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Effect of Media on Peacebuilding in Kenya : a case of the 2007/8 PEV

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DECLARATION

I, Lulu Murugi Gakunju, declare that this thesis is a result of my research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This thesis has not been submitted before to any academic institution previously.

Signature.....

Date.....

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my family, Kenyans in diaspora and those who witnessed the effects of the 2007/8 Post- Election Violence.

ABSTRACT

With the hope of achieving sustainable peace in a conflict period, the media in Africa have faced a lot of challenges. Many scholars have written on the effects media have on conflict situations in Africa particularly focussing on how media propelled conflict. However, this is not the only role media have played in societies. Media are dynamic; they tend to adopt different roles with the changes in the environment that they surround.

Taking the Kenyan post-election violence of 2007/2008 as the case study, the study explores whether the media can promote reconciliation and sustainable peace in Kenya. The study further seeks to represent those who experienced first-hand the roles media played during the 2007/ 8 PEV. This study utilized the qualitative research method and utilized open-ended questionnaires and informal meetings as tools for data collection.

I argue that despite the media being seen as a tool that fuelled the violence, media played several different roles changing dynamically with the changing stages of the electoral process. In addition, I point out that media have been under-utilized for the purposes of peacebuilding by pointing out the gaps in the Kenyan society and offering recommendations in the efforts to achieve sustainable peace.

The study offers a fresh outlook on the role media play in conflict situations in the world today. Most scholars who have written on the role of media in conflict situations almost have a unanimous aim of outlining how media an evil in society that inflicts more harm than good in conflict situations. In contrast, I focus on the peacebuilding role of media highlighting the good the media does in the Kenyan society especially during the conflict situation of 2007/8 that both Kenyans and scholars have taken for granted.

90 Pages (31,424 words)

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BBC- British Broadcasting Corporation
CCK- Communications Commission of Kenya
CEO- Chief Executive Officer
CNN- Cable News Network
CSR- Corporate Social Responsibility
ECK- Electoral Commission of Kenya
FM- Frequency Modulation
GEMA- Gikuyu Embu Meru Association
GoK- Government of Kenya
ICC- International Criminal Court
IDPs- Internally Displaced Persons
KANU- Kenyan African National Union
KBC- Kenya Broadcasting Corporation
KEPSA- Kenya Private Sector Alliance
KNA- Kenya News Agency
KNHCR- Kenya National Commission on Human Rights
KTN- Kenya Television Network
MCK- Media Council of Kenya
NARC- National Rainbow Coalition
ODM- Orange Democratic Movement
PEV- Post- Election Violence
PNU- Party of National Unity
PPU- Presidential Press Unit
SIPRI- Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
SMS- Short Message Service
UNDP- United Nations Development Programme
WRK- World Relief Kenya
VPPU- Vice-Presidential Press Unit

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1. Introduction

At the beginning of 1990s, as the Cold War ended and apartheid yielded, there were high hopes that conflicts would be resolved and Africa as a continent would begin to build itself up and develop. Beforehand, external factors such as colonialism and power struggles between European powers over African states propelled armed conflicts throughout Africa. However, with the end of the Cold War that brought about the shift to a unipolar geopolitical order, there came a chance to bring these conflicts to a stop. Unfortunately, that has not been the case decades later. Many academic and pseudo-academic scholars such as Reiff (1998/9), Bayart (1998) and Duffield (1998) point to a range of inherent factors such as proper allocation of funds, corruption, nepotism and favouritism and structural flaws in political structures in Africa that make it prone to war (Kaldor, 2000). According to these scholars, there are specific characteristics relating to ethnic politics and plunder that make Africa prone to war that do not resemble the conventional wars in European or North America. In contrast, a closer analysis makes it difficult to generalize African wars. Wars in Africa cover the entire spectrum from solidly conventional as is the case in Ethiopia versus Eritrea, to mass mobilization on ethnic lines as was the case in the Rwandese genocide to forms of predatory rebellion where one could not tell the soldier from the rebel as was the case in Sierra Leone (Ibid).

Kenya has been a relatively peaceful country over the years. However, just like many others, it has experienced armed conflict internally. The armed conflicts in Kenya have been 'manageable' in the sense that the government has always been able to contain the situation. Nonetheless, that was not the case in December 2007 (Modi & Shekhawat, 2008). Following the announcement of the 27th December 2007 presidential elections of the incumbent term of President Mwai Kibaki, a member of the Kikuyu tribe, amidst charges of rigging and unlawful favouritism, Kenya experienced its worst political crisis (Ibid).

Violence erupted following the allegations of rigging and unfair polling by the then opposition leader, Raila Odinga, a member of the Luo tribe. Conflict between these two major tribes can be traced back to the 1960s when Kenya got independence when Mzee Jomo Kenyatta (Kikuyu) and Oginga Odinga (Luo) were contesting for presidency (Jalloh, 2011). Mzee Jomo Kenyatta (Kikuyu) emerged victorious and became the first Kenyan president. Forty four years down the line, their sons continue with this strife leading to the infamous

Kenyan Post- Election Violence (PEV). It resulted in massive destruction of property, loss of life and displacement of people (Ibid). An estimated 1,200 died and 350, 000 people were displaced from their homes (Gillies, 2011). Moreover, an estimated 3,560 people suffered serious injuries and there were over 900 cases of rape reported (Jalloh, 2011). All this happened within a two-month period (Modi & Shekhawat, 2008).

Media play a significant role in conflict. Media, both state-owned and private, are a vital yet overlooked component of conflicts. More specifically, in Kenya, media have been a key component during elections (Temin & Smith 2002). Media, throughout the years have been used as a tool of development. Media have been utilized to create a sense of national identity, foster attitudes that favour modernization and fulfil goals of campaigns (Ochilo, 1993). It is noteworthy to state that media have been used to achieve development goals, more specifically the Millennium Development Goals but scholars note that the kind of media support used for communication is dependent on the goal seeking to be achieved and the nation it is to be achieved in (Ibid).

1.2 History of media in Kenya

Modern media were introduced in Kenya by missionaries and the British settlers (Ochilo, 1993). An early example would be the Taveta Chronicles which was published by the Church Missionary Society in 1895. It was circulated among Europeans and interested parties in England. It was later followed by *The Leader* of the British East African Company and *Uganda Mail* which were published in Mombasa (Ibid). At this time, media (print media) were used for three main reasons; provide news to the missionaries and settlers from England, to maintain the status quo by legitimizing rights of the colonizers to rule Kenya and it provided a communication channel for the settlers who were in different parts of the country. Radio was introduced in 1928 (Ochilo, 1993). Media ownership at this time was solely owned by the British settlers. The Asians ventured into the business of ownership in some sections of media. They did this to legitimize their position as second to the white settlers. Africans later ventured into media ownership for the sole purpose of airing their grievances and demands for freedom, justice and equality. After the Second World War, many aspiring political leaders took to the media to build and cement political organizations (Ibid).

During the independence decade, 1960-1970, Africa news media were modelled on a development paradigm, which later came to be known as developmental journalism. National

unity was fiercely promoted as a fundamental factor in bringing about development and the news media, both officially and unofficially, were expected to be part of it. In Kenya specifically, development journalism was so in sync with the nation-building political project that it created a platform for Kenyatta to euphemize and build his regime. As a result, this led to the co-option of news media by the state (Ogola, 2011).

After independence in 1963, the media continued to run as it did during the colonial period because majority of media ownership had just shifted and not changed. What this means is that the African Government took the place of the Colonizers (Ochilo, 1993). The Kenyan government had full control over all electronic media run under the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting which includes the *Kenya Broadcasting Corporation* and *Kenya News Agency*. This Ministry, as all others, were governed by a Minister whom was appointed by the president. Therefore, everything that was printed or aired was controlled by the government (Ibid).

Much of Kenya's print media had collapsed leaving *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers. Both newspapers were foreign owned (Ochilo, 1993). Of the two, *The Nation* was more of docile newspaper where the owner, the Aga Khan, sort to protect his own business interests as well as that of the Ismaili community in Kenya. In contrast, *The Standard* was hostile and questioned the path Kenya took towards development. *The Standard* was originally started by an Indian businessman who lived in Mombasa who named it *The African Standard* but when it moved to Nairobi and switched owners, it became a voice for the British settlers who were against internal self-rule. The newspaper began to support the state in hopes of getting into its good graces (Bourgault, 1995).

Kenya has held presidential, parliamentary and local government elections every five years after gaining independence in 1963. For most of the independence period, the country was governed under a one-party system of government (Wanyande, 2006). Authoritarian leaders and single party regimes came under great pressure between 1990 and 1993. This transformation stemmed from sustainable efforts by domestic political forces in African states, albeit assisted by international financial institutions and industrialised countries (Makinda, 1996). At the end of 1992, Kenya adopted the multi-party system of government following an amendment to the relevant section of the presidential and National Assembly Elections Act. The change from one-party to multi-party system of government affected

different areas which include: ethnicity, nature of political parties and freedom expression which includes media and religion (Wanyande, 2006).

Political pluralism saw the rise and decline of party-owned newspapers such as KANU's *Kenya Times* and Kenneth Matiba's *The People*. *The People* newspaper started off as an investigatory newspaper in 1998 which sort to expose corruption deals in Moi's government. The broadcast sector experienced immense change. The late 1990s saw the establishment of the first Frequency Modulation (FM) radio station, Capital FM, in 1996 and Kenya's first private television channel; Kenya Television Network (KTN) both owned by the Standard Group. Other entrants emerged such as Citizen Radio, Citizen TV and more than ten local-language radio stations (Ogola, 2011). The widespread disillusionment and depoliticisation of new mainstream media gave rise to the local-language FM radio. First was the introduction of the Swahili- English FM stations. This was differently because it was an assumption that people all over Kenya could understand Swahili. Though it was the national language at the time, many of the rural communities did not speak proper/fluent Swahili. Instead, they spoke a mix of slang and their vernacular languages (Ogola, 2011). In 2000, Jane Kimotho noticed the gap in the media. So she launched the first vernacular FM station; Kameme FM. Kameme FM became very popular very quickly due to its controversial nature. Not only was it popular among the Kikuyu locals, but also the local tribes closely related to it. Soon enough, there was the emergence of other local language radio stations. People became avid listeners because finally they felt they had a voice (Ibid).

During the December 2007 presidential elections, violent ethnic conflict broke out in Kenya. This was due to the contested results between Mwai Kibaki (Kikuyu) and Raila Odinga (Luo). There were allegations of rigging on Kibaki's part and the contest became violent very quickly. There was massive destruction of property, about 1,500 deaths and 350,000 displaced from their homes (Cheeseman, 2008). Many blamed the media for adding fuel to the fire. Most of the local-language stations aired the people's views which were angry and hateful. Furthermore, it built a force against the government and allowed people to reject state narratives (Ibid). The blame game was at large; the people blamed the media stations, the media stations blamed the government 'watch-dog' institutions, the institutions blamed it on negligence of the government and so forth (Ogola, 2011).

The same media that was used to propel the Post- Election Violence (PEV) is the same media that was used to stop it. A photograph of Mwai Kibaki and Raila shaking hands

was aired on television which brought the conflict to an immediate stop on 25th June 2008 (Balck, 1994). And the media have been used to promote peace-building thereafter. Media were also used as a prevention tactic for the 4th March, 2013. In this paper, I will examine the effect of media in Kenya generally, and focus in on the effect of media before, during and after the infamous 2007/8 PEV.

1.3 The media and the 2007/8 PEV

Kenya has been a relatively peaceful country over the years. However, following the announcement of the 27th December 2007 presidential elections of the incumbent term of President Mwai Kibaki amidst charges of rigging and unlawful favouritism, Kenya experience its worst political crisis (Modi & Shekhawat, 2008). Violence erupted following the allegations of rigging and unfair polling by the then opposition leader, Raila Odinga. It resulted in massive, millions in destruction of property and mass displacement of people (Jalloh, 2011). An estimated 1,200 died and 350, 000 people were displaced from their homes (Gillies, 2011). Moreover, an estimated 3,560 people suffered serious injuries and there were over 900 cases of rape reported (Jalloh, 2011).

Modi & Shekhawat (2008) argued that violence in Kenya has had a long history ever since the colonial period which was based on the divide-and-rule policy that created divisions along tribal lines in the Kenyan PEV. This division was accelerated by the Moi's resettlement scheme during his presidency where he allocated his tribe land that was previously allocated to another tribe (Ogola, 2011).With Kenya desperate for conflict resolution in 2008 , a deal had to be brokered between the two main warring presidential candidates in order for peace to be restored. African Union mediators, with the assistance of the then United Nations Secretary General, Koffi Annan, formulated a conditional power-sharing collaboration which led to a ceasefire (Modi & Shekhawat, 2008).

The aftermath of the severe violence was unimaginable. Reports showed total number of deaths were about 1,200 and an estimated 350,000 people were displaced (Gillies, 2011). Many reports of estimated the amount destruction in monetary value to be in the millions in Kenya shillings although no formal investigation was reported. There were some 3, 560 people who suffered physical trauma such as serious injuries (Jalloh, 2011) and women and girls who suffered sexual assault and exploitation. By late January 2008, rape cases had doubled in Nairobi, and the number of rape and sexual assault victims had increased by almost three times in the Coastal region. Cases of prostitution of young girls in camps in

exchange for protection or necessities were on the rise, moreover, cases of assault by more than one aggressor (Modi & Shekhawat, 2008).

1.4 Problem statement

The roles and functions of media in any society are determined by both the internal and external situations at any given period of time. However, the most important and fundamental underlying factors are the nature of the political system and nature of the government in power. For instance, media in countries that have liberal political systems such as those in the West will differ significantly from those under authoritarian regimes in the South (Ochilo, 1993).

Many scholars such as Ishmail & Deane (2008), Makinen & Kuira (2008), Ogola (2011) and Lafargue (2008) have researched and written about the media's influence in the Kenyan society. However, they all fall short of in one area. Their main focus is how the propelled and/or fuelled Kenya's 2007/8 Post Election Violence. There is lack of sufficient literature on media as a peacebuilding tool used before, during and after the PEV. As a result, I felt obliged to look at this topic that is widely written on i.e. The Kenyan 2007/8 PEV from a new light. Hence, the focus of this paper is on examining the effect the role and/or effect of media as a peacebuilding tool before, during and after the PEV in Kenya.

The development of Kenya's news media system is closely tied to the country's political history. Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, Kenya's first president, used the media to further his political goals and defeat his opponents. He also used it to manipulate / brainwash Kenyans into revering him as the father of the nation (Ogola, 2011). Daniel Arap Moi, Kenya's second president, used media to instil fear into the country, and used his power to change the law into his favour. During this time, media was an extension of Moi's administration and therefore only aired what favoured him. Failure to do so led to the firing and detainment of journalists and media editors. However, during re-introduction of multi-party system of governance during Moi's reign, there was the liberalization of media and the development of new outlets (Adar, 2000). By Mwai Kibaki's time, the third president of Kenya, media had transformed. Kenyans journalists and media editors had the freedom to air the views of the people and report the facts in political situations (Githinji and Holmquist, 2008).

Media seems to have transformed for the better throughout the years. However, during Kenya's lowest moment, the PEV, many Kenyans feel that the media did more harm than good. The violence erupted as the latest embodiment of the grievances of those in the

Rift-Valley Region over land and resettlement of ethnic groups (Goldstein & Rotich, 2008). There was a lot of sensational media coverage, and the focusing of particular acts of violence only raised anger, hatred and fear in the hearts of Kenyans. Media are said to have accelerated the rate of violence because the victims of war retaliated against the perpetrators and this cycle continued until Kenya's feared that Kenya would be burnt down completely. The country was in a state of chaos, there was complete shutdown of shops and businesses and communication between friends/ family of different tribes was almost prohibited. People were afraid that they were being monitored and therefore everyone's first priority was that of their families.

At this time, there was the Mass Short Message Service (SMS) to provoke Kenyans to violence. From early January 2008, following the presidential elections in December 2007, Kenyans began receiving text messages that urged them to express their frustrations by attacking other ethnic groups. Furthermore, there was the emergence of online bulletin boards that aimed at fulfilling the same agenda (Goldstein & Rotich, 2008). Taking all the roles of media highlighted by several scholars throughout the years and leading up to the infamous 2007/8 PEV in Kenya, this study therefore seeks to investigate the role of media in peacebuilding before, during and after the PEV.

1.5 Rationale of the study

African mass media have traditionally been regarded to as an extension of the government in centralised African countries serving development and national building in fragile newly independent states. However, following the introduction of multiparty system in most African states, media was captured in a different manner and with keener interests. There was optimism that the adoption of Western institutional framework, which includes strong and independent media, would provide a strong barricade against corruption (Kvandal, 2007). Chowdury (2004) argues that there is a negative correlation between the levels of corruption with free press which means that free media helps contain corruption. In contrast, Hallin and Mancini (2004) argue that because of liberal political systems, Kenyan politicians become media owners in order to control the news (Ibid).

The rationale of this study lies in the fact that many Kenyans believe that media had a lot of influence during and after the PEV; fuelling the hatred and violence during the conflict. Many others have argued that media served as a peace-making and peace-building tool thereafter. Furthermore, Kenyans feel that the 'watch-dog' institutions are also to blame

because media restrictions and control could have been implemented at the time. There were rumours and speculations that the media was used to fuel the conflict in order to further political agendas. The bottom line is the argument that the media are an important tool in peacebuilding. However, given that media in Kenya has been closely associated with Kenya's political state, its effects and role in peacebuilding and conflict prevention remain undocumented. This has led to the current literature on media and peacebuilding fail to either prove or disapprove the effect and role media played before, during and after the PEV and preventing their recurrence as well in Kenya. Therefore, this is a relatively unique and timely study.

1.6 Aim and objectives of the study

The aim of this paper is therefore to investigate the effect of media in peacebuilding in Kenya generally and the role it played before, during and specifically after the infamous PEV. The objectives of this study are fourfold: 1) to provide knowledge that helps understand the effects of media in development in Kenya. 2) To proffer knowledge that opens our minds to understand the impeccable role Kenyan media played in dealing with PEV in Kenya. 3) To offer insights that helps comprehend that as much as media can resolve conflict, there are remain probability of causing conflicts especially when it is biased or when politicians or leaders control it at their own interests. And 4) to offer insights on the influence the Kenyan government and politics have on media in Kenya while offering recommendations that enable the proper use of media in Kenya to prevent and eruption of conflict therefore reach a sustainable peace and development in the country.

1.7 Research question

The central research question that this paper seeks to answer is: to what extent was the media useful as a peacebuilding tool in Kenya and how did it play this tremendous role before, during and after the scandalous PEV? In answering the main question, it is essential to note the following sub-questions that are linked to it will be by and large examined. What influence has media had in Kenyan political society? How did media behave before, during and after the PEV in Kenya? Is the media in Kenya independent from the state or the state owns it? And if the state does not own it to what extent does it exercise its freedom, and what are the limits of this freedom. These are the sub-questions retrieved from the main research question that the thesis will explore will help answer the main question, and investigate the aim and reach the objectives of this study.

1.8 Research methodology

The thesis consists of qualitative research methodology. This is because qualitative research method helps understand the nature, strengths and interactions of variables. It can address causation and involves interpretation and observation of events (Bryman 2012). It seeks to answer the “how” question by taking a holistic perspective which preserves the complexities of human behaviour rather than adopting a simplified, reductionist view of the subject in order to measure and count the occurrences of states or events as is the case in quantitative research (Black, 1994). Qualitative research typically uses interviews, observation of activities and interpretation of written material and these can be most effectively use of the variables is unclear. The focus can be that of a single individual to that of a large group (Ibid). In this research I sought to increase the understanding of the effect media have and has had on the Kenyan community (Black 1994). This will be by and large explained in the chapter II.

1.9 Definition of concepts

Media: in this study, this concept refers to all “types of print media such as newspapers and magazines as well as electronic media, including radio and TV programmes” (Spurk, 2002).

Journalism: in this paper is understood as all activities conducted by journalists, reporters and editors (Spurk, 2002). However, “it is not limited to “news” journalism or “news agency” journalism; it includes all types and formats of reporting (larger stories, analysis, background features, comments, opinions), editing (selection of news, controlling), and designing programmes (formats, series, supplements)” (Ibid).

Peacebuilding: is understood in this paper as the initiatives that are aimed to prevent violent outbreaks of conflicts or to transform violent conflicts in a sustainable manner into peaceful means” (Thania 2002).

1.10 Organisational of the study.

In order to answer the central question and reach the aim, this thesis is structured into six following chapters.

Chapter I: Introduction to the Study

This chapter explained the background of the thesis. It spelled out the aim, objectives, research question, and the research methodology as well.

Chapter II: Research Methodology

This chapter consists of an analysis of the research methodology that thesis will adopt. In this chapter the aim is to define and explain how both the primary and secondary data will be collected from both secondary sources such as books, journals, article, and internet desktop research. It also explains how the primary data from the field, media speeches, and interviews will be gathered.

Chapter III: Literature Review

This chapter consists of an investigation of media and peacebuilding from the existing literature on the media's role in peacebuilding in Kenya, before, during and after the PEV. It will also tackle the subject of media reporting, control and usage in Kenya. This will help gather information that will inform the settings of the questionnaires that help the process of collecting data from the field study.

Chapter IV: Media and Peacebuilding: A Critical inquiry

This chapter is set to examine the role and effects of media in Kenya. It is also an investigation of the theoretical underpinnings of the western theories of media reporting and link them with the case study of the PEV. This analysis will help locate the thesis within International Development Studies discourses.

Chapter V: Media and the 2007/8 General Elections

This chapter examines the different roles media played in the different stages of the electoral process i.e. pre-election period when campaigning occurs, during the election period when voting and tallying of votes occurs and after the election period when the results are announced.

Chapter VI: Data Analysis

This chapter consists of a merger of the literature review findings and findings from the field. It will be made of discussions and presentations that help understand the role and effect of media in development in Kenya. In this chapter, all the inconsistencies and contradictions that will rise will be dealt and answers that create harmony will be put on the table.

Chapter VII: Conclusion

This chapter consists of the concluding remarks and recommendations on the media development in Kenya and media effects and role it has had on the PEV and peace building initiatives in the country. The chapter will also proffers recommendations for future studies.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

Every academic research whether in social sciences or actual sciences disciplines must involve a process or methodology of gathering information. In this paper, the methodology used was qualitative with a case study approach. The use of qualitative methodology in this paper is informed by its aptitude it offers researchers the ability to understand complex textual descriptions of human behaviour in the study of human sciences. As the study focussed on the effects and role of media in peacebuilding with reference to Kenya's PEV, this methodology provided data about the 'human' side of an issue, that is; the often clashing behaviours, beliefs, opinions, emotions, and relationships of individuals.

Furthermore, qualitative research method helps us understand the nature, strengths and interactions of variables. It can address causation and involves interpretation and observation of events. It seeks to answer the "how" question by taking a holistic perspective which preserves the complexities of human behaviour rather than adopting a simplified, reductionist view of the subject in order to measure and count the occurrences of states or events as is the case in quantitative research (Black, 1994). Qualitative research typically uses interviews, observation of activities and interpretation of written material and these can be most effectively use if the variables are unclear. The focus can be that of a single individual to that of a large group (Ibid).

While chapter one constituted an introduction of the entire research, this chapter two is an explanation of the research methodology that the study adopted. Hence, the aim of this chapter is to comprehensively explain the research methodology that was used during the process of writing and conducting interview for this study. The chapter is therefore structured into four main sections. Section one explains the research design and the techniques that were used in the process of data collection from the field study. Section two is mainly to explain the role of validity and reliability and their use in the process of gathering valuable data that helped answer the research question and reach the aim of this study. The third section is the explanation of the manner in which the collected was explained and analysed in relation to the research question and aim of the study. In this section, it will be explained that all the

emerged themes were interpreted according to the aim and objectives of the study. The last section of this chapter involves a conclusion.

2.2 Research design

During the interview process this methodology allowed the victims of the Post- Election Violence to present their views on the role of the media especially before and during the PEV and finally in the aftermath, and how the media have contributed or taken away from development in Kenya. In this research, the paper sought to increase the understanding of the effect media have and has had on the Kenyan community (Black 1994). The research has a dynamic and diverse character where different people had different experiences based on their location, political alliances, ethnic ties and age. Qualitative research therefore was the better alternative in order to observe and analyse human behaviour in response to what the media was broadcasting (Bryman, 2012).

The research design method of choice was the case study. The case study is a research design which focuses on the dynamics present within particular settings. Case studies can involve one or multiple cases, and numerous levels of analysis. In addition, case studies can apply an embedded design. What this means is that there can be multiple levels of analysis within a single study (Eisenhardt, 1989). For this research, the case study design was used because it would employ different levels of analysis in a single study i.e. the effects of media on development from the grassroots perspective, from the media workers' perspective and from a development approach perspective (Ibid).

Case studies can be used for various aims; to provide a description, to test a theory or to generate a theory. The aim of this study was to come up with knowledge that will help understand the role and effects of media before, during and after the PEV in Kenya's general elections of 2007-2008, thus leading to comprehend the role of media in peacebuilding in Kenya. As Eisenhardt argues, the use of case study in this paper was useful in that it helped understand the events that surrounded the PEV and the role and effects of the media as well (Eisenhardt, 1989). A part from the case study approach, the study embarked on an explanatory approach that helped to clearly explain the role and effect of media in peacebuilding in Kenya. According to Yin (1981), an explanatory case study consists of an accurate interpretation of the facts of the case, some considerations of alternative explanations and a conclusion based on the single explanation that appears to harmonize with

the facts. These are the reasons that necessitated the use of qualitative methodology, therefore justifying the research design of this study.

Furthermore, Yin (2009) stated that case studies are instrumental in explaining human behaviour. Thus, the case study and explanatory approaches enabled to examine the way people behaved before, during and after the PEV responding to the media. These approaches also helped interpret and explain the feelings and thoughts of people about media and understand the power that the media have in the Kenyan community. They further made it easier to understand the influence media have on Kenyan community, and its effects on the peacebuilding. This is because the country was plunged into worst moment in history that led to the 2007/8 PEV (McLeod, 2008).

2. 3 Data collection techniques

Data collection is the process of gathering and measuring information on targeted variables in a calculated fashion (Bryman, 2012). There are two main ways to carry out data collection in qualitative research; interviews and observation. Bryman says that interviews can be either individual or group where you have a one-on-one session with a person or have a question-and-answer session (allowing discussion) with a particular selected group of people (Bryman, 2012). Observation includes reflective journals, field notes, anecdotal evidence and logs, and observations just to mention a few (Black, 1994). Moreover, McLeod argues that in qualitative research methodology, a researcher gathers information that is not numeric i.e. open-ended questionnaires, unstructured interviews and unstructured observations (McLeod, 2008). Therefore, for this research, due to time and availability of the informants, open-ended questionnaires and unstructured interviews were used as the data collection techniques. And so there were validated according to the qualitative research methodology techniques.

2.3.1 Open-ended questionnaires

One can ask what open-ended questions mean and what could be their purposes in the research endeavours. An open-ended question is designed to encourage a full, meaningful answer using the subject's own knowledge and/or feelings. This study utilized the use of open-ended questionnaires. Open-ended questionnaires are questionnaires that use open-ended questions. What this means is that the questions used allow the respondents to express themselves in their own words. In addition, they allow the respondents to answer in as much detail as they like (McLeod, 2014). Foddy argues that open-ended questions allow the respondent to express an opinion without being influenced by the researcher (Foddy, 1993: 127). Lazarsfeld (1944: 38-60) opines that the use of open-ended questions in a qualitative

research methodology helps the research come up with questionnaire design that identifies adequate answer categories. Moreover, Ferligoj and Mrvar (2003: 161) argue that open-ended questions enable the researcher to discover “the responses that individuals give spontaneously, and thus avoiding the bias that may result from suggesting responses to individuals”.

It is essential to note that in open-ended questions setting, questionnaires can be thought of as a kind of interview. They can be carried out face-to-face or at the convenience of the respondents i.e. on telephone, post and online. McLeod argues that in open-ended question, questionnaire designs provide a relatively cheap and quick way of obtaining large amounts of information from large group of people (McLeod, 2014). Hence, the use of the open-ended questions helped reach a wide population at the grassroots level that proffered enough information that made it possible to understand the role and effects of media before, during, and after the PEV. This method also helped localise the significant role media played in building peace after the PEV in Kenya. The collected information was informed by the fact that I am from Kenya, had witnessed the 200-2008 general elections and all the events that led to the eruption of the electoral violence. Furthermore, the collection of the data was similarly informed by the fact that had worked with the people in the PEV in Kenya and had a rapport with the locals. Thus, the open-ended questions method was useful in this research in that it helped collect genuine information that helped answer the research question of this paper.

Moreover, the use of this open-ended method allowed me to ask questions that probed a little more detail and discussion thereby facilitating in-depth answers from the respondents. Besides, because the method has no pre-set answer options, it therefore allowed the respondents the freedom to put down whatever they liked and in their own words. By so doing, it enriched the information collected while allowing diversity ((McLeod, 2014). It is of utmost importance that a researcher is sensitive to the needs of his/her respondents. These respondents were victims of electoral violence; they had witnessed killings in various parts of Kenya where the electoral violence were happening. They also witnesses mass destruction of property and looting, and lived in fear. The questionnaire design was structured in a way that was sensitive to their needs whilst still giving enough relevant information (Bryman, 2012).

In this study, the use of the physical questionnaires and an online platform was inevitable. The physical questionnaires were printed out and distributed to key persons at the grass-root level while the online platform used Survey Monkey to collect information. Survey

Monkey is a research-based website that enables a researcher to formulate a questionnaire and upload it. Thereafter, respondents can answer the questionnaires anonymously at their leisure (Survey Monkey, 2016). The targeted respondents for this method were media workers in the urban areas. The physical questionnaires were distributed within group training sessions and the respondents were all given 30 minutes to fill them out and hand in. Due to its physical nature, the data collection process took a month because the trainings the groups underwent were schedule monthly. As noted by McLeod (2014), questionnaires can be tedious and time consuming. The online platform provided a quicker alternative. Many if the respondents were able to fill out the online questionnaires within two weeks. It is important to note that some of the targeted respondents declined to fill in the questionnaires due to fear of jeopardizing their careers and also because I happened to collect data during the period of the International Criminal Courts cases of the key people accused of being responsible for inciting the public and promoting propaganda and hatred which led to the PEV.

2.3.2 Observations

Observation can be distinguished from interviews or questionnaires in two ways. One, observation takes place in the setting where respondents naturally coexist rather than a location designated for data collection. This means that it is important to go to the natural place of the respondents and observe them in that state as opposed to taking them to a new environment (Merriam & Tidsell, 2015). Observation of respondents in a natural scene is the classic form of data collection in naturalistic or field research. It is used to get a description of settings, activities, people and meanings of what is observed from the respondents' perspectives (Hoepfl, 1997).

Two, observational data provide a first-hand encounter with the respondents rather than a second-hand account of events as obtained in questionnaires (Merriam & Tidsell, 2015). Moreover, it provides a deeper understanding of information collected in questionnaires because knowledge of the context in which events occur and provides the researcher with information that the participants may not be willing to offer or discuss (Hoepfl, 1997). This was particularly true with the collection of data from the grassroots level. Because I witnessed first-hand the PEV, I was able to pick up on non-verbal cues and body language of the respondents as they filled in the questionnaires. The slight gestures, facial expressions and involuntary responses such as sighing and common verbal sounds allowed me to gather more information (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015).

There are three ways one can carry out observational data collection; in some case it may be desired or preferred if the researcher observes from outside without being observed. Another option would be for the researcher to be present but only engage with the respondents when questions arise or there is need for clarification of the questions. Lastly, a researcher may act as a full participant of the situation, with either a hidden or known identity (Hoepfl, 1997). For this study, because of my history with the respondents, I opted for the second option where I was present during their training sessions and filling in of the questionnaires and offered clarifications of the questions and terminologies before and during the data collection process.

2.4 Data Analysis and Coding

This study greatly employs thematic analysis in order to analyse the data obtained from primary sources; open-ended questionnaires and informal meetings.

Data coding was carried out thematically by the identification of similar subject matters/ themes that recurred in the questionnaires and informal meetings. These subject matters were coded and formatted in anticipation of undergoing analysis.

2.5 Validity and reliability in qualitative research

Morse and associates (2002) note that all research must have the truth value, applicability, neutrality and consistency. They proposed that they criteria in qualitative research to ensure trustworthiness are credibility, transferability, confirmability and dependability. They recommend the use of negative cases, peer debriefing, prolonged engagement persistent observation, audit trials and member checks to attain trustworthiness (Morse *et. al*, 2002).

Validity in qualitative research asks the question: How congruent are a researcher's findings with reality? To answer this question, we must understand and define what reality is. There are those who believe reality is constructed; constructivists, and those who think it is fixed and stable; positivists (Merriam, 1995). Qualitative research assumes that reality is constructed, multidimensional and ever-changing. According to Merriam (1995), the following are strategies that can be used to strengthen validity in qualitative research, 1) *Triangulation*: the use of multiple investigators, sources of data and methods of confirming your findings, 2) *Peer/ Colleague examination*: asking peers/ colleagues to review and comment on findings, 3) *Submersion/engagement in the research situation*: collecting data in a sufficient amount of time in order to ensure in-depth understanding of the phenomenon. 4) *Member checks*: Double checking with the respondents that that which is recorded is in fact

that which they communicated, and 5) *Statements of researcher's experiences, assumptions and biases*: presenting the orientations and biases from the outset in order to ensure better comprehension by readers of the interpretation of data.

Reliability is concerned with to what extents one's research will be found again. What this means is that can the study be replicated? And if so, will the findings be same (Merriam, 1995)? Usually, a researcher distances themselves from the research using objective measures to ensure the authenticity of the data. The more times findings can be replicated, the more reliable the data is thought to be (Ibid).

Qualitative researchers do not seek to establish laws of reliability in research. Instead, they seek to understand the world from the perspectives of those in it (Ibid). Lincoln and Guba (1985) discredit this notion stating that data collected from different samples could never be the same. To clarify, different people in different regions underwent different experiences. Because the PEV was a tribal conflict, what the Kikuyu tribesmen experienced cannot be the same as what the Luo tribesmen experienced. Instead, they propose the use of credibility and consistency as alternatives. They also recommend that the researcher be responsive, holistic, sensitive, and adaptable to changing circumstances, have professional immediacy and be able to clarify and summarize information (Lincoln & Guba, 1981). This means that the researcher must have been able to understand the points of view from differing respondents i.e. Luo or Kikuyu, from the rural or urban areas, male or female and so on. In addition, the data was collected during a volatile time i.e. during the ICC hearings therefore the researchers needed to be adapt to the changing circumstances while remaining professional and being sensitive to the situation.

2.6 Study area

The research was carried out in Molo, Nakuru County and Nairobi County. I chose to carry out my study in Molo because it was one of the 'hotspots' in Kenya during the PEV i.e. one of the areas most afflicted by the PEV (Lafargue, 2009). In addition, I had worked in Molo for almost 2 years as a Program Coordinator with World Relief Kenya (WRK) and therefore was familiar with the area. WRK carried out a survey and Focus Group Discussions in the Molo Area. Following this, WRK was able to map out the area that was most afflicted by the PEV. Through collaboration with the local administration, WRK was able to select a group of people who were most afflicted and who they could work. 200 victims, who were also farmers, were chosen. I was employed by WRK as the Molo Program Coordinator. I worked

with the 200 victims of the PEV; they were gathered into farmer groups and empowered economically through a peace-building initiative called the Molo Peace Program (World Relief, 2016).

In this program, the victims had to form and register farmer groups of mixed genders, ages and tribes. Thereafter, WRK offered financial support for seed-potato production; WRK provided all the inputs i.e. all agricultural inputs for seed potato production such as seeds, proper farming equipment and agricultural trainings. The financial support was in the form of a loan that each farmer group was to pay back following the first harvest. Each group was to lease an acre of land and farm seed potatoes. WRK would also assist in the selling of the produce. The returns would be consolidated into a Farmer's Co-operative which each farmer was a member of. In this cooperative, they would be able to manage their own money while protecting their interests (World Relief, 2016).

I chose Nairobi County because it is the capital city of Kenya and therefore offers a dynamic population; most if not all tribes are represented in Nairobi. In addition, it is where most of the key media houses have their offices and therefore would be the most appropriate to collect data from. It was a good choice for me because I was born and raised in Nairobi and therefore was very familiar with the surroundings; it was easier to network and move around. Nairobi was also adversely affected by the PEV because it is home to the biggest slum in Kenya, Kibera which is predominantly made up of members from the Luo tribe (Lafargue, 2009).

2.7 Research ethics

Research clearance was sought from the Chief, Mr John Kuria, the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries, and Director of World Relief Kenya, Mr Jean Paul Ndagijimana. The Chief is the highest local administration in Molo area. The Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries consists of three state departments; the State Department of Agriculture, the State Department of Livestock and the State Department of Fisheries. For this study, I contacted the State Department for Agriculture. World Relief Kenya is a Christian-Based Non-Governmental Organization that partners with local churches in order to empower the most vulnerable. Its main office is in Nairobi however, it has smaller offices in the rural settings where it runs its empowerment program in Turkana, Kajiado and Molo (World Relief, 2016).

Ethical considerations are of utmost when carrying out research. The researcher must ensure that the information retrieved is safely stored and that the respondents' identities be kept anonymous (Bryman, 2012). Fortunately, because I used open-ended questionnaires, the respondents' identities were kept secret. However, because I also used observation as a data collection method, I had to ensure that I kept their identities anonymous by allocating pseudonyms (Grinyer, 2002). Bryman (2012) outlines the following ethical considerations as; no harm to participants, lack of consent, invasion of privacy, and deception. Therefore, before administering any questionnaires, I outlined my intentions for the research study and ensured that I would protect their information and identities (Grinyer, 2002). I also allowed any respondent who was unwilling to answer the freedom to not do so. I then clarified all questions and terminologies used in the questionnaires and allowed the respondents to fill them in (Bryman, 2012).

Because of the nature of this research i.e. it involves a current socio-political issue, the findings must be reported to the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries, World Relief Kenya and the local chief in Molo and the respondents. Hopefully, these findings will assist in these institutions and organizations with combating the negative effects media have had on the Kenyan community and instead use the media as a tool to promote development, peace and unity. Ethical principles vary from person to person due to the differences in beliefs, customs and background (Bryman, 2012). However, there are certain guidelines that every researcher or interviewer must uphold in order to acquire the desired results and to ensure that the interviews are not compromised especially on sensitive matters (p. 135). To elaborate, I had to be considerate of the differences between my rural and urban target respondents. I had to abide by societal norms such as ensuring men and women sit on different sides of the room and distribute the questionnaires to the women while have a man distribute to the men.

According to Bryman (2012), these considerations include; no harm to participants, lack of consent, invasion of privacy and deception are of priority to the interviewer (p. 135). For this reason, I allowed the urban population the freedom to decline participation in the study and/or answer the questions they were comfortable answering.

2.8 Data collection and analysis

As mentioned earlier, this research utilized two methods of data collection; open-ended questionnaires and observation which resulted in the collection of both primary and

secondary data. The data was physically and virtually recorded by handing out physical questionnaires and taking notes, and filling in the questionnaires online respectively. The physical questionnaires were printed out and distributed to members at the grass-root levels because of the target area in Molo is rural, and access to computers and printing facilities would have been a challenge. Furthermore, the target population are not computer literate and therefore would have required assistance filling in the questionnaires which would have compromised their anonymity. The online platform for filling questionnaires targeted a learned urban population i.e. people who are working or have worked in the media organizations before, during and after the PEV.

In addition to obtaining the primary data via questionnaires, I obtained secondary data through observation. This was only possible with the target group in Molo because I was physically present to observe the reactions and responses of the respondents. I also employed a variety of books, journals and articles to support my data. The study employs two methods of analysis; thematic and content analysis. Thematic analysis was applied to the primary data collected while content analysis to the secondary data. I utilized data coding by categorizing similar themes that recurred in the responses. Transcribing the data posed a bit of a challenge because some respondents were very brief in their responses while others could not fully express themselves in English and therefore required translation. However, I was able to transcribe and analyse the data.

2.9 Limitations and delimitations

The research carried out in a timely manner and the aims of the research were achieved. However, just like any research carried out, I experienced some challenges. Firstly, although I was aware of the changes the presence of a researcher can have on the respondents, it was not easy for me to work with it. Some of the respondents kept asking questions and looking towards me and my colleagues to assist in the answering of the questions. It seemed that some wanted to answer how they assumed I wanted them to.

Secondly, critical decisions including my identity and purposes of research, time spent in the field, observation techniques used were wholly dependent on the set of questions asked and therefore determined what data would be collected. This I combated by seeking assistance of my supervisor in the coining of the questions, selecting the target population and agreeing on the time spent in the field. Despite covering two major areas which were adversely affected by the PEV, I could have covered other areas in different corners of the

country in order to get a more holistic view of effects on the entire country. Lastly, neutrality of the researcher may have been a challenge. As mentioned earlier, I myself experienced the effects of the PEV and due to my experience and working with the respondents so closely, I may have been bias in depicting the findings. However, I asked two colleagues to go through my findings as well as the questionnaires in order to ensure no bias and actual representation of the data collected.

2.10 Conclusion

The study adopted a qualitative research methodology which involved collection of data from both primary and secondary sources. It is pertinent to note that the study involved secondary sources which were taken from the books, academic journal, articles, speeches and reports, and occasional papers. Secondary sources were significant in that it informed the setting of questionnaires that helped gather data from the field study. This research methodology was the most suitable because it enabled me to understand how the media behaved before, during and after the Kenyan PEV and what roles it played in peacebuilding throughout. The use of a case study and explanatory approaches in this study assisted in the detailed exploration of research. Though data collection was a tedious process, it was worthwhile because due to the use of questionnaires, there was the possibility of clarification of terminologies which increased the quality of data collected. It was fortunate to be able to carry out research in a place I was familiar with and respondents I had a rapport with. This eased the data collection process immensely. Moreover, just like most research, the methodology choice had its advantages and disadvantages. However, in this study, despite all the setbacks the data reported is timely and accurate. Having explained the research methodology that was adopted in this study, the next chapter discusses the literature review.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

While chapter two consisted of a comprehensive research methodology that the study adopted, this chapter consists of a theoretical framework. Hence, the aim of this chapter is to examine theories that explain the role and effects of media in peacebuilding in world politics. In order to reach the aim, this chapter is structured in three main sections. Section one examines election violence in order to understand the theoretical framework that informs the use and role of the media in peacebuilding. This section examines the inception of media in Kenya, the media during Nyayo era, and the use of media as political tool. The second section examines the media and political pluralism, the upsurge of local language FM stations, and media in PEV and its aftermath. And the last section involves a conclusion.

3.2 Electoral violence

Electoral violence can be defined as acts or threats of coercion, intimidation or physical harm perpetuated in order to influence the electoral process (UNDP, 2011). Electoral conflict or violence is any form of a random or organized act or threat to intimidate, physical harm, blackmail or abuse of a political stakeholder in order to influence the electoral process (Ibid). Electoral violence occurs when an electoral process is perceived as unfair or corrupt (Fischer, 2002). It is distinguished by its timing, objectives, methods, victims and perpetrators (Okpotor, 2015). Electoral violence in Kenya is nothing new; Kenya has experienced electoral violence on the basis of ethnicity nearly in every election particularly the 1992 and 1997 presidential elections (Dercon & Romero, 2012). However, the magnitude and gravity of the 2007/8 PEV took the country by surprise.

Following its fourth multi-party elections on 27th December, 2007, there emerged protests challenging the results that were announced on 30th December. These protest quickly turned increasingly violent after the announcement of the results hence infamously dubbed PEV (AIDS Care, 2011). UNDP identifies three aspects of PEV; a) it is a subtype of political violence that its distinguished by its timing and goals i.e. after elections and changing the outcome of elections respectively, b) involves physical violence, threats and/ or intimidation and, c) is aimed against people i.e. in Kenya it was a tribal conflict (UNDP, 2011).

Fischer (2002) outlines five junctures in which conflict can arise in the electoral/election process namely: “a) Identity conflict- can occur during registrations when displaced victims of war cannot establish their former identities. This may result in the victims remained disenfranchised and outside of the political process. B) Campaign conflict- can occur when powerful persons try to use intimidation to influence the outcome of elections. In 2001, a survey of electoral events showed that the most common form of electoral conflict is that between political rivals. C) Balloting conflict- can occur on the voting day usually when rivals attempt to disrupt elections. Measures to provide alternative methods of balloting should be provided by governments to victims of intimidation. D) Results results- can occur during the announcement of the polls of elections when irregularities emerge. Occurs when there are no judicial mechanisms in place that facilitate resolution of conflict or grievance adjudication. In addition, the delivery method of results can spark a conflict. E) Representation conflict- can occur following elections when the opposition party is not included in governance”.

Electoral violence during the Kenyan 2007 presidential elections was reported even before the Election Day. This pre-election violence manifested itself as disruption of campaign rallies, intimidation of voters, hate speech and direct violence on candidates or supporters including killings (Dercon & Romero, 2012).

3.2.1 Inception of media in Kenya

Media in Kenya, and Africa at large, was a creation of the European missionaries, immigrants and colonial administrations. They were also responsible for the printing press; an example is the Taveta Chronicle published by Rev. Robert Stegal of the Church Missionary Society in 1895 (Ochilo, 1993). In 1901, The East African Standard was established by Alibhai Mulla Jevanjee, an Asian trader. However, it was soon bought by traders whose aim was to promote the colonizers interests (Mukhongo & Macharia, 2016). The main role of media at the time was to disseminate news amongst the European residents and settlers. During this time, the media only served the Europeans thereby offering no relevance to the indigenous people (Ochilo, 1993). Radio was launched in 1928 to help facilitate the above aim (Ibid).

In the 1950s during the pre-colonial times, African publications had played the collective role of providing a voice for the colonized African people in Kenya. Later, the Asians ventured into businesses ownership of parts of the media (Ochilo, 1993) e.g. His Highness Aga Khan founded the Nation Media Group in 1960 whose main aim was to

produce news for Africans, by Africans and that interested/concerned Africans (Mukhogo & Macharia, 2016).

3.2.2 Use of media as a political tool

The formative years of President Jomo Kenyatta's reign, was attended to by political goodwill. Unfortunately, the president and then Deputy President Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, had a falling out. Kenyatta then employed state resources to frustrate his opponents. Moreover, Kenyatta invented a new political goal: the national building project. In a nutshell, politicians, the media and the public were expected to grant a privilege of a narrative of national unity which was ensured through co-opting and coercion (Ogola, 2011). Through this ideology, Kenyatta created a coercive state in which all his opponents were crushed. He utilised state institutions and other instruments such as the media to ensure the administration dealt with all his opponents. He legitimized this by stating that all the claims of the opponents propelled disunity in the country and therefore were inconsistent with the needs of the state. In the early post-independence era, the media was seen by the state as a partner to the national- building political project (Ibid).

After independence, the government then took control of the print media. Because the government was the biggest advertiser in media at the time, it had great influence on what could and could not be printed; not necessarily as the government, but as a business partner. It would have been unwise for these newspapers to bite the hand that fed them (McChensey, 1998). The government supported these mainstream print media which frustrated the competition leading to most of their demise. The few that survived after independence became increasingly vocal because they were disillusioned with the changes in political elites and rifts. Following the falling out of Oginga and Kenyatta, there was the emergence of underground print media such as Target, Pambana (*Fight*), Mwananchi (*Citizen*) and Mzalendo (*Patriot*) (Ndegwa, 1997). The government viewed alternative media as a threat to its nation-building project (Ogola, 2011).

The Nation and Standard newspapers were used as instruments to propel the national-building project. Apart from being mild in criticism, they propelled Kenyatta's regime by promoting his mythologies. It is during this time that Kenyatta adopted the title Mzee which translated from Swahili means Elder (Ogola, 2011). An elder in any African community is a revered figure who possesses infinite wisdom. Kenyatta adopted this title to portray that he was the Father of the Nation, and therefore fostering the feeling of family amongst Kenyans.

Furthermore, Kenyatta ensured that significant stories about the president or vice president were not reported private news media. Instead, they were dependent on the Presidential Press Unit (PPU), the Vice-Presidential Press Unit (VPPU) and the Kenya News Agency (KNA). By doing so, the Nation and Standard newspapers became a publicity arm for the state (Ibid).

3.2.3 The Nyayo era

When Daniel Arap Moi became the president of Kenya in 1978, there was a widespread expectation among Kenyans that democracy and human rights observation would be ensured by the administration. This was because, during his predecessor's time Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, the economic and political realm of the country was run by a small group of elite `Kiambu Mafia` from the Kikuyu ethnic group, Kikuyus and their loyalties (Adar, 2000). The overall expectations of Moi's potential was reinforced by the decisions and promises he made after taking office; he released all 26 political detainees across the spectrum, he promised to ensure that his administration would not condone tribalism, corruption and tribalism and to follow in the Kenyatta's Nyayo (footsteps). He wanted Kenyans to perceive him a true nationalist not only in his own right but as a confidant of Kenyatta whom he worked beside as Vice President from 1967-1978 (Ibid).

However, when Moi assumed office, he was faced with a deeply fractured nation and a divided political elite following the political fallout over the presidential succession. He had to reconstruct the dilapidated nation-building project to consolidate his political position (Adar, 2000). He immediately sort to break up the Kikuyu capital and political might , The Gikuyu Embu Meru Association (GEMA), a powerful socioeconomic and political grouping which previously was supported by the government in order to protects the kikuyu elite privilege (Ogola,2011). In GEMA's place, he appointed the Kalenjin, Maasai, Turkana and Samburu to give him political and economic leverage. In June 1982, via parliamentary and constitutional amendment, Moi saw Kenya become a one-party state by law laying the foundation for dictatorship, authoritarianism and human rights violation (Ibid).

Meanwhile, the state continued to use state machinery for coercion; intimidate political opposition, detaining politicians, detaining politicians, journalists and university lecturers. Even as he encouraged the unity of Kalenjin, Maasai, Turkana and Samburu communities, he ensured the downfall of other ethnic alliances and local-languages media that represented such groups. Intimidation and detention of newspaper editors became a norm (Adar, 2000).

Kenya did not have media law before 2009 making media organizations and workers vulnerable to state manipulation and intimidation. Media freedom was accounted for in section 79(a) which stated:

Except with his own consent, no person shall be hindered in the enjoyment of his freedom of expression, that is to say, freedom to hold opinions without interference, freedom to receive ideas and information without interference, freedom to communicate ideas and information without interference (whether the communication be to the public generally or to any person or class of persons) and freedom from interference with his correspondence (GoK, 1997).

However, it remained subject to the penal code allowing the government to clamp down in the interest of public morality, public order and national security. The interpretation of these provisions was ambiguous therefore they could be misinterpreted. Between 1988-1990, nearly 20 publications were banned which included Beyond Magazine (1988), Financial Review (1989) and Nairobi Law Monthly (1990) (Githinji, Mwangi & Frank Holmquist, 2008). Knowing the power media have, Moi tried to acquire the Nation and Standard newspapers. He failed to acquire shares of the Nation newspaper but asserted business relations with the group's biggest shareholder. In addition, using proxies and the Kenya African Nation Union (KANU) party apparatchiks, he acquired controlling shares in the Standard newspaper (Ogola, 2011). Lack of total control over both newspapers pushed Moi into setting up the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC). Furthermore, the ruling party, KANU, bought Hilary Ng'weno's Nairobi Times and renamed it the Kenya Times in an effort to showcase the party's intentions in the national-building project (Githinji, Mwangi & Frank Holmquist, 2008). During this time, there was increased mediatisation in political processes not only in Kenya but the world at large as noted;

It takes a stretch of imagination to think of five corporate executives doing the same thing. On the other hand, it would have been difficult to imagine in 1983 that the corporations that owned all the country's dominant mass media would, in less than twenty years, shrink from fifty separate companies to five. If, however, one looks at the properties of the dominant five, it provides some insight into how it could have happened. Their steady accumulation of power in the world of news, radio, television, magazines, books, and movies gave them a steady accumulation of power in politics. Political leaders and parties know that the news media control how those politicians are depicted to the voting public, the more powerful the leading media, the more powerful their influence on politicians and national policy (Ben H. Bagdikian, 2004; 28-29).

It is fair to conclude that there was more government involvement in the media than before during the first phase of Moi's presidency (Ogola, 2011).

3.2.4 Media and political pluralism

Political pluralism refers to a philosophy that recognizes and affirms diversity within a political body and permits the peaceful coexistence of different interests, convictions and lifestyle (Britannica, 2016).

In the late 1980s and 1990s, Kenya declined politically and economically. Moi's regime led to the informalisation of the state giving the leading party, KANU, and the president himself executive power. As a result, it created an opportunity for the rise of opposition. During this time, the silenced public gained its voice. Kenyans began speaking out through barazas and the media. Barazas are political communities particularly in the countryside (Haugerud, 1995). Opposition discourses mobilized around religious, political and cultural groups. Alternative sites for popular expression emerged which led to the emergence of gutter press; notorious abrasive news media largely funded by politicians to discredit Moi. Though gutter press may have been disorganized, it led to coordination with political pressure groups, opposition politicians, the church, the international community and the civil society, and expansion of expression which led to open criticisms of the government. Consequently, the government was forced to repeal section 2(a) of the constitution ending the *de jure* one-party rule (Ogola, 2011).

As mentioned above, the reintroduction of political pluralism allowed for the liberalization of media which led to the development of new media outlets. However, even with this newly found freedom, there were three major constraints the media faced with the advent of political pluralism; crises of ownership, resources and power (Ansah, 1991). The Daily Nation and the Sunday Nation remained politically conservative due to the close relationship between the group's shareholders and the state. Therefore, although they exercised some criticism, they were still restrained due to the states influence (Githinji, Mwangi & Frank Holmquist, 2008).

Political pluralism saw the rise and fall of party-owned newspapers such as the Kenya Times and the People. However, the broadcast sector witnessed immense change. In late 1990s, private broadcast media began with the establishment of the first privately owned radio and television stations; Capital FM and Kenya Television Network respectively both owned by the Standard Group. Other entrants included the Royal Media House, Citizen TV, Citizen Radio and over 10 local-language FM stations (Africa Media Watch, 1991). At the time, broadcast license acquisition was based on state patronage and political connections but

due to a rise in criticism and lobbying, the state licensed new players unwillingly. All media groups had to play by specific rules; broadcast in a given region and broadcast in either English or Swahili. These limitations resulted in; stations not having national appeal due to geographic constraints, stations focused on entertainment to avoid confrontation from the state and the language restrictions limited the audience to those who could comprehend formal English and Swahili (Ogola, 2011).

3.2.5 Upsurge of local language FM stations

Local- Language FM Stations, also known as Community Radio, is a service that does not abide by the same rules and roles as commercial and public broadcasting. The main aim of this type of broadcasting is to serve a particular people or region. They are most-commonly non-profit entities operated, owned and influenced by the communities they are broadcasting to (Tawileh & Jaser, 2012). They broadcast material that is relevant to the target audience which is often overlooked by mass-media broadcasters. The main aim of local-language FM stations has been to enable members of the community, especially those from the rural areas, to share knowledge and their experiences (Ibid).

The rise of the local-language FM radio was somewhat swiftly paved by the political environment in Kenya in the 1990s. There was widespread disillusionment with mainstream news media and de-politicization of new urban English- Swahili FM stations propelled the rise of the Local-language FM stations. These new urban stations were a tool used by the government to promote nation-building and to control the information being broadcasted (Githinji, Mwangi & Frank Holmquist, 2008).

At this time, these urban stations either deliberately ignored or failed to acknowledge the complex social formation's in Kenya's conurbations, especially in the capital city; Nairobi. Nairobi's population is very diverse due to its association with labour rather than a home city; many people migrate to Nairobi with the hopes of getting employment in order to better their lives and those of their family (Balck, 1994.). Consequently, family and ethnic ties were ruptured which led to the struggle with political identities. Thus a new form of exploitation in the political space became available i.e. the Local- Language FM Stations (Ogola, 2011).

In 2000, the first Local-Language (Kikuyu) FM station was launched and quickly became the most popular station in Nairobi and the catchment areas. Kameme FM's target audience were the Kikuyu, Meru and Embu tribes who were united by a similar language and

a common hatred for the mainstream media. It originally had backing from the government with the hopes of politically aligning itself with the Moi regime and was primarily used as a commercial enterprise (Ogola, 2011). However, with the looming 2002 Presidential Elections, the station was allowed to broadcast political and social programs. With its growth, the station experimented with call-in sessions and talk shows which popularized the station even further because it provided the listeners with a platform where they could air their grievances that had been previously ignored by mainstream media (Githinji, Mwangi & Frank Holmquist, 2008).

Kameme FM's success, though thought to provide an avenue for increased political tensions, led to the emergence of other vernacular radio stations; Ramogi FM (Luo), Kass FM (Kalenjin), Musyi FM (Kamba), Mulembe FM (Luhya), Eggesa (Kisii), and several others. Just like Kameme, they were used to promote political and social awareness in rural areas. The government supported these stations because it aimed at breaking the political alliances formed within ethnic groups by allowing their voices to be heard thereby fostering a feeling of unity and loyalty (BBC, 2008).

3.2.6 PEV and the aftermath

Due to the volatile political state in early 2000s, opposition parties and candidates agreed to a coalition in order to unseat the KANU from power in 2002. Two main political parties, the National Alliance Party of Kenya, led by Mwai Kibaki (a Kikuyu), and the Rainbow Coalition, led by Raila Odinga (a Luo), came together to form the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC), which successfully beat KANU (Ogola, 2011). All new governments make new promises, however, only few are carried out. NARC was no different. No laws on the infringement of media were changed; instead control over the media was increased by forcing publishers to post a bond of Ksh. 1 million before publishing anything in newspapers or magazines (Ibid).

NARC's grace period was short-lived and the coalition began to have there was division in the coalition. By the end of Kibaki's first term, this division became clear even in the media sector by voicing and participating in this division (Cheeseman, 2008). Because of the social and political tensions that were on-going due to the split of NARC into Kibaki's Party of National Unity (PNU) and Odinga's Orange Democratic Party (ODM), the national media was in crisis. These political parties found a substitute voice especially in the local-

language FM stations which fuelled the tensions before, during and after the PEV (BBC, 2008).

The ownership of power in Kenya can be directly associated with inclusion or exclusion in ethno-politics. Once a member of a certain ethnic group attains power, it is evident that their ethnic group will be included and even favoured in political matters. This is why the fight for power is so important that it turned violent in 2007/8 (Githinji & Holmquist, 2008). With the consequences of the PEV being as gruesome as they were, the media took a different turn. The media became an instrument of promoting peace and fostering unity. There were a lot of campaigns that run against tribalism and promoted unity. Local famous musicians came together to do a patriotic song. Religious leaders from different faiths joined hands in the same effort (Ogola, 2009). This was carried on during the aftermath all the way to the next elections. Of course there have been trials on the key persons responsible for propaganda during the PEV in the media and so on, however, from a holistic point of view, despite its shortcomings, the media have played a vital role in the social and political state in Kenya (Wrong, 2008).

3.3 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined a comprehensive research methodology and theoretical framework that the study used. It has achieved its aim by examining theories that explained the role of media in peacebuilding in world politics, but more specifically, in the 2007/8 Kenyan Post-Election Violence. It has accomplished this by outlining its findings in the development of media in section one, media and political pluralism, the upsurge of local language FM stations, and the role media played in PEV and thereafter. Section three offers a summary of the findings. The following chapter will deal with the role of media in peacebuilding focusing in on Kenya before, during and after the 2007 general elections.

CHAPTER IV

MEDIA AND PEACEBUILDING: A CRITICAL INQUIRY

4.1 Introduction

While chapter three consisted of a literature review that analysed the electoral violence and media's history in Kenya, this chapter consists of a critical investigation of the media and peacebuilding. This chapter examines the existing relevant literature on the media's role in Kenya, more specifically before, during and after the infamous 2007/8 PEV. It explains the existing gaps in Kenyan media, its control and usage in the Kenyan context; what role the media played to escalate and/or diminish the PEV and if and what part media played in peacebuilding. In order to reach the aim, hence, the chapter is structured into three main sections. Section one analyses the role of media in conflict from a broad perspective, and zero in on the case of Kenya's 2007/8 PEV. In this section the role of media in conflict will be examined. Section two discusses theoretical framework of media and peacebuilding. In this section, Western theories of media reporting and link two particular theories namely "libertarian and social responsibility" with the Kenyan situation will be examined. In this section, the role of media in Kenya will be by and large documented. The last section consists of concluding remarks.

4.2 The role of media in conflict

The role of media in general is a widely written and talked about topic. Numerous scholars have written on the role media have played in several economies, political situations and social environments. However, despite such wide coverage, very little focus has been on the role media have played in conflicts, even less on the media's role as a peacebuilding tool in conflict (Newbold, 1995). Newbold (1995) states that role of media as a peacebuilding tool in conflict is an area which is under-explored and urges scholars to further study and explore this area in order to come up with multidisciplinary models and concepts that explain how media can be maximized on in order to promote peace and combat conflict. But before, the study zeros in on the media's role, it will first explore the roles media plays in conflict:

4.2.1 Media as information provider and interpreter

Media provides people with important information about political, economic and cultural issues in their surroundings and environment. Media also responds to impending problems in society such as natural catastrophes (Vladimir & Schirch, 2007). Media plays two key roles as Information Provider; either it is active and participates in the violence thereby propelling

violence, or takes or stays independent and out of conflict thereby combating conflict and alleviating violence (Puddephatt, 2006). The role the media takes in provision of information in a particular conflict is based on various complex factors such as independence the media have from the government and political leaders and the relationship between the media and the actors involved in the conflict (Ibid). Conflict has become an ‘accepted norm’ of the world we live in today. What this means is that conflict has become part of our community (globally, regionally and locally) and our daily lives. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), there have been over 50 major armed conflicts around the world. SIPRI (2016) defines a major armed conflict as one that results in over 1000 battle-related deaths within a year. In 1993 alone, according to SIPRI, there were 34 major armed conflicts in 28 different locations in the world such as Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Bosnia, Colombia, Georgia, India, Peru, South Africa and Turkey to name a few (SIPRI, 2016).

Media also serves as an interpreter of events occurred. In most conflict situation, the common man is unable to fully grasp what is happening. The media interprets events beyond out physical realm bringing about understanding and clarity in a time of chaos (Vladimir & Schirch, 2007). An example would be the 1988 Optor Movement created by Serbian students. This movement responded to new academic and media restrictions by developing a grassroots campaign that provided information and hope to those fighting the Milosevic government (Ibid).

4.2.2 Media as watchdog

Media sometimes acts as a third-party ‘watchdog’ that monitors the events of a conflict and provides information to the public on local problems (Vladimir & Schirch, 2007). According to Thussu & Freedman (2003), there are three key narratives concerning the role of mainstream media in communicating conflict i.e. the publicist, the observer and the battleground. According to these scholars, the idea that journalists are independent watchdogs of military conduct is revered by media professionals and liberal commentators. This idea assumes that journalists are able to shrug off ideological and organizational restrictions in order to watch and report over military combatants. In addition, it also assumes that journalists are able to question the relevant authorities when it comes to matters pertaining to tactical and strategic decisions in time of a violent conflict. Thussu and Freedman (2003) dubbed this the ‘adversarial’ conception. They give an example of the media coverage of the Vietnam War where the raw and harsh portrayal of the American casualties demoralized the

people and led to the losing of the war. They note that the major turning point of the war was a report broadcasted by the beloved news anchor Walter Cronkite of Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) following his visit to Vietnam stating that the war was at a stalemate and argued that military victory was impossible. The broadcast coverage of (United States) corpses and human suffering led to demoralization at the home front and the de-escalation of the entire war (Thussu & Freedman, 2003). The ‘adversarial’ model suggests that due to the diligence of journalists and increased media coverage, governments have been forced to more open and transparent in their justification of war and military resources which in turn has led to increased measures of resolving conflict without violence (Ibid).

4.2.3 Media as a policymaker

Media have been essential in quickening the responses of governments and the international community through global reporting. This is later discussed in the case of the Kenyan 2007/8 PEV. However, thanks to the CNN Effect (see sec. 3.2.3), policy makers have been forced to formulate and enforce conflict prevention measures, at the same time design responses for violent conflict. In addition, the media have provided a platform for the policy makers to broadcast their message (Vladimir & Schirch, 2007). An example would be the introduction of the definition and repercussions of the use of hate speech in the new Kenyan Constitution of 2010. Beforehand, Kenya did not have a law on hate speech which did not provide an avenue to effectively eradicate hate speech during and after the 2007/8 PEV. Following the realization of the extent hate speech propelled the PEV, hate speech was included in the new Kenyan Constitution in order to shun tribalism and hopefully foster peace by punishing those who use hate speech (Munyua, 2011).

4.2.4 Media as a peacebuilding tool

Media events can be used in conflict situations during negotiations to help facilitate the negotiations, build confidence and create a conducive environment for the negotiations. Moreover, media events can help promote and mobilize public support for peace agreements. Media events include press releases, concerts, radio programs or any other media-related event that helps promote and celebrate peace agreements in conflict situations (Vladimir & Schirch, 2007). A good example would be Studio Ijambo in Burundi. In 1995, twenty Hutu and Tutsi journalists came together and created Studio Ijambo in order to promote peace, dialogue and reconciliation. With a production of 100 radio peace programs monthly, Studio Ijambo has successfully been promoting peace (Ibid).

Another example would be Kenya. There are several cases that were present in the Kenyan situation; first, famous Kenyan musicians from all tribes came together and released a peace song that was aired several times a day by the mainstream media houses (Shitemi, et al, 2013). Secondly, there were peace caravans by the government in conjunction with private organizations that toured around the country preaching peace (Ibid). Thirdly, the main mobile service providers began sending texts with peace messages through their Short Message Service (SMS) to all mobile users in an effort to help shun the violence and instead foster peace (Munyua, 2011).

4.2.5 Media as a gatekeeper

Media can serve as a gatekeeper by monitoring and controlling the information broadcasted. As much as media are an information provider, media houses must be careful on how they provide this information. The information should be unbiased whilst also reporting the true facts. Though the ideal would be for the media to be neutral and objective, the media are highly influenced by private owners, political affiliations and selfish agendas (Bratic & Schirch, 2007). An example would be in 2006, a Danish controversial cartoonist raised international havoc on his how he depicted Islam. Consequently, he provoked extensive analysis on the timing and to what extent the media should act as a gatekeeper thereby regulating what is broadcasted thus preventing misunderstandings, embarrassment and conflicts (Ibid).

4.2.6 Media as a diplomat

Media can be used during conflict situations to send messages between the conflicting parties. In conflict situation, it is best to handle delicate matters through secret negotiations. However, this is not always an option in some conflicts due to different factors such as volatile political situations, violent conflict and inaccessibility of leaders to one another. In this case, the media are called upon to bring the leaders of the conflicting parties through either TV or radio programs in an effort to reconcile (Vladimir & Schirch, 2007).

4.2.7 Media as an instigator/ propeller of violence

Unfortunately, not all roles the media plays in conflicts are positive. Media are a powerful communication tool that can be used for a lot of good but also can be used to cause a lot of harm. In volatile political environments, the media are used as a communication tool. How it is used as a communication tool is sometimes left in the hands media houses. Depending on how volatile and/or fragile a community is at the time of conflict, media can fuel conflict (Mbeke, 2009). An example would be the use of local language radio stations during the

2007/8 Kenyan PEV. These stations targeted their local tribesmen and transmitted messages of hatred and disunity that propelled the PEV. These stations used dissociative terminologies such as ‘foreigners’ and ‘fishermen’ while referring to other referring to members of rival tribes. This resulted in the eliciting of feelings of animosity and hatred amongst Kenyans countrywide and thus fuelled the PEV (Mbeke, 2009).

4.2.8 Media as a link/connector

According to Vladimir & Schirch (2007), media can promote positive relationships between groups of people in conflict over ethnic, national or religious identities by; a) sharing similar interests and positions e.g. Heroes from Rwanda, a TV show shows people who risked their own lives to save the lives of others belonging to the rival ethnic group, b) showing the other in a similar light as self, e.g. Iraqi media that broadcast the sufferings of the Sunni and Shia help evoke common empathy, c) Condemning violence, e.g. In 1998, the Unionists and Republicans in Omagh, Northern Ireland united and renounced violence in all media, and d) showcasing those with similar problems, e.g. Israeli and Palestinian mothers broadcasted as being victims of conflict and suffering the loss of their children in an HBO documentary aired in 2007.

4.3 Role of media in Kenya

Mass media in Kenya has played a key role in Kenya’s development from the time of its introduction to date. More specifically, mass media have been seen to influence the social, political and economic statuses with nation-wide issues such as health care workers’ strikes, underpayment of teachers and healthcare needs. Due to the influence of media in the Kenyan community, these nation-wide issues have unfortunately resulted in the outbreak of conflicts that were either propelled or cubed by media coverage (Ogola, 2011). A prime example would be the infamous 2007/8 Kenyan PEV. The media was very active in the promotion of presidential candidates, political parties and issues pertaining to the elections. In fact, the campaigns and coverage was very widespread so much so that they were captured on global channels such as Al Jazeera, Cable News Network (CNN) and British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) who has a few local journalists working in Nairobi (Bunce, 2010). On one hand, one can argue that the media could have supported the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK) by promoting free and fair elections and fostering a unity amongst Kenyans whilst providing civic education to the citizens and therefore acting as a peacebuilding agent.

On the other, one can argue that the media propelled the violence through direct coverage of the incidents that took place thereby creating a volatile political environment,

feelings of animosity, hatred and disunity. On 30th December 2008, the government issued a ban on live broadcasting due to the failure of the media to manage their coverage (Munyua, 2011). In addition, the predictions of the potential presidential victor from the polls done by local and most-viewed stations i.e. the Kenya Television Network (KTN), Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC), Citizen and Nation Television (NTV) exacerbated feelings being cheated and fuelled anger amongst the supporters of the losing candidate (Bunce, 2010).

Another area of contention was based on ethnic conflicts and histories. The opposition party as mentioned in the introduction was the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) which was predominately Luo and the ruling party was Party of National Unity (PNU) was predominately of the Kikuyu tribe (Cheeseman, 2008). The Luo and Kikuyu tribesmen have been in conflict from the days of independence and the resettlement done by the then president, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta. Each tribe has its own version of the truth however, the main issue of contention was the allocation of land and resources (Ibid). The relation between historic ethnic conflicts and the 2007/8 PEV comes into play with media that was influenced by/ had a relationship with the ODM and PNU political parties which I will dub Team ODM and Team PNU respectively. Team ODM showcased the devolution of power and resources from the grassroots in an effort to rectify historical wrongs that had been inflicted in their tribesmen and restoration to glory and election of a powerful government (KNHCR, 2008). Team PNU broadcasted the displacement of their people from the Rift Valley Region and other parts of the country leading to the internal displacement of persons, disruption of the economic influence the tribe has in the country and fostering of anger and hatred amongst tribes in Kenya (Ibid). It is important to note that the Kikuyu tribesmen are very diligent workers who are known for their work ethic and/or 'love-for-money' which has led to them being called thieves but in the reality of things, are very resourceful and hard workers and therefore have generally prospered economically in the areas where they settled (Tamarkin, 1978). Therefore, due to the disparity in interests, the media could have propelled the PEV through promotion of negativity in broadcastings and fostering of negative feelings amongst different tribes.

Kenya has several hundred FM stations broadcasting in both Swahili and local/ ethnic languages with a registration of 42 ethnic tribes with each tribe having its own unique language(s). In addition, major channels such as BBC, Voice of America (VOA) and Radio France International (RFI) rebroadcast their programs in Kenya (Munyua, 2011). As stated

above, the media played a role in the promotion of violent conflict in 2007/8 in Kenya. While mainstream media houses such as KBC, KTN and NTV were a little more cautious in what they broadcasted, local language radio stations further fuelled the tensions that quickly became the background of violence (Mbeke, 2009). Local language stations usually broadcasted raw statements made politicians during the campaign trails that in the real sense were hate speech. Furthermore, the fact that they broadcasted these in their local languages promoted exclusion amongst different tribes which further promoted disunity.

The fact that the local language stations broadcasting in the vast variety of languages made it difficult for the government to monitor each and every broadcast made in regard to the tensions at every moment (Munyua, 2011). The local radio stations that were most popular during this period included Lake Victoria FM, Kameme FM, Kass FM, and Inooro FM (Abdi & Deane, 2008). These stations alienated themselves from other tribes using the same techniques that the British colonizers used; divide-and-rule. The Kalenjin tribesmen often alienated themselves from the Kikuyu tribesmen by referring to them as the ‘foreigners’ whenever they referred to them in their local language station; Kass FM. In the same way, the Kikuyu tribesmen referred to the Luo tribesmen as ‘fishermen’ in their stations; Kameme and Inooro FM. They referred to the Luo tribesmen as fishermen because fishing is their main economic activity (Mbeke, 2009).

Though the media at this time was being gravely stifled, Kenyans found another outlet that they could use that was not as advanced in the earlier elections times as it was then; social media (Makinen & Kuira, 2008). Social media are defined as any form of electronic communications e.g. websites for social networking, email, mailing list, blogs and vlogs (video-blogs) through which people create online communities where they can exchange ideas, information, personal messages, videos and soon (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 2016). Social media such as Facebook and Twitter offered a platform where the citizens could be their own reporters and as a result, the media reports became more diverse than the views that had previously been presented by mainstream media (Makinen & Kuira, 2008). Social media offered a diverse coverage of first hand news that was more detailed and subjective during a time when mainstream media had been forced into censorship due to fears of repression and the international media only reported observable issues which led to the news being very superficial and ignorant of the underlying issues (Ibid). Social media were particularly popular due to its dynamic nature and ability to report as quickly as the events unfolded during a politically volatile and fast changing time (Ibid).

The Communications Commission of Kenya (CCK) reported statistics of increased mobile and mobile internet use during and after the PEV which includes an increase in mobile subscriptions, overall telephone density, increase in the number of recorded sent text messages, and an increase in the number of mobile internet users (Munyua, 2011). Mobile phone Short Message Service (SMS) were also used to instigate hate speech and incite violent acts. SMS played two key roles; instigation and peacebuilding. SMS' first role was that of instigation where it was used to spread rumours and hidden messages of hatred amongst tribesmen. It is reported that SMS issued out predictions and even before the official results had been released had called on to the people to fight in honour of their respective tribes (Makinen & Kuira, 2008). A local website, Mashada.com, quickly became popular because as opposed to other websites where forums and chatting were the only means one could use to post a comment, Mashada.com provided SMS-delivered postings (Ibid).

The second role was that of peacebuilding. When the violence erupted, the leading mobile service providers, Safaricom and Celtel, allowed providers to send messages of peace and unity provided by the service providers themselves. This was after the then Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of Safaricom, Michael Joseph, convinced the government not to shut down the SMS. During this time, Safaricom and Celtel called upon citizens to shun violence and keep the peace (Munyua, 2011). Because of the lack of clarification and law of what constitutes as hate speech, when it comes to SMS and online broadcast content, little was done to manage what was put out for public consumption (Ibid).

There was an overall lack of proper conduct and accountability of the media during the Kenyan 2007/8 PEV. There was bias and inaccurate reports and broadcasting by both mainstream media and the smaller media players. There was lack of verification of facts and people, especially in the international community, were reduced to statistics (BBC, 2008). I recall watching a CNN broadcasting report on the PEV and the depiction of Kenya as a whole was inaccurate and widely exaggerated. It depicted Kenya as having nearly burnt down to the ground with what seemed to be a massacre throughout the country when in actual fact, 1,200 deaths were reported and destruction of property was only in specific areas where violence erupted (Gillies, 2011).

Despite how the Kenyan media propelled the PEV, it is important to highlight the positive role it played during this time. Firstly, the media served as voice for those who could not be heard in the society. These was particularly true with the local language radio stations

where they provided platforms where the listeners could call in and air their grievances allowing the message to be received by the targeted local and international authorities whilst protecting those who people at the grass-root level (Ogola, 2011). An example would be following the wide coverage of the 2007/8 Kenyan PEV, the international media pressurized the Kenyan authorities to end the conflict. Failure to do so led to the intervention of the international community through the provision of a third-party mediator (Odinga, 2013).

During the 2007/8 Kenyan PEV, the media played a significant role. There are many positive roles that the media played i.e. the role in the efforts to promote peace, stability and democracy, at the same time there are many negatives roles that that the media played i.e. that propelled the eruption of the PEV (Plaisance, 2005). Kenya is often referred to as a model for political stability and economic development in Africa, the extent of violence experienced in 2007/8 was unprecedented; a new experienced that baffled the country. Elections in Kenya have been associated with violence for about 20 years now; but in 2007, the escalation to eruption in violence was unexpected and therefore the country was unprepared to deal with it which led to slower responses by the government and therefore slower results (Munyua, 2011). The escalation can be credited to the increase in technology with an increase in mobile subscriptions and easy accessibility to the internet. The high violence level undoubtedly set Kenya's democratic progress back (Ibid).

Though the role of media in the Kenyan 2007/8 PEV has been somewhat documented, the impact of media have not yet been fully explored. In the same way, the role media have played in peacebuilding in a conflict situation is still an area which ripe for exploration. The role of media can be inferred from how media behaved before, during and after the 2007/8 PEV.

4.4 Gap analysis

Based on the discussion above, the role of media in conflict is undeniable not only in Kenya but in all parts worldwide. In times of conflict, we see the media takes the role of the instigator. An example would be the 1994 Rwandese Genocide where Radio Television Libre des Milles Collines (RTL) used the dissociative terminology 'cockroaches' to refer to the Tutsi tribesmen often broadcasting that the time had come to kill the cockroaches. By so doing, they dehumanize the Tutsi and by so doing encourage the Hutu tribesmen to kill the Tutsi (UNDP, 2016). Similarly, the tribes in Kenya used dissociative terminologies for their

rival tribesmen and broadcasted hateful messages in the local language radio stations (Munyua, 2011).

In contrast, there are reports where media serve as peace promoters, connectors and watchdogs in order to de-escalate conflict and reconcile conflicting parties. Examples include Studio Ijambo in Rwanda, equal showcasing of the Shia and Sunni women as suffering child lose as a result of war in Iraq, Unionists and Republicans uniting to renounce violence in all media in Northern Ireland and by celebrating the Heroes of Rwanda who risked their lives to save those of rival tribesmen as mentioned in detail above (Vladimir & Schirch, 2007).

Despite the vast research done on the role of media in Kenya and the infamous 2007/8 Post- Election Violence, very little research has been carried out on the role of Kenyan media as a peacebuilding tool in the 2007/8 PEV. As a result, this study attempts to fill in this gap by outlining the different roles the media played at which times in the PEV and in what ways these roles affected the situation on the ground before, during and after the PEV.

4.5 Theoretical framework

As stated in the introduction, this section consists of theoretical underpinnings of the study as in helping locate the thesis within International Development Studies discourses. Therefore, this section will discuss the role of media in Kenya's 2007/8 PEV with reference to the Libertarian and Social Responsibility. In addition, it will showcase the conceptual framework of the study.

4.5.1 Theories of media reporting

Theories of media reporting are also known as Normative Theories of Communication or Western Theories of Mass Media (Mishra, 2016). In their book, 'Four Theories of The Press', Siebert, Peterson & Schramm state that media does not exist in a vacuum and therefore came up with these four theories that try to explain the role socio-political structures in societies play and how in turn they affect the freedoms, roles and accountabilities of media (Siebert et al, 1972). These theories explain the behaviour of media under four different types of government rule. These theories are not scientific, they are based on the relationship the media have with political organizations, media owners and the impact media have on the grassroots. It is interesting to note that they touch on the issue of control of the media i.e. censorship and accountability (Ibid).

In the 19th Century, the media sector was quickly growing which led to it being very competitive (Mishra, 2016). Consequently, media began to use sensationalism in an effort to

attract people to their own media houses. Sensationalism is the presentation of information in a way that provokes public interest at the expense of accuracy (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 2016). As a result, media reports became very inaccurate and barely factual. This led to the development of the theories of media reporting in an effort to help people comprehend the responsible use of media for the general public via the relationship of media and the governments. These theories guide media on how it should behave focussing mainly on accuracy and objectivity of the reports (Mishra, 2016). These theories explain the role media adopts under four different government rule while offers recommendations on which avenues should be taken by media, structures that media should adopt and how to operate under that particular government rule (Ibid).

Siebert and associates developed these theories in order to ensure that media would be reliable, credible and truthful. They admitted that it was difficult to find countries to fall under one specific category; and that most were a mixture of two or more theories (Siebert et. al, 1972). Because in this study the focus is only two of the four theories, I will list and define the irrelevant theories as the first two, then follow with an in-depth discussion of the relevant theories to this study; Libertarian and Social Responsibility Theories.

4.5.2 Authoritarian theory

Authoritarian theory of media report is control of the media by the upper class/ one-percenters in society. There is widespread censorship and complete blockage of broadcasting anything that would portray this class in a negative light. There is very little freedom of the media. Instead, media are used to serve the interests of those in the upper class (Mirsha, 2016; Siebert et. al, 1972).

4.5.3 Communist theory

Communist theory of media reporting, also known as Soviet Theory, is derived from the Soviet Union following the Russian Revolution in 1917. The main goal of media in such a society is to promote communism and its goals. The communist leaders control the media and information is highly regulated only used to develop the working class' skills and fulfil their basic needs. Media are self-regulating requiring no need for censorship. A good example is communist China (Mirsha, 2016; Siebert et. al, 1972).

4.5.4 Libertarian theory

Libertarian theory of media reporting was developed to oppose the authoritarian theory. Under this theory, media are given more freedoms and involves the use of individuals in the

quest to find the truth. Media under this government rule e.g. the United States of America, play vital roles in the country's constitution and fundamental laws. There was freedom of public involvement and the government possessed little to no control. Instead, the media serve as a watchdog that monitors the actions of the government and provide information to the public on local problems. This showcases that free and responsible media can guard against misuse of power via factual reporting, protection of individual rights, open debate promotion and representation of different viewpoints (Siebert et. al, 1972).

Libertarian theory promotes the self-regulation of media in observance with the regulations set to ensure observation of ethics while exercising full professionalism. In Kenya, The government appointed the CCK which is made up of media personal and government leader in order to act as watchdogs against each other with the aim of ensuring that the freedom of self-regulation ins not abused (Munyua, 2011). The libertarian theory, due to the freedoms it allows, is favourable for peacebuilding by the media. Just like any other theory, libertarian theory has its faults. Because media are not controlled by the government and is fact a separate entity entirely, there is room false advertising and false news (Mirsha, 2016). Furthermore, powerful persons can influence the media to fulfil their own interests as was the case in the Kenyan 2007 presidential elections. Mainstream media houses such as the Nation Media Group and Standard Group through focused on the ethnic differences highlighting the past elections-related conflicts thereby steering the conflict towards ethnic conflict (Odinga, 2013). Local language radio stations and social media were even harder to control at the time. Because there was no formal law in Kenya at the time regarding hate speech, little was done even to those who openly engaged in it. Moreover, because these avenues of libertarian theory allow freedom of expression in local languages, it was difficult to monitor every single comment broadcasted over 100 radio stations in 42 different languages (Munyua, 2011).

Libertarian theory advocates for media to serve as an information provider giving true and factual information with little to no control from the government. As a result, powerful persons and organizations cannot influence the media to achieve their own interests (Odinga, 2013). Media workers possess the freedom to work within the legal framework to carry out objective reporting therefore promoting peace/ peacebuilding. An exemplary example is media support for mediation of the two rival parties; PNU and ODM. The media was quick to highlight the decision to use mediation during the period of the Kenyan PEV and broadcasted the entire process of mediation. The fact that the political leaders met and deliberated quieted

down the violence. The climax of this process was a photo that broadcasted immediately the negotiations were over of the two political leaders shaking hand while holding a signed agreement. This led to the immediate stop of violence countrywide (Mbeke, 2009).

4.5.5 The social responsibility theory

Social responsibility theory of media reporting allows media to broadcast and report anything provided the media are responsible for what is broadcasted and can be held accountable. This theory also holds the audience accountable in their understanding of what is broadcasted (Mirsha, 2016). Social responsibility theory assumes that the media have to take both moral and legal responsibilities in order to protect the society; the government usually cannot interfere in the information published but can step in and censor information if it feels the information will disrupt the social order and/or threaten democracy (Siebert et. al, 1972). Under this theory, there are guidelines and regulations that the media adhere to. More specifically, this theory insists on the truthfulness, accuracy and objectivity of information at all times. Credibility is the core of this theory which calls for transparency in reporting. However, this theory also considers the sources and insists on the respect of privacy, rights and dignity (Schudson, 2001). Media are perceived to be the voice of the voiceless and thus offers a vast variety of views (Mirsha, 2016). It brings to light social injustices within the community and educates the people on their civil rights. The problem with this theory is that with more enlightenment comes more zeal to fight for one's rights and more often than not, this leads to violence (Schudson, 2001).

Media persons are obligated to report objectivity and ensure transparency in what they publish under the social responsibility theory (Schudson, 2001). The media acted as a peacebuilding tool when it compelled the international community to intervene during the 2007/8 PEV by highlighting the social injustices and crimes against humanity (Odinga, 2013). In the same light, the Media Council of Kenya (MCK) in collaboration with big companies, organizations and corporations put out peace messages through advertisements and SMS (Mbeke, 2009). As can be derived from its name, social responsibility is rooted in Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). CSR refers to practices/ initiatives in business which adds value to the society. CSR can circumscribe a variety of strategies from charity endeavours to environmental friendly initiatives (Caramela, 2016). Mainstream media houses promoted CSR in Kenya when they got involved in assisting in settling the victims of PEV; the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and facilitated the provision of clothing and food for them (Odinga, 2013).

4.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, the literature review has revealed that media coverage in a conflict situation, with the help of technological advancement in media such as the advancements in internet and mobile services, led to the revolutionary media coverage during the Kenyan 2007/8 PEV; which includes the role of media as a peacebuilding tool. In addition, it led to the intervention of the international community. In Kenya's time of crisis which put a stop to violence. This was as result of the media's expanded ability to affect conduct of international diplomacy and foreign policy (Livingstone, 1999). Dubbed the 'CNN Effect', the effect these new global, real-time media have seen the response to conflicts around the world quickened. Advancement in media technology have enable live-streaming of events as they unfold which has led to foreign policy of media-specified crisis management. In a nutshell, global live-streaming has led to quicker response by the international community which in turn leads to faster crisis management (Ibid). Lastly, media served to shape government policy.

Due to the lack of law on hate speech, the Kenyan government included the definition and repercussion of the use of hate speech in the New Constitution that was voted in in 2010 (Munyua, 2011). Article 35 guarantees access to reliable information stating: "(1) Every citizen has the right of access to (a) information held by the State; and (b) information held by another person and required for the exercise or protection of any right or fundamental freedom. (2) Every person has the right to the correction or deletion of untrue or misleading information that affects the person. (3) The State shall publish and publicize any important information affecting the nation" (GoK, 2010). It is important to note that there are three sources of freedom of information laws in Kenya namely; Statutory Law, Common Law and the New Constitution of Kenya. In contrast, the Supreme Law and Kenyan Constitution guarantees the right to freedom of expression (Munyua, 2011). Having examined the media and peacebuilding in world politics, the next chapter investigated media and the 2007/8 general elections in Kenya.

CHAPTER V

MEDIA AND THE 2007/8 GENERAL ELECTIONS

5.1 Introduction

While chapter four consisted of an examination of the media and peacebuilding with reference to the PEV in Kenya, this chapter is set to analyse media and the 2007/8 Kenya's general elections. Media played various roles in the Kenyan 2007/8 PEV. More specifically, in Kenya the effects of media are visible rightly at different stages of the 2007/2008 general elections that led to the eruption of the PEV. The chapter is structured into three main sections. The first section investigates the place of media before the elections took place. In other words during the political campaign that led to the general elections. The second section examines the place and effects of media during the elections process. This is to say that the section examines Kenyan media when the voting process was taking place. The third section documents the role and effects after the elections process. This means that this section investigate the effects of media during the period when electoral violence that led to the PEV was occurring. The last section involves concluding remarks.

5.2 Media during the pre-election period

When the Cold War ended in early 1990s, democratisation based on the multipartism took place in many places of Africa. democratic governance that lead to people exercise their power in voting for their leaders took shape, and this led to the many political campaign that lead to the general elections become unavoidable. In Kenya multipartism took place right after the end of Cold War in 1992 replacing the dictatorial leadership that followed the end of colonialism. Davies (2014) says that in modern democratisation, media can be used by governments, politicians to involve citizens in decision-making processes. He further argues that media have been used by many civil society to engage people in specific issues (Davies, 2014). In this light it is essential to argue that during political campaigns, media helps politicians to communicate with their representatives at the grassroot level and with each other.

For instance, Kurt and Lang say that media contributes towards civic disengagement and public (Kurt and Lang, 1966). Robinson (1976) says that media plays a significant role during the political campaigns in many parts of the world. He also says that the absence of media during political campaign creates feelings of political cynicism, social mistrust, and

shows the lack of political efficacy (Robinson, 1976). Furthermore, media can be a source of strife and violence, particularly when it is controlled by the government or the politicians that deprive it its dependency during the political campaigns. Patterson argues that a journalists are sometimes tied to a certain political candidate, thus stop from presenting to the population a neutral news but end up crowding the discussions and/or presentations of relevant issues pertaining to political parties and candidates (Patterson, 1993). In this case, Patterson (1993) says that media the intermediary, the press become dysfunctional for civic engagement, and widens the gap between parties and the public. It is also argued that the media fail to serve the public well, because they do not provide diverse, well-balanced political information (Pühringer, et al., 2008).

The role of media in contemporary political campaigns has generated much debate (Pinkleton et al. 1998:34; Jamieson and Waldmann 2004), especially about the decision making process of citizens based on information gathering. Since the 1992, democracy in Kenya has been characterised by hate speeches from the politicians, irregularities leading to violence, and the disengagement of citizens, particularly younger people. This has had a tremendous impact on the voter registrations and turnout, declining political party membership, and negative perceptions about Kenyan politicians by the local citizens. Nonetheless, media before the 2007 presidential elections in Kenya served two main roles i.e. to provide/interpret information on who the presidential candidates are and the benefits that will come with the appointment of said political leaders and parties, and to instigate (Vladimir & Schirch, 2007; Mbeke, 2009) .

During the pre-election period, Kenyans received majority of the information and developments in the election process through the mainstream media (Syallow, 2014). It is confirmed that 107 out of 117 respondents said that they were kept abreast of the election developments by the radio stations (Ibid). Prior to the campaign season, the media took an active role in civic education. Through audio-visual, audio and printed media, media sought to educate Kenyans on how to vote correctly (Mbeke, 2009).

In contrast, the media also played the instigator during the pre-.election period. Electronic media focused on times when political leaders used hate speech to smear the reputations of their rivals (Syallow, 2014). Furthermore, numerous local language radio stations began inciting their fellow tribesmen to take action/ react violently in the event they lost the elections (Ogola, 2011). Moreover, due to the lack of control over the local language

radio stations, there was the use of manipulative, dissociative and degrading language that led to the spread of feelings of animosity and hatred towards rival tribes (Mbeke, 2009).

Because the Kenya has never experienced countrywide conflict, there was little need for peacebuilding at the time (Ogola, 2011). However, there were advertisements on the television and radio that encouraged free and fair elections, and urged Kenyans to respect the political views of others and their rights to vote. Of course this could have been a campaign strategy where the TV or radio stations affiliated with a certain political party would use advertise the need for free and fair elections while subconsciously planting a seed of loyalty in the minds of Kenyans (Syallow, 2014). This is what Bakir (2006:69), McCombs and Shaw 1972; Patterson 1980; Weaver et al. 1981; Mutz 1998; Semetko 2004) say that media exposure impacts policy, influencing citizens' policy expectations, thereby influencing politics itself.

5.3 Media during the election period

Elections are the mechanisms by which public questions are resolved and public contests are determined (Fischer, 2002). It is pertinent to note that media in Kenya during the voting process is a vernacular media. This means that it is “part hate, and part peace”. The *British broadcasting World Service Trust* in its briefing report (2008) argues that in a democratic setting, media enables people to have access to information on issues that shape their lives, in that without it they cannot exercise their democratic rights. Media enhances people's communication with their “perspective into public debate, and to have spaces for public discussion on issues that most affect them, and with such spaces, democratic discourse cannot take place” (BBC Report, 2008).

During the election period, media played three main roles; provider/interpreter of information, instigator and peacebuilding (Vladimir & Schirch, 2007; Mbeke, 2009; Odinga, 2013; Munyua, 2011). During the election period, the media provided information of the election process and interpreted the polls to Kenyans (Syallow, 2014). Because polling stations received a vast variety in numbers of voters, the results from polling stations came in randomly. Immediately a polling station tallied its votes, the media broadcasted the information (Mbeke, 2009). In addition, local language radio stations and television stations offered predictions of the elections based on how the results were being announced (Bunce, 2010). This led to the spread of anxiety, animosity, hatred, confusion and irrationality amongst Kenyans which created a volatile political environment (Mbeke, 2009).

As a result of a volatile political environment, the media was able to maximize on its role as an instigator (Syallow, 2014). Even before results were announced, local language radio stations were reported to have begun instigating their local tribesmen to react to the results of the elections (Munyua, 2011). Radio stations siding with ODM called upon their listeners to take mass action against PNU which led to violent demonstrations, mass destruction of property and ODM supporters fighting with the police (Syallow, 2014). In Eldoret, ODM leaders called secret meetings to urge violence during the election period in the event the PNU leader won the election (Human Rights Watch (HRW), 2008) Likewise, PNU supporters were encouraged to confront ODM supporters (Syallow, 2014). PNU mobilizers and local businessmen called meetings and directed youth to rival tribesmen, and also retaliate against the ODM supporters in Naivasha and Nakuru (HRW, 2008).

The *British broadcasting World Service Trust* in its briefing report (2008) highlights that during the voting process, media played a tremendous role in covering the 2007 general elections. The turnout for the elections can by and large be assigned civic education and awareness that was highly done by the media. The report further says that media played a role of carrying out “substantial election monitoring exercise, with journalists stationed at hundreds of polling stations” (BBC Report, 2008). However, there was some kind of competition between media organisations in Kenya in 2007 general elections which included the announcement of the results, exit polls and media organisations collating their own election databases (Ibid.). It is crucial to note that during the elections and voting process, media played a key role in ensuring this fair conduct and their presence almost certainly deterred malpractice (Ibid.).

Following the initial outbursts of conflict during the election period, the media was quick to broadcast the outcome nationwide in an effort to inform the people whilst promoting peace and calling Kenyans to shun violence (HRW, 2008). During this time, there were irregularities in the poll results. This led to further heightening of feelings of hatred animosity. There were reports of people attacking polling stations. Even more surprisingly, there were reports of people running away with ballot boxes in an effort to manipulate the results in favour of the political leaders they supported (Dercon & Romero, 2012).

5.4 Media after the elections

During the post-election period, the media played two main roles; instigation and peacebuilding (Mbeke, 2009; Munyua, 2011).

Following the announcement of the election on 29th December, 2008, Kenyans resorted to open violence. This was as a result of irregularities in the reporting of results from polls, and the irregularities between different media houses reporting different results from the same polling stations (Dercon & Romero, 2012). At this point, local language radio stations were out of control. Due to feelings of deception and anger, media presenters would openly urge their fellow tribesmen to fight their rivals (Ogola, 2008). There was the use of foul and derogatory language that disassociated one tribe from that of another thereby fostering disunity and propelling conflict (Mbeke, 2009). Moreover, social media enabled the creation of secret groups and forums that allowed people to communicate throughout the country spreading hateful messages. SMS was also used to provoke those in rural areas who may not have access to internet services to participate in the violence (Goldstein & Rotich, 2008).

Following live broadcast of the photograph of the two rival political leaders shaking hands in agreement following mediation, violence halted. The media showcased this photograph on all television stations in real time in an effort to stop the violence; and it worked (Mbeke, 2009). In addition, the media took several measures with the aim of peacebuilding such as the airing of the peace song famous local musicians came together to sing (Shitemi et. al, 2013), mobile service providers sending peace messages to all mobile subscribers (Munyua, 2011) and the hosting of media events that promoted peace such as peace caravans (Shitemi et. al, 2013).

It should be understood that when media announced the results, violence erupted all over the country. However, media never wavered and it was one of the few sectors to make an immediate initiative calm the situation (BBC Report, 2008). Their media messages across the country was “Save Our Beloved Country”. For example, one of the journalists was quoted saying that “some of our coverage focused on the role of the media in trying bring peace to the country, and the newspaper helped in spreading the message of peace across the country.

Griffiths says that media in Kenya has been recognised for the accuracy and fairness with which they reported the negotiations process that helped resolve the electoral violence (BBC Report, 2008). He was quoted saying that “We would get up in the morning and would read very accurate accounts in the newspaper the next day and on the whole very fair and very unpolemical” (Ibid.).

5.5 Conclusion

Media played key roles in every stage of Kenya's 2007 presidential elections. Though the actual role may carry the same name in different stages, the effects were though similar also differed. An example would be the provider/interpreter role played in the pre-election period is not the same provider/interpreter role played during the election period. It is clear that with the changes in time and stages in the electoral process, the roles of media changed. Therefore, it is important to differentiate the different roles at different stages that the media played in the Kenyan 2007 elections. The next chapter provides an analysis of the data collected.

CHAPTER VI

DATA ANALYSIS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an analysis of data gathered from an area that was dubbed a ‘hotspot’ area during the 2007 Kenyan PEV; Molo, Nakuru County. More data was collected from Nairobi from different media stakeholders including the Nation Media Group, Citizen TV, KTN and NTV media personnel. Data was also collected through one-on-one interactions with the respondents of the questionnaires and fellow Kenyans who experienced the PEV.

This chapter discusses the results of open ended questionnaires and informal meetings. Before the inception of data collection, the purpose, rationale, and significance of the study were explained in detail to the respondents. The respondents were assured total confidentiality and the utmost care and caution of the data collected and its purpose. Secondary literature will also be used in comparison with the data collected.

In this chapter the study analyses the opinions of victims of the PEV and the role the media played in peacebuilding at this time. The chapter further discusses other roles that the media played at different stages in the PEV. Thereafter, there will be an in-depth analysis of various actors that influence the roles media played in PEV. By providing a forum where the grass-root population can express their opinions facilitates the understanding of the perceived and actual roles of the media in PEV. The chapter will also analyse the findings vis-à-vis the research question and objectives of the study.

It is pertinent to note that the intention in this chapter is to analyse the data collected from the field visits through various themes that found significant to the research in line with the aim and the research question. The emerged themes are understood and explained according to the objectives of the study. These themes are systematically analysed as follows:

6.2 As the country emerged from the PEV that led to the killings, many victims and loss of property, how do people of Kenya perceive the role of media in building peace in Kenya?

I visited both the Nakuru and Nairobi counties in January 2016 over a period of a month to gather sufficient data. Following my interaction with the grassroots population, it proved that the victims of PEV and many Kenyans did not fully comprehend the different roles the media plays in curbing and preventing the escalation of electoral violence in Kenya. Concepts like media and gatekeeper baffled most people because they could not grasp the idea that media

had the power to filter what they broadcast. Interestingly, conflict resolution and prevention were concepts widely used by the victims and the other respondents that were not victims of the PEV. However, when asked to explain the terminologies and give examples that are present in their community left the victims dumbfounded. All the respondents were also unsure of how the media worked and who owned them. Their perceptions and understanding of the role of media was clearly influenced by the experience of the PEV, outside that, many could not relate the role of media in anything else except entertainment.

My interaction with the respondents in the data collection process provided an avenue for them to learn more about media, and the different roles media can play in society which then broadened their perceptions and understanding of the role of media in building sustainable peace in divided communities. Ironically, in Nakuru County, majority of the respondents who knew anything about the media had heard it over radio and TV stations. I received mixed reactions as I elaborated on the general roles and effects of media in either fuelling and/or resolving conflicts, and preventing their recurrence. Many of the respondents who understood my explanations seemed not to internalize it. And those who did not, never hesitated to ask numerous questions in order to fully understand.

Radio and TV have a lot of influence on the lives of the local people in Molo because with increased technological advancement, TV and Radio have become affordable so everyone has one or both in their houses. Molo is generally a farming area. We wake up early in the morning and head out to our fields. By midday, we are done with farming. It is at this time women do household chores while the men go into the towns and spend their afternoon watching games and matches in local bars. In the same way, once women are done with the household chores, they sit and watch these soap operas that women like. We are not quick to admit it but media does influence our daily lives. I witnessed this when local leaders through radio stations called upon the youth to participate in PEV for the price of Ksh. 200 (an estimated 20 Norwegian kroner). The youth did not hesitate because it was their local leaders calling upon them. Ksh. 200 cannot even buy 'debe' (bucket) of potatoes. (Wanaina, 12 January).

However, Nairobi County was a little different because most the respondents are literate and therefore better understood the questions I asked.

The role media play in a conflict is the same role media plays in the everyday; brainwashing people. I was born and raised in Nairobi and have never seen conflict with my own two eyes until I saw it in 2007. People I had grown up with, people I called my second family quickly turned against me due to the fact that their presidential candidate did not win the election. How is it possible to ask for salt from people you've known for 15 years plus and they refuse? Did I suddenly change my tribe? The media brainwashed my neighbours and to this day, we do not associate with one another after a friendship of 15 years. (Mercy, 8 January).

The informal meetings seemed to offer more insight, this is because of the relaxed nature of the data collection process, or maybe because it felt more like a casual conversation between two people.

For me, the first role of media are to entertain me. When I get home from work, all I want to do is unwind while I watch my favourite TV series. But generally, media serves as a source of information to the Kenyans. It also educates with small campaigns and informative advertising. It also serves the selfish interests of the media owners. I think that's generally what media does in Kenya. Oh, and also it caused the PEV in 2007 and made things even worse than they should have been. (Kamau, 10 January).

It is interesting to note that the above three respondents shared an understanding of the role of media in the Kenyan society. However, they fell short of identifying other roles that the media plays. For instance, during the PEV, Kenyans had fought and killed each other that they required a mediator. As a result of the CNN effect, the international community quickly intervened by sending mediators to Kenya (Munyua, 2011). This was the first role in peacebuilding that the media played. Secondly, the media broadcasted the mediation and negotiation between the Mwai Kibaki and Raila Odinga; the political leaders of PNU and ODM respectively (Mbeke, 2009). Of course the negotiations were private but the media kept the public abreast on events as the unfolded. A result of the announcement of negotiations was a decrease in violence (Mbeke, 2009).

The journalists and radio presenters are thieves and lairs. They report lies in the news in order to make us behave in a certain way. I watch the news every day in my house

but I do not believe what I see. I have to see something to believe it. The media in Kenya is full of lies. (Kamiti, 8 January).

Though not elaborately voiced or detailed, Kamiti identified another effect of media in the Kenyan society and what he deems as lies, as he later explained, was in reference to the irregularities in the tallying of the votes in the 2007 elections. He demands honesty, transparency and credibility from the media.

The role of media are to have caravans. Safaricom is part of media. So one of media's role is to have caravans. We dance. We have fun and then we do not fight. (Waweru, 4 January).

The role of media identified by Waweru is actually a peacebuilding role. What he refers to as caravan are actually the campaign caravans that drove throughout the country in an effort to promote peace.

The media have facilitated uniting Kenyans from all walks of life. The media initiated a campaign i.e. the 'I have no tribe; I am Kenyan' campaign to re-unite Kenyans by humanizing their rivals. In this campaign, the media broadcasted religious leaders, political leaders, rival, men and women, young and old; people of every diversity come together to stand against violence and disunity (Oyungu, 2011). Along the same lines was the, there was a campaign dubbed, 'Mkenya mwenye nchi sio mwananchi' (Karongo, 2012). This translated from the Swahili to English languages states, 'A Kenyan who owns the country, not a child of the country'. Mwananchi is the Swahili word for citizen (Kamusi.org, 2016). However, the Mwana is the Swahili word for child. Therefore through creative wordplay, the founders; Kenya Private Sector Alliance (KEPSA) was able to provoke Kenyans to take accountability for their country thus fostering a feeling of loyalty and unity (Karongo, 2012).

It is important to note that the 'Mkenya mwenye nchi sio mwananchi' Campaign was the first part of a four-phase campaign aimed at peacebuilding before the 2013 presidential elections (Ibid). The second phase was dubbed 'Mkenya Daima' which translates to Forever Kenyan (Karongo, 2012). The aim of this phase of the campaign was to deal with the negative conditions that facilitated the unrest in 2007. Phase three was the 'Rights Come with Responsibilities' Campaign where the media played both an educative and cautionary roles educating Kenyans on their rights whilst warning them of the consequences of negligence of the law (Ibid). The final phase 'Conflict Mitigation' ran concurrently with phase three and

focus on conflict prone areas with the hope of resolving existing disputes before the elections (Ibid).

6.3 Effects of media during the political campaigns and after the 2007 general elections

The media played different roles during different stages of the Kenyan 2007 presidential elections. Respondents from Molo and Nairobi counties expressed the following;

During the political campaigns in 2007, the media campaigned, campaigned, campaigned. (Njeri, 7 January).

Despite the scarcity in words, Njeri actually expressed a key role that the media played before the 2007 Kenyan elections. The media played an informative role before the elections. By campaigning, the media acted as peace promoter because they promoted free and fair elections while subconsciously planting a seed of loyalty in the minds of Kenyans (Syallow, 2014).

The media played a part in conflict de-escalation. I remember the song that Eric Wainaina and other musicians made to promote peace. The media kept playing it several times a day trying to stop the conflict. (Barasa, 8 January).

Media continued to play the peacebuilding role many months following the reconciliation of Mwai Kibaki and Raila Odinga. There were peaceful songs played over radio stations, there were peace caravans in different corners of the country and other media events such as concerts and open forums that provided Kenyans at the grassroots to air their grievances (Shitemi, et. al, 2013). In addition, mainstream media houses got involved in settling the IDPs. The media also called out to the Kenyan public to donate what they have to help settle the IDPs in camps (Odinga, 2013). During this time, Kenyans united and gave selflessly towards this plight. The media collaborated with big companies and institutions in the plight to settle the IDPs (Munyua, 2011).

Media caused the PEV to occur due to hate speech played on the radio. This made people angry and made them go out in the streets to fight. I don't know if the ICC calling Sang to trial had anything to do with the media but if it did, it is good because it makes people know that you can't just speak badly and nothing will happen. It is good that Sang went to court although I don't think he was punished. (Kamau, 8 January).

Media played a role in peacebuilding following the announcement of the Kenyan 2007 election. Because at the time Kenya did not have a law pertaining to hate speech, the names of individuals who were believed to have used SMS to circulate hate speech were forwarded to the government and parliament which prompted reviewing of legislature to include hate speech (Munyua, 2011). This led to the adoption of this law in the new Kenyan constitution in 2010. Joshua Arap Sang, who Kamau refers to, is a radio presenter who was accused by the ICC of instigating the PEV (Ogenga, 2013).

6.4 Different roles of media in the different stages of the 2007 general elections

Media played the role of the watchdog (Vladimir & Schirch, 2007). In dealing with the PEV and in efforts to curb the violence, media began singling out individuals who used hate speech to fuel the PEV (Munyua, 2011). Unfortunately, due to the lack of law on hate speech, little was done to hold these individuals accountable (Ibid). It is important to note that despite this setback, Joshua Arap Sang, a radio presenter, was accused by the International Criminal Court (ICC) of using hate speech to plan and incite the initial wave of PEV (Sriram & Brown, 2010). Sang was one of the six Kenyans held accountable for the eruption of PEV who were tried in Hague, Netherlands (Ogenga, 2013). This was highlighted by one of the respondents

...I don't know if the ICC calling Sang to trial had anything to do with the media but if it did, it is good because it makes people know that you can't just speak badly and nothing will happen...(Kamau, 8 January).

The media played the information provider role (Vladimir & Schirch, 2007). Despite the gruesome details of the PEV, media was quick to broadcast the outcome of the PEV showcasing massive destruction of property, violent scenes broadcasted on daytime television which were not suitable for all audiences and the images of corpses on the streets (Ogola, 2011). Consequently, the Kenyan government a ban on the media coverage due the irresponsibility it portrayed. This can also double as media's role as a gatekeeper; because the ban served as a filter to the Kenyan community in order to ensure maintenance of social order and democracy (Siebert et. al, 1972; Vladimir & Schirch, 2007). A respondent from Molo County explains

The news during PEV showed everything live-live. We saw dead bodies shown on TV even during the day. My son asked me if that was real and I told him it was a movie. It was not ok for the media show those things. I can't imagine if there is anyone who saw someone

they knew on TV. That is how you find out someone you know is dead. (Eunice, 8 January)

The media played the role of a peacebuilder (Vladimir & Schirch, 2007). Immediately violence erupted, the media was keen to call upon Kenyans to shun violence and coexist peacefully (Sriram & Brown, 2010). In addition, the media played the role of a connector/link (Vladimir & Schirch 2007). When tensions were high and violence was uncontrollable, the media offered an avenue of communication between the two political rivals. The media also facilitated the negotiations and supported this process until the end of the mediation (Mbeke, 2009).

6.5 Perceptions of media accountability and reconciliation

Media can propel or cause conflict in almost any political situation. For instance, media can instigate its audience through hate speech and propaganda to take mass action thereby causing conflict. Such was the case in the Kenyan 2007/8 PEV when local language radio stations were at the forefront of broadcasting hate speech which contributed to the eruption of PEV (Dercon & Romero, 2012).

I remember my local political leader from my village on the radio telling the youth to fight the foreigners. I'm Kalenjin, the word foreigner is a word we use when we are referring to Kikuyus. I, myself did not participate in the violence, but many people, friends I grew up with were paid to fight. There was no one to stop them, and there was no one to stop my political leader from using bad language to make the youths fight. (Kipto, 8 January).

According to Kipto's remarks, the media was not held accountable for the promotion of the PEV. Although the government issued a small ban for a few hours on the local language FM stations following the eruption of PEV, it was quickly alleviated and the hate speech and incitation continues (Munyua, 2011).

I think the media contributed to the reconciliation in Kenya when they broadcasted peace messages to all Safaricom users. Also, supermarkets like Nakumatt printed peace messages on their receipts to promote reconciliation. My sister told me that one time when she was withdrawing money from an ATM, instead of the usual thank you message, it was a peaceful message saying something about Kenyans reuniting. (Nafula, 6 January).

Local musicians from all tribes united and sang peace song all over the country (Shitemi, et. al, 2013). In addition, the main mobile service providers, Safaricom and Celtel began sending texts with peace messages through their Short Message Service (SMS) to all mobile users in an effort to help shun the violence and instead promote reconciliation (Munyua, 2011).

I don't think there was any media accountability during the announcement of results from polling stations in Kenya in 2007. How can two TV channels give two different results of the same polling stations? At first I thought it was a joke because I could not imagine that the TV channels could be so careless. (Murogu, 6 January).

There was lack of media accountability during the 2007 election period. In fact, media can be said to have caused conflict by delivering the poll station results in the way that they did (Dercon & Romero, 2012). Because of the irregularities of media coverage in publishing the poll results of the 2007 Kenyan presidential elections, feelings of confusion, frustration, animosity, hatred and deception caused Kenyans to go up in arms in the streets and fight each other (Ibid). Furthermore, there was an inconsistency that aired Mwai Kibaki as the 'loser' of the election while in actual fact he emerged victorious. This led to allegations of rigging and deception by rival tribesmen which contributed to the PEV (Ogola, 2011).

6.6 Effect of media in preventing the recurrence of electoral violence in the 2013 general elections

The 2013 general elections differed greatly from those of 2007. A reason for this could be that as a result of the PEV, the government invested in peacebuilding long before the election period. In addition, media played its role as a policy maker leading to the inclusion of safety measures. An example of a safety measure is a presidential candidate debate that was echoed by media. This raised public awareness and people could vote during the 2013 general elections with full assurance.

I was very surprised to see the debate with aspiring presidents. I felt as though I was watching an American election. Though it was surprising, it was very good because it gave a chance to the common people to familiarize themselves with the presidential candidate. Also, it helped me understand the ideas and the way of thinking of these candidates. (Wafula, 7 January).

During the 2013 general elections, the presidential debate that was echoed by media was a great platform that provided the audiences with civil education and facilitated social

awareness. It allowed even the most unaware or uneducated people to participate in the electoral process thereby fostering inclusion and representation. Hence fostering peace and social cohesion in Kenyan society.

The presidential debate was a welcome surprise. I was able to learn more about the political parties that were represented understand their ideas and feel like I was part of the electoral process. I also liked the idea of the debate because it acted as a vetting process for the presidential candidates. By vetting the candidates using the media, it is a form of prevention because one can see the true colours of their potential presidents. (Njeri, 7 January).

6.7 How can Kenyan media promote sustainable peace in Kenya?

Respondents recommended

I think if the media can constantly promote peace through media events such as concerts and things like Safaricom's Jazz Festival, it creates a feeling of togetherness amongst Kenyans. The government should not wait until conflict erupts but instead make it a practice which will slowly become part of who Kenyans are. (Owade, 15 January).

Media events can be used in conflict situations to help facilitate the negotiations, build confidence and create a conducive environment for the negotiations. In addition, media events can help promote and mobilize public support for peace agreements and sustainable peace (Vladimir & Schirch, 2007).

If the government can somehow control everything that is broadcasted or published, I think we will be 1000 steps closer to achieving sustainable peace in Kenya. (Kitawi, 4 January).

With increased monitoring measures by the government and communication commissions, there will be a censorship in media that will help maintain social order and democracy. As a result, media will be at the forefront in promoting sustainable peace (Siebert et. al, 1972).

6.8 Conclusion

This chapter provided an analysis of data gathered from an area that was dubbed a 'hotspot' area during the 2007 Kenyan PEV; Molo, Nakuru County. It also discussed the results of open ended questionnaires and informal meetings with reference to secondary literature which was used to compare and contrast the data collected with that of scholars. I analysed

the opinions of victims of the PEV and the role the media played in peacebuilding at this time be and offered in-depth analysis of various factors that influenced the roles media played in PEV. Having explained the data analysis, the next chapter, the study concludes and offers recommendations.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

Since the coming of the democratisation after the end of the Cold War in 1990s, media have been a source of conflicts. It has also been a source of peacebuilding by bridging and reconciling communities and enhance them to live together. The study found that media shape what our conceptualisation and understanding of conflict. The perspectives of those who run the media inform the stories that are covered, and the way that they are covered (Vladimir & Schirch, 2007). Specifically, media owners have their own economic interests and therefore will follow the trail of money so to speak. Similarly, journalists have their own perspectives of a story even before they cover it due to their extensive experience in the media which can lead to bias and fictitious/assumed reporting (Ibid). Undoubtedly, there are factors that influence the role of media and media reporting in society and in conflict situations. However, this study was keener on exploring the role media have played in conflict situations; more specifically, the peacebuilding aspect of media in conflicts.

On 29th December, 2007, Kenya experienced its worst yet countrywide conflict as a result of the announcement of the Mwai Kibaki and the then new president of Kenya (Modi & Shekhawat, 2008). Barely an hour later as Kibaki was being sworn into office, smoke was seen from emanating from burning homes in Kibera; the biggest slum in Africa (BBC, 2008). Within a short span of six weeks, violence was at an all-time high resulting 1,500 deaths, 350,000 IDPs and millions lost in the massive destruction of property (Cheeseman, 2008).

For the past eight years, Kenya has been slowly recovering from the effects of the 2007/8 PEV. The PEV was an enormous setback to the entire country forcing every Kenyan to contribute in the country's rebuilding. With Kenyans working together to restore its lost glory, there arose the need to research the events that led up to the PEV. There are few scholars who have written on the Kenyan 2007/8 PEV with an almost unanimous aim of depicting media as a cause of the PEV. However, hardly any scholars have focused on the role of media as a peacebuilding agent during the PEV.

Media played several roles in the different stages of the election process in Kenya in 2007. It is clear from this study that media played a peacebuilding role from the pre-elections period to the post-election period. In the pre-elections period, despite there being little need for peacebuilding, there were advertisements that promoted free and fair elections urging Kenyans to respect one another. Prior to this, Kenya was a peaceful country that had never

experienced such conflict after attaining its independence (Modi & Shekhawat, 2008). Therefore the peacebuilding element here was definitely a formality which required media houses to air them. But at the same, these announcements plant a seed in our subconscious allowing us to internalize the message without even realizing it.

During the 2007/8 presidential elections, media once again played the peacebuilding role but in a different manner. Because of the rise in tensions around the country, media houses opted to live-stream events as they unfolded in an effort to keep the masses informed. This in itself is a peacebuilding measure because it creates a feeling of inclusion and participation (Githinji & Holmquist, 2008). Moreover, the media played a second role in peacebuilding by widely broadcasting peace messages at the very beginning of the violence eruption. Though the media's effort seemed futile, this helped keep the masses calm as they anticipated the election results (Ogola, 2011).

Following the announcement of 2007 Kenyan presidential elections, there was a violent outbreak (Modi & Shekhawat, 2007). The media had to adopt the same peacebuilding role but now to de-escalate a violent conflict. In conclusion, the roles of media in peacebuilding before, during and after the PEV were versatile and diverse and were of grave importance in the restoring peace and reconciliation in Kenya. Moreover, these roles facilitated the coming together of Kenyans to rebuild their country.

7.1 Recommendations

The study made the following recommendations. First, the study found that there are disparities in media coverage during the 2007/8 Kenyan presidential elections, therefore recommends that media houses should design a conflict reporting system that allows them to harmonize their information before publicly echoing it. In the event that this may be impossible especially in dynamic situations, the study recommends that media houses must ensure that their sources are totally credible and the information they are reporting is indeed factual.

Second, the study found that media in Kenya lacks rules and regulations. There is need for the establishment of clear and stricter rules and regulations of the usage of media and media reporting in an effort to avoid a repeat of the PEV; failure to observe these regulations would lead to the issuing of high penalties. There was reckless broadcasting of hateful messages and not all individuals who participated in this were held accountable. Only one individual, Joshua Arap Sang, a radio presenter at the time was accused by the ICC of

instigating PEV. The study also recommends that there is need of establishing penalties and imprisonment sentences for any radio presenter or journalist caught violating the media rules and regulations.

Third, despite the freedoms and privileges media are entitled to and enjoys, the government should somewhat control the delivery of election results. Although this may prove difficult, the government should work with the media in order to ensure that the information published is harmonized in order to avoid similar irregularities to those of the 2007/8 which propelled the PEV. This will help curb violence and media will be a source of peacebuilding in the country.

Fourth, there is need that MCK, CCK and the Kenyan government should design a regulatory system that will monitor the local language radio stations. With 42 registered tribes and 100 FM stations, this endeavour will require the involvement and support of all media-related organizations and institutions in order to customize a system that can monitor all the stations at the same time.

Fifth, there is need to abolish the targeted media coverage. What this means is that media coverage should be objective and applicable to all audiences. Media coverage with a target audience may create feelings of alienation and neglect which is the opposite of one of what should be media's main aims; inclusion and representation.

Sixth, the study found that journalists and radio presenters offered confusing and misleading information that in one way or the other fuelled the violence. Therefore, the study recommends that there should be training of media reporters on conflict reporting. The study found that live media reporting presents challenges in itself with reporters having to tackle unexpected interferences while reporting information. Therefore, reporters working in conflict media coverage should undergo specialized training in which they are able to provide relevant and accurate information, in a manner that will not aggravate the audience and at the same time making sound judgements on what is aired in the field; in a sense filter and somewhat control the information published especially if it is in live-streaming.

The role and effect of media in peacebuilding has been both destructive and constructive. When it comes to the issue of building sustainable peace and prevent the recurrence of conflict in the country, it is pertinent that politicians be remembered to stop manipulating media and their followers. To be able to achieve sustainable peace in Kenya, media must

promote reconciliation and be a bridge that unites both top, middle and grassroots people. In the process of democratisation, the use of media allows free and fair general elections thus foster democratic governance that leads to accountability and responsiveness.

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