.2.2 Age of the Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Range</th>
<th>No of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Mean age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20-25 years</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-30 years</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>44/6= 7.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-35 years</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>45.45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 – 40 years</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 – 45 years</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above 45 years</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: field data

Table 4.2.2 shows that majority 45.45% (n=20) of the respondents were below 35 years, 34.09% (n=15) were aged 36 – 40 years, 13.63% (n=6) were aged between 41 and 45 years while only 6.82% (n=3) of them were above 45 years of age.
4.2.3 Highest level of Education of the Respondents

Fig 4.2.3 Education level of Respondents

The findings indicated that majority 68.18% (n=30) of the respondents were post university graduates followed by graduates at 20.45% (n=9), then only 11.36% (n=5) of the respondents were college.

4.2.4 Period of Service

Table 4.2.4 Period of Service

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>No of respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5-10 Years</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>38.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 – 15 years</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>34.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 – 20 years</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than 20 years</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: field data

The findings indicated that 38.7% (n=17) of respondents had practiced for less than 10 years, 34.1% (n=15) had practiced between 11-15 years. Furthermore 18.2% (n=8) of them had been practicing for a period of 16 to 20 years while 9.1% (n=4) said that they had been practicing for more than 20 years.
4.3 Blogs sites

4.3.1 If the respondent blogs

The findings indicate that majority 68.2% (n=30) of the respondents felt that do blog while 31.8% (n=14) did not feel any need to blog work.

Majority 83.33% (n=25) of the respondents who said yes indicated in their explanation that blogging is part of social media interaction and finding information while 16.66% (n=5) in their explanations indicated that there not interested on what is said on the blogs.
Figure 4.3.2 Rating the extent does blogs influence conflict

Source: field data

Figure 4.3.2 show that majority 68.1% (n=30) of the respondents rated it very high, 22.7% (n=10) rated it moderate while 9.09% (n=4) rated it low.
4.3.3 If respondent think information on the blog sites may influence the other people to violence

![Figure 4.3.3 If respondent think information on the blog sites may influence the other people to violence](image)

Source: field data

The findings indicate that majority 54.54% (n=24) said that has effect on the violence while 45.45% (n=20) indicated that it does not as shown in figure 4.3.3.

Out of the 24 respondents who agree 41.66%(n=10) indicated the fact that when bloggers look down upon or talk ill about other communities it does fuel violence. While 58.33% (n=14) also indicated that written abuse is prominent on social media.
4.4.4 If respondent trust what bloggers say

The findings indicated that majority 68.2% (n=30) of the respondents agree that blogs have a high percentage of truth while 31.8% (n=14) indicated that there is nothing to be trusted in blogs as shown in figure 4.4.4

Majority 66.66% (n=20) of the respondents who had said yes stated that transformational and empowering information can enhance mutual understanding while 33.33% (n=10) did not give their explanations.
4.4.5 If the respondents work influence him or her to blog sites

![Pie chart showing 68.18% YES and 31.82% NO]

**Fig 4.4.5 If the respondent work influences you to blog sites**

Source: field data

Figure 4.4.5 show that majority 68.18% (n=30) of the respondents agree that their work affect the their need to consult blogs while 31.82% (n=14) indicated that this has nothing to do with their work.

Out of the 30 who said yes to the question 83.33% (n=25) indicated in their explanation that that daily interactions between them and public is quite informative. On the other hand 13.88% (n=5) explained that that they did not like when some of the sites though.
4.5 Part 3: Hate speech messages
4.5.1 If the level of your qualification influence the your understanding of information from media

![Pie chart showing distribution of responses for influence of qualifications on understanding of information from media.]

**Fig 4.5.1 If the level of your qualification influence the understanding of information from media**

Source: field data

Majority 68.2% (n=30) of the respondents felt that the level of qualifications has effect on the understand while 31.8% (n=14) felt that it has nothing to do with media information as shown in the figure.

Majority, 60% (n=18) of the respondents who had chosen yes indicated in their explanation that their qualifications influenced understanding though at times. 30% (n=12) skipped the explanation part.
4.5.2 If allow hate speech information to be part of your news

![Pie chart showing 77% NO and 23% YES](image)

**Figure 4.5.2** If respondent allow hate speech information to be part of news
Source: field data

The findings indicated that majority 77.27% (n=34) of the respondents said that they had no while 22.7% (n=10) indicated that they were forced to by circumstances sometimes.

4.5.3 If respondent feel that hate speech is wide spread among Kenyans on social media

![Pie chart showing 68% YES and 32% NO](image)

**Figure 4.5.3** If respondent feel that hate speech is wide spread among Kenyans on social media
Source: field data

Majority 68.2% (n=30) of the respondents felt that hate speech is rampant in both social and mainstream media while 31.8% (n=14) felt that it has gone down as shown in the figure above.
63.33% (n=19) of the respondents who had said yes indicated in their explanation that their intolerance influence hate speech. 36.66% (n=11) skipped the explanation part.

4.5.3 If age influence your ability to interact with others on media platform such as internet

The findings indicated that an overwhelming majority 88.63% (n=39) of the respondents disagree that age is an issue when it comes to use of social media while 11.36% (n=5) said it had effect on the kind of interaction.
Out of the 5 respondents who said yes in the question 80% (n=4) indicated in their explanation that mobile phones influx has increased access to internet by very young teenagers. 20% (n=1) did not give any explanation.

4.6 Part 4: Incitement

4.6.1 If the media propagate incitement to violence

Figure 4.6.1 shows that 54.54% (n=24) indicated that there was influence to violence by what media takes to people while 45.45% (n=20) indicated that there was no much effect.

Out of the 24 respondents who answered yes to the question 83.33% (n=20) indicated in their explanation that people were easily affected by what media says because they believe it. 16.66% (n=4) gave reasons that it promotes environment that supports anxiety reduction and healing.
4.6.2. Rating extend does media influence people to violence and hatred through inciting messages

![Bar chart showing ratings]

**Figure 4.6.2 Rating extend does media influence people to violence and hatred through inciting messages**
Source: field data

Figure 4.6.2 show that majority 68.1% (n=30) of the respondents rated it very high, 22.7% (n=10) rated it moderate while 9.09% (n=4) rated it low.
CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Discussion of Findings

The findings indicated that majority 65.91% of the respondents were females and 45.45% of the respondents were below 35 years. This could be due to females are also joining the media profession. The employment of young adults who were sought employment in various institutions, as nation media group could also be a contributing factor.

The findings showed that majority 68.18% of the respondents were Post University, followed by 20.45% university; a few 11.36% collage ones. This indicates that the level of education of the was adequate to enable them handle the information though most of them need to be encouraged to continue with advancing their education.

Findings on the period of service indicated that 38.7% of the respondents had practiced for less than 10 years followed closely by those who had practiced between 11 to 15 years. There were a few, 9.1% of the respondents who had been in the profession for over 20 years. These findings indicate that the respondents were well informed on the issues in the media fraternity. Their working experience and academic qualifications is a good foundation for quality dissemination of information. Ideally, the statement which states that practice enhance ones knowledge and skills and that Interpretation of good practice in media is gained as ones experience grows. With regard to this sentiments and the research finding, it is evident that academic qualifications and working experience go hand in hand in sharpening the skills of the journalists.
5.1.2 Blogs sites

According to the findings, majority of the respondents 68.2% do blogging as a way of passing time and interacting with other people as indicated by fig 4.3.1. The results also indicate that majority rate the possibility for blogs influencing violence high with 68.18% of the respondents indicating so as shown by fig 4.3.2. The information on the blogs may also influence people to violence as shown by 54.54% of the respondents on fig 4.3.3. Majority of the respondents do not trust these blog sites and therefore it could have little effect on what they perceive things as indicated by 68.2% on fig 4.4.4. The respondents working at the media house are influenced to blogging by virtue of their work as indicated by 68.18% on fig 4.4.5.

5.1.3 Hate speech messages

The level of qualification in this field would also have effect on the manner in which the respondents and audience could perceive information being relayed as indicated by the results on the fig 4.5.1 where a majority of 68.2% indicate so. The majority of the respondents indicated that they would not allow hate speech information to circulate to public through the media as they know responsible journalism as indicated by 77.3% on fig 4.5.2. Hate speech messages is increasing through the social media as indicated by the majority of the respondents 68.2% on fig 4.5.3. The age of a person does not affect his or her ability to interact through social media because anyone could sign up to any site with false information as indicated by 88.63% on the fig 4.5.4.
5.1.4 Incitement

The results indicate that the media is a tool used to propagate violence as shown by 55% of the respondents on fig 4.6.1. The media is also capable to influence people to violence through hate messages or wrong information as indicated by 68.18% of the respondents on fig 4.6.2.

5.2 Conclusion

Largely the findings of this research show that media is a powerful tool that could be used to manage conflict and it could also propagate conflict as indicated by the results from the study. The blog sites which are used by social media to interact and inform others could also have effect on peace if the messages used is inciting or hate speech. The internet access have a had a lot of effect on the conflict management as war is crafted virtually on this platform. The mainstream media is faced with the challenge or bringing accurate news and editing other parts which could affect the news. This kind of reporting has made it hard for the members of the fourth state to keep their customers informed as sometimes they are forced to hide the truth. Media is therefore a double aged sword that could work either to promote peace or destroy it.

Despite strong links between media and criminality it is not possible to assign causality. There are multiple competing explanations relating to motivations and reasons for committing the crimes, while it is plausible to suggest that media plays a significant role in both imitation and incitement to crime, it is important to not be overly deterministic and discount other factors that also contribute to offending behavior. Further research is required to fully establish the significance of media where other factors – such as social influences - are equally or more significant. Because this analysis has demonstrated that media plays a role in influencing
behaviors, it is feasible to suggest that ‘torture porn’ may be problematic in the future with relation to imitation. Films from this genre have already been subject to the copycat effect, and while the majority of people who watch such films are unlikely to imitate the behavior depicted, there is a minority that may be susceptible to copying the graphic depictions of violence. This may serve as a relevant area of research in the future to establish their significance in offending behavior.

5.3 Recommendations
Based on the findings of this research, the researcher recommends that all internet service providers gag proxy websites that run blogs as some of them could be sued by criminals who hide and incite others. The government should be alert on the social media as this is where the funning of violence is being propagated and soon it could erupt to a massive genocide that experienced before. Responsible journalism should be encouraged in the mainstream media.
REFERENCES


Bargh & McKenna, (2004). *The Internet and Social Life*. Published by New York University press


Bohler-Muller, Narnia and Charl van der Merwe,(2011 ). *The Potential of Social Media to Influence Socio-Political Change on the African Continent, Policy Brief (Briefing 46)*


Farrell, K and Bruce, M (1997). *Politics and Society in contemporary Africa*, Boulder Lynne Rienner Publishers


Hackman & Oldham (2004), *A handbook on research analytical writing*. Published by New York Willey


Melvin, Neil & Tolkun Umaraliev.(2011). *New Social Media and Conflict In Kyrgyzstan*, SIPRI Insights on Peace and Security (Number 2011/1)


Peace and Conflict,(2003). *Church and Politics in East Africa* Uzima Press


Scott S. *The order of Genocide*: Race, Power, and War in Rwanda (Ithaca: Cornell


Granovetter, Mark S. “*The Strength of Weak Ties.*” American Journal of Sociology 78:19


Appendix II: Data collection instrument. (Questionnaire)

Introduction

This questionnaire is aimed to assess the Media and Ethnic Conflict Management: Case study of Nation Media Group. You are kindly requested to provide answers to these questions as honestly and precisely as possible. Responses to these will be treated as confidential. The participation is voluntary and non-participation was not be used against you.

Consent

Having understood the above information and knowledge that the survey is voluntary, confidentiality and anonymity are guaranteed, I do hereby accept to participate in the survey.

Participant’s Signature__________________  Date__________________

Responses to these questions will be treated as confidential. Please (tick) where appropriate or fill in the required information on the spaces provided.

The questionnaire is divided in the following segments:

**Part 1:** Background Information

**Part 2:** Blogs sites

**Part 3:** Hate speech messages

**Part 4:** Incitement
Part 1: Background Information

1. What is your Gender?
   Male [ ]  Female [ ]

2. How old are you? __________________________ Years

3. Your level of professional education
   a) University [ ]
   b) Collage [ ]
   c) High school [ ]
   e) Others specify……………………………………

4. How long have you worked in this company? __________________________ Years

Part 2: Blogs sites

1. Do you blog?
   a) Yes [ ]  No [ ]

   b). If yes briefly explain
      ………………………………………………………………………………………………
      ………………………………………………………………………………………………
      ………………………………………………………………………………………………

63
2. To what extent does blogs influence conflict?
   a. High   [  ]
   b. Moderate   [  ]
   c. Low   [  ]

3. Does you think information on the blog sites may influence the other people to violence?
   i. Yes   [  ] No   [  ]
   ii. If yes please briefly explain

   ........................................................................................................................................................................
   ........................................................................................................................................................................
   ........

4. Do you trust what bloggers say?
   i. Yes   [  ] No   [  ]
   ii. If yes please briefly explain

   ........................................................................................................................................................................
   ........................................................................................................................................................................
   ........

5. Does your work influence you to blog sites?
   i. Yes   [  ] No   [  ]
   ii. If yes in the above question please briefly explain
Part 3: Hate speech messages

1. Does the level of your qualification influence your understanding of information from media
   i) Yes [ ] No [ ]
   ii) if yes in the above question please briefly explain
       ..............................................................................................................................
       .........................

2. Do you allow hate speech information to be part of your news?
   i. Yes [ ] No [ ]
       ..............................................................................................................................
       ..............................................................................................................................
       ..............................................................................................................................

3. Do you feel that your hate speech is widespread among Kenyans on social media?
   i. Yes [ ] No [ ]
   ii) If yes in the above question please briefly explain how
       ..............................................................................................................................
       .........................

4. Does your age influence your ability to interact with others on media platform such as internet?
   i. Yes [ ] No [ ]
ii. If yes please briefly explain

........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................

..........

**Part 4:** Incitement

1. Does media propagate incitement to violence?

i. Yes [ ] No [ ]

ii. If yes please briefly explain

........................................................................................................................................
........................................................................................................................................

..........

2. To what extent does media influence people to violence and hatred through inciting messages?

   I. High [ ]
   II. Moderate [ ]
   III. Low [ ]

**THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING IN THE STUDY**