

**THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN CONFLICT MANAGEMENT:
THE CASE OF ELECTORAL CONFLICT IN UASIN GISHU COUNTY, KENYA.**

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DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University or any other award.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the Almighty to whom I owe all that I am. To my wife Rose, son Tony and daughter Tracy who always gave me the encouragement and courage to shoulder on during those trying moments. To my parents Ezekiel Chebii and Tabitha Kobilu, my brothers and sisters who always gave me their moral support. To you all, I say thank you and may the Lord bless you abundantly.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATION

- BBC – British Broadcasting Corporation
- BBCWST – British Broadcasting Corporation World Service
- CCK – Communication Commission of Kenya
- ECK – Electoral Commission of Kenya
- ERIS – Electoral Reform International Services
- ICC – International Criminal Court
- IDP – Internally Displaced Persons
- KANU – Kenya African National Union (a political party in Kenya)
- KBC – Kenya Broadcasting Corporation
- KNCHR – Kenya National Commission of Human Rights
- KTN – Kenya Television Network
- LRA – Lord Resistance Army
- MFAF – Media Focus on Africa Foundation
- MFWA – Media Foundation for West Africa
- MOSD – Ministry of State for Defence
- NTV – Nation Television Network
- ODM – Orange Democratic Movement (a political party in Kenya)
- ODM-K - Orange Democratic Movement – Kenya (a political party in Kenya)
- PEV – Post Election Violence
- PNU – Party of National Unity (a political party in Kenya)
- RTLm – Radio Television Librie des Millers
- RWB – Reporters Without Borders
- UPDF – Uganda People’s Defence Forces

OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

Big Fish – Powerful and very influential individuals who have real or perceived control over governance and decision making in the country.

Conflict Transformation – This is the process by which conflicts, such as ethnic conflict, are transformed into peaceful outcomes.

Electoral Violence – This is the use of threats or physical act carried out by an individual against another for political reasons.

Fishermen – A derogatory term referring to a particular ethnic community as only good fishermen and cannot be trusted in the leadership of the nation.

Foreigners - A derogatory term used to refer to the settler communities who acquired land away from their ancestral origins and the host communities see them as lesser beings who do not deserve a share of property ownership and political say in their new dwellings.

Hate speech - Is a form of speech that degrades others and promotes hatred and encourages violence against a group on the basis of a criteria including religion, race, colour or ethnicity

Media - Refers to the several media or channels used in an organized manner to communicate information to groups of people, as a service to the public. It is divided into print media and electronic media.

Peacekeeping - A technique designed to preserve the peace, however fragile, where fighting has been halted, and to assist in implementing agreements achieved by the peacemakers.

Peace building - Involves a range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundation for sustainable peace and development.

Peacemaking - Include measures to address conflicts in the progress and involves diplomatic action to bring hostile parties to a negotiated agreement.

Peace Enforcement - Application of military force or the threat of its use, normally pursuant to international The Research Findings ization, to compel compliance with resolutions or sanctions designed to maintain or restore peace and order

Peace Journalism – This is journalism with peace as the main aim i.e. a normative mode of responsible and conscientious media coverage of conflict that aims at contributing to peacemaking, peacekeeping, and changing the attitudes of media owners, advertisers, professionals, and audiences towards war and peace.

Post Election Violence (PEV) – The political violence experienced in Kenya after disputed 2007 general elections.

Residence Factor – Refers to where an individual lives i.e. urban or rural.

Status Factor – The social position of an individual in society based on his/her influence, wealth, ability, education, etc.

ABSTRACT

The role played by the media in conflicts has been an issue all over the world. Its influence has increased tremendously and researchers are yet to agree on the degree and magnitude of the media influence in conflicts and conflict management. The aim of this study was to analyze the role of media in conflict management, with reference to 2007/08 Post Election Violence in Kenya and Uasin Gishu County as a case area. The specific objectives were to establish the media accessibility level and the various types of media coverage; to establish the extent to which media escalated and/or deescalated violence during the 2007/2008 Post Election Violence; to determine how media could influence selected human factors towards conflict in the County. Both the libertarian and social responsibility theories of media reporting were analyzed to explain media roles and to develop the conceptual framework. A descriptive research design and random stratified sampling method with a sample size of 373 respondents was used. Primary data was obtained via questionnaires and in-depth interviews analyzed with Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) software version 14.0 and presented in tables, charts and graphs with a brief description thereafter. The study found out that media played both conflict escalation and de-escalation roles during 2007/08 Post Election Violence. Some of the negative media roles include encouraging hate speech, running parallel tallying centers, misrepresentation of information, and incitement. Some positive roles include conducting civic education, preaching peace, fair coverage of political campaigns, and fair coverage of contentious issues during peace negotiations. The study found that media significantly influenced people based on age factor; highly influenced people based on gender factor; and moderately influenced people based on status and residence factors. However, media has low influence on people based on religious factor. The study recommends stringent measures for negative journalism while highlighting the merits of peace journalism. Some of the stringent measures recommended by the study include the adoption of a common approach in conflict reporting, the designing and enforcement of stringent regulations towards the control of vernacular FM stations, training of journalists on conflict reporting, the development of a standard conflict reporting procedure, media to be encouraged to report accurate and verified official electoral body results, and conflict reports to cut across all listeners without targeting particular groups.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This chapter provides information on the background of the study, research problem, objectives of the study, research questions, justification and significance of the study. It also highlights on assumptions, scope and limitations of the study.

1.1 Background of the Study

Security challenges are becoming increasingly diverse and fragmented posing more threat to world peace and stability than ever. Similarly, the understanding of the root causes of conflicts and the interrelation between security and conflict management from global perspective has increasingly become dynamic (Morgenthau & Thompson, 1985). As a result, many of today's security challenges are generated within individual societies spread across borders to their surrounding environment. This has also been intensified by unhealthy regional dynamics arising from the competitive power struggles within and between states as have been witnessed in several developing countries particularly in Africa.

The successive evolution in communication technology has significantly altered the conduct of conflicts, warfare, and conflict resolution. Compared to people of earlier ages, people around the world today know much more and much sooner about major developments in international relations (Gilboa, 2002). There are millions of global news networks that broadcast live from all corners of the world and via the internet providing immediate access to unfolding events and, under certain conditions, influencing the way those events develop and end.

This has prompted a general feeling that media coverage, especially television, has had an increased influence on Western conflict management since the collapse of the Soviet Union (Jakosben, 2000). Over the past few decades, awareness has increased with regard

to the role local civilian population play in armed conflict. They are no longer considered to be a passive factor, but instead their needs and perceptions have explicit influence upon the success of a mission. Triggered by rapid technological change in the media, information no longer simply describes on-scene developments, but increasingly shapes the dynamics by influencing perceptions, opinions and loyalties (Jakosben, 2000). This has made information to be an important means of warfare used by governments, military and leaders in all ages everywhere. This information can be misused for propaganda or disinformation purposes while on the other hand it has great potential to promote peace building, (Galtung, 2004).

The policies of the military and the attitudes of the press and the public towards media coverage of wars were influenced enormously by the experiences of the Vietnam War. The power of media influence in conflict was witnessed in the Vietnam War during the US involvement in the war due to the significant growth in information technology posed by discovery of television. For instance, the Vietnam War sent the press in two opposite directions. On the one hand, the discovery in that war that the U.S. government and military had often lied to the public on the concrete details of the progress and conduct of the conflict led the public, through press coverage, to accept a possibility that all U.S. foreign policies might have been characterized by deception (Praeger, 1994).

As remarked by Colonel Harry G. Summers – a battalion and corps operations officer in the Vietnam War; *“There is a tendency to blame our problems with public support on the media, the majority of on-scene reporting from Vietnam was factual - that is, the reporters honestly reported what they had seen first-hand. Much of what they saw was horrible, for that is the true nature of war. It was this horror, not the reporting, that so influenced the American people,”* (Kull, 1995). Thus the military realized after the Vietnam experience that to be able to wage war it would have to control the media, particularly the television media, so that the horrible images of war would not make it back to the home-front.

The African continent has suffered numerous armed conflicts, some of which the media play a major role. Media has been blamed as one of the tools for promoting conflict. Studies have indicated that mass media could contribute to conflicts by inciting violence, failing to highlight emerging conflicts and delaying to report conflicts. For instance, the Rwandese Radio- Television Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM) is one of the examples of media that helped promote conflict by encouraging the Hutu population to exterminate the Tutsi terming them as cockroaches that must be eliminated to ensure peace in Rwanda (Mutua, 2001). This resulted in the massacre of almost 1,000,000 Tutsis and the displacement of many others (*ibid*).

The widespread societal conflicts in Africa have often played out against the backdrop of deep poverty, illiteracy, and weak systems of governance undermined by unfavorable terms of trade, indebtedness and administrative failures (Zartman, 1995). It could be argued that a combination of resource competition, culture, political, socioeconomic and mode of life variables underlie most of election related conflicts in Africa. Factors such as culture, politics, external intervention, socio-economic, and dysfunctional governance would also explain the inter-state conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia that occurred in 1998 (Jhazbhay, 2008, p. 15). In addition, countries such as Rwanda, Congo, Somalia, Sudan, Liberia and Kenya (which forms the interest of the study), have also experienced ethnic conflicts whose impact extend beyond the borders.

The most recent role of media in conflict escalation is the Arab spring in North Africa and the Middle East. This uprising saw the overthrow of Libyan, Tunisian, Egyptian and Yemeni governments through mass action engineered by social media. Other governments such as Morocco and Saudi Arabia faced serious challenges leading to change in governance. Commenting on the media role in the uprising, for example, The Times Magazine (Times Magazine, 2010) reported that while state-controlled media outlets presented a one-sided view of the Libyan conflict, their independent counterparts showed similar flaws in both reporting and analysis. There was inadequate analysis on broader issues surrounding the conflict such as the formation of the rebel force, the impending economic costs of the war and the forthcoming profits to be made of this war.

With that, it claims that the most disappointing thing is the media's preoccupation with details unrelated to the conflict itself but sided with the Radical Islamic Group (RIG) to mobilize people against the government. This shows how mass media can act as a tool for mobilization.

The mass media can play both negative and constructive roles in either fueling or preventing conflict and contributing to peace building efforts (Amisi, 1997). Studies such as Wairagu (2003), Heiber (2001), Spurk (2002) and Howard (2003) suggest that mass media may contribute to conflict by inciting violence, failing to highlight emerging conflicts, delaying to report conflicts, journalists taking part in killings, highlighting hate speech during conflicts, downplaying genocide during conflicts, acting irresponsibly, and deliberately creating misrepresentations in reporting.

Kenya has never been immune from armed conflict. More specifically, Kenya has experienced both internal and cross border conflicts. These conflicts mainly manifest themselves as political, economic, environmental as well as conflicts over natural resources, land and tribal clashes and lately terrorism (Ruto, Olaf, Ralf, & Wotzka, 2003). The dawn of multi-party politics in Kenya brought in its wake new dimensions of election conflicts. Election related violence have been experienced during every election period from 1992, with the 2007 election being the worst violence ever in the history of the nation.

The 2007/08 PEV was attributed to a number of factors including the media. The media, for instance, may have precipitated the PEV by portraying a volatile political environment marred with abhorrence, violence, and a stiff race between two protagonists i.e. the Party of National Unity (PNU) and Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) parties (KNCHR, 2008). The KNCHR report found out that ethnic based FM radio stations acted unprofessionally by disseminating negative ethnic stereotypes, cultural chauvinism, maligning individuals and communities. On several occasions, the radio stations broadcasted alarming call-in sessions, which were often peppered with undertones of the hosts. In addition, both international and local media stations like BBC, Central News

Network (CNN), Aljazeera, Nation Television (NTV), Kenya Television Network (KTN), *KASS* and *INOORO* seem to have predicted a flawed and highly manipulated election in favor of the ruling party. For example, The Standard newspaper of 14th October 2007 published a documentary on how the government planned to rig the election. Thus, this could have shaped perceptions of people towards violence in case the election results were announced in favor of the protagonist (Twaweza Report, 2008). The invisible hand of media in conflict management cannot therefore be ignored.

The detailed analysis of the role of media in conflict management is discussed in chapter two of this thesis. The analysis of this study falls in four parts. The first three are structured around the three main phases of conflict i.e. the pre-violence phase, where the objective is to prevent organized, armed violence from breaking out; the violence phase, characterized by efforts to limit or end armed violence; and finally the post violence phase, where conflict managers seek to promote peace building and reconciliation in order to create the foundation for a lasting peace. The study analyzed the influence of the media on various categories of people during each phase before ending with a general discussion of the impact of the media on conflict management in Kenya.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

War and conflict all have one thing in common – violence. Violence destroys everything including people, infrastructure and other material resources to institutions, including education, political will, hope, and trust. The cost of conflict is immense causing suffering and poverty, destroying economic development and depriving people of their basic needs (Chretien, Spurk, & Christopher, 1995). As has been witnessed, most conflicts often take place in countries undergoing major political changes towards democratization. In such countries the right to credible information and freedom of expression are essential in ensuring accountable and transparent governance, constructive communication, decreased perceptions of threat and creating more stable and sustainable political structures (Rugumanu, 2002).

Despite the significant roles that media can play in conflict and conflict resolution, in Kenya, this subject has not been extensively studied by both scholars and practitioners. Kenyan media scene is highly robust, competitive and free compared to most African countries. This, according to libertarian theory of media reporting can hardly be exploited for selfish gain by state and individuals who strive to protect their images in the society and remain politically impartial at all times. Therefore, media in such an environment should encourage a competitive political system that should promote democracy, peace and stability. However, this was not the case as the hotly contested 2007 general election in Kenya resulted in an election violence never witnessed in Kenyan history. This deviation prompted the researcher to establish what role media could have played or failed to play based on libertarian and social responsibility theories. In addition, a number of studies have been made on general causes of conflicts in northern arid and semi-arid parts of the country (Ruto, Olaf, Ralf, & Wotzka, 2003; Masinde & Cranford, 2003). However, these studies have hardly investigated the indirect and the invincible roles of the media in conflict. Although attempts have been made to find supportive evidence to link media to conflict, little has been done with relation to Kenya and particularly in Uasin Gishu County, the area of study. Besides, the studies on how mass media influences human variables such as gender, age, social status, residence and religion have hardly been done. Therefore, the study analyzed how mass media affect these human variables which in turn determine human reaction to conflict situations with reference to 2007/08 PEV within Uasin Gishu County.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The main purpose of the study was to analyze the role played by the media before, during and after the 2007/08 PEV in Uasin Gishu County. The following specific objectives guided the research:

1. To establish the media accessibility and the various types of media coverage within Uasin Gishu County during the 2007 general election.
2. To establish the extent to which media escalated and/or deescalated violence during the 2007/2008 PEV in Uasin Gishu County.

3. To determine how specific human factors (age, gender, social status, residence and religion) were influenced by media towards conflict and conflict management in Uashin Gishu County

1.4 Research Questions

The following research questions were developed from specific objectives outlined above:

1. What is the degree of media accessibility and the media coverage in Uasin Gishu County during the 2007 general election?
2. To what extent did media escalate and/or deescalate violence during the 2007/2008 PEV in Uasin Gishu County?
3. What influence did media have on human variables (age, gender, social status, residence and religion) towards conflict and conflict management in Uashin Gishu County?

1.5 Assumptions of the study

The major assumption is that a robust, competitive and free media in a competitive political system would promote democracy, peace and stability. This means that a robust media is hardly exploited for selfish gains by individuals. They strive to protect their images in the society and remain politically impartial at all times. Another assumption is that, biased media coverage of the unfolding events during the 2007 general elections contributed to the 2007/08 PEV that erupted immediately after the announcement of the presidential election results. This means that subjective reporting is the root cause of misrepresentation of facts which causes conflicts.

1.6 Justification and significance of the study

Media is considered to be the 4th pillar of the society after legislature, executive and judiciary as it plays an important role in shaping peoples' perceptions and lifestyles. Indeed, media influences every part of our lives (thoughts, attitudes, choices, lifestyles, decision making, etc) through education, information and entertainment. Given this important role, media could be used as a tool for conflict transformation and peace

building through objective reporting and peace journalism. However, media could also be used to promote conflicts. For instance, subjective reporting could polarize a nation hence promoting or escalating conflicts. This study therefore focused on the fundamental understanding of how media escalate conflicts and/or promote peace by focusing on specific human variables with reference to the 2007/8 PEV in Kenya.

The study also adds to the body of knowledge relating to media operations and conflict management as well as promoting aspects of peace journalism in times of conflict. It also provides information that would enable security policy makers, law enforcement and political leadership to make better decisions about how to prevent conflicts through early warning and sensitizing the media on how their actions can result in conflict. As a tool for enhancing peace, the study may encourage media practitioners to embrace set policies and ethical standards which regulate the conduct of the media fraternity.

1.7 Scope and limitation of the study

The study analyzed the role of media in conflict management. It was carried out in Uasin Gishu County. The sampled respondents were drawn from three administrative locations within Uasin Gishu County (Fig 3.0). This area was identified due to the fact that it was one of the most affected areas by the 2007/08 PEV. The study was delimited to analysis of media coverage and reporting of 2007 general elections and 2007/08 PEV only in an attempt to determine their role. In addition, the analysis of human factors was delimited to age, gender, social status, residence factor and religious factor. Data collection was limited to use of questionnaire and key respondent interviews together with literature reviews on the role of media in conflict management with respect to 2007 general election.

The major limitation of the study was unwillingness by some respondents to fill the research questionnaires. This was due to language barrier, ignorance of the study, lack of time or general negative perception of respondents. The researcher overcame this challenge by creating a good rapport with the respondents to promote trust and reaffirmed confidentiality and anonymity where requested.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews the existing relevant literature on media reporting from conflict and peace perspectives to assess the roles that media play or could play in escalation or de-escalation of conflicts and peace building. It commences with the analysis of the role of media in conflict from global, regional and local perspective. This chapter also discusses theories of media reporting with reference to libertarian and social responsibility theories and highlights on the developed conceptual framework based on the social responsibility theory of media reporting. It concludes with the analysis of identified gaps in the reviewed literature.

2.1 The General Role of Media in Conflict

In order to objectively understand the nature and the role of media in peace and conflict management, it is important to understand the various ways through which media influence conflict and conflict management. Newbold (1995) points out that majority of scholars and researchers have concentrated on the role of media in economic, social and political issues affecting states with little attention being given to conflicts. Further, he posed that media impact on conflict management is an emerging area that has been under studied due to lack of multidisciplinary models and concepts that would view media's role from peace and conflict realm.

The total number of conflicts today remains at a significantly lower level than at the end of the Cold War. According to the Conflict Data Project (CDP) - a data collection project on organized crimes and armed conflict, Uppsala University, Sweden, it is estimated that for the year 2001, there were 34 ongoing armed conflicts in the world; a number that roughly reflects the average number of ongoing conflicts recorded since the mid-1990 to 2001 including armed conflicts in Eritrea-Ethiopia, India (Manipur), Sierra Leone,

Uzbekistan among others. Africa is the most war torn continent with a total of 19 major armed conflicts in the last 12 years (Eriksson, Sollenberg, & Wallensteel, 2002).

The general statistic overview of armed political conflicts provides a basic understanding of the situation today in terms of destruction, loss of human lives and suffering. Several scholars have insisted on the fact that globalization has led to important qualitative changes in the purposes and dynamics of violent conflict. Some, such as Kaldor (2001) argue that it is the revolution in information technology during the 1980's and 1990's that has led to a particular type of globalization, which in turn, has led to the need for a redefinition of what we think of as media and conflict. Even though the media can give us the intensity of the violence, where they are fought, why, how and who does the fighting, the biggest problem of media influence on people which ultimately determines conflict direction has not been determined.

The majority of violent conflicts are asymmetric in character, and most of these take place within state borders. What is important to point out particularly in relation to the role of the media is winning the “hearts and minds” of the people. Because a state is almost always militarily superior, non-state actors are more dependent on psychological warfare, which entails influencing the attitudes and perceptions of a population for example through the media. Therefore, the media dimension has become increasingly important and it is no coincidence that media assistance emerged, and has been increasing in importance, since the end of the Cold War (Price & Thomson, 2002).

The media has a very complex role to play that, unfortunately, is often taken for granted by political decision-makers and the military. Statements claiming the media's impressive effects are often heard from decision-makers. Political practitioners, and even researchers, most often assume the effect of news media in political conflicts. An example of the extent is reflected in a 1995 survey, in which 64% of American military officers still believed that media had the prime responsibility for ruining the war effort in Vietnam (Taylor, 1997). In light of this, it is surprising, and perhaps even alarming, that

relatively little in terms of research and resources has been allocated to improve the understanding of the media's role in armed conflicts and democratizing states (*ibid*).

Another aspect that has important consequences for media in violent conflict pertains to the recent surge in democratization. It began before the end of the Cold War, but since then a "fourth wave" of democratization has began (Ottaway, 1997). Democratizing states are involved in a complex process of re-adaptation of traditional political structures and attempting to incorporate democratic institutions and norms. Incorporating an editorially and economically independent, responsible and pluralistic media is essential to democratization. Political change often stimulates hope and provides unique opportunities for different, and often previously marginalized groups in society to influence political dynamics while on the other hand, those who control power may find it difficult or inconceivable to let go (Ottaway, 1997). Often letting go may even be a question of threat to individual security. In such a situation, media could play an invisible role of dividing the groups in society in terms of social status. For instance, most conflicts in Africa are as a result of the struggle for power e.g. in Rwanda, Congo, Sierra Leone, etc. The discrimination of the marginalized, ruled by the political elite, could provide a suitable ground for media to create and further both conflict facilitating and triggering factors by use of 'oppositional metaphors' ('us' vs 'them'), (Dijk, 1997), . However, this indirect influence of media on conflict has not been properly brought out.

The media in conflict-ridden countries often play a significant role in creating and furthering both facilitating factors and triggering factors linked to internal and external issues or threats facing the nation. According to Terzis & Melone (2002), media can create divisions by not reflecting pluralism in the social and political structures. This could be achieved by contributing to the creation of an informed critical citizenry within a country by acting as a mouthpiece for ethnic power circles. Thus, she concluded that a deliberate distortion of news coverage for particular interests easily exacerbates the tension between opposed factions and becomes a major trigger of violent conflicts. However, this study did not analyze how human factors can be influenced by the media.

Television has been considered to be the most important source of news for the public, and possibly, the most powerful influence on public opinion itself. In 1950, only 9 percent of homes owned a television in America. By 1966, this figure rose to 93 percent, (Bonior, Champlin, & Kolly, 1984, p. 18). Coupled with this revolution was the Vietnam War, in which American military intervened to restore peace. Since no military restriction was established, journalists could follow the military into combat and report their observations without formal restriction. Thus, as journalists saw more grisly combat, they presented the public with more graphic images and, for the first time, interviewed soldiers expressed their frustration with the progress of the war, which were contrary to official progress reports by the state. By the fall of 1967, 90 percent of the evening news was devoted to the war and roughly 50 million people watched television news each night and read newspapers (Bonior, et al, 1984, pp. 4-5). The result was reduced support for the US foreign intervention policy by the public and Congress (*Ibid*). This demonstrates the compelling power of the media in shaping attitudes and influencing decisions.

The other most influential acts of media during the war was the decision of Life Magazine to fill one edition of its magazine with photographs of 242 US soldiers killed in Vietnam in a one week of fighting (Hallin, 1986, p. 106). It was this type of reporting that encouraged General William Westmoreland, commander of the US troops in Vietnam, to accuse the mass media of helping to bring about a National Liberation Front victory.

The 1990's humanitarian intervention into Somalia, led by the US, was the result of media influence, but since it was reactive rather than proactive, it was not well conceived, making it extremely vulnerable. The media, of course, offers few suggestions, merely the cry of 'do something!' As Sir Michael Howard noted "*television brings a crisis closer to governors but provides no new means to resolve it.*" (Gowing, 1994, p. 12). This intervention was influenced by the CNN effect, which argues that the media drives Western conflict management by forcing Western governments to intervene militarily in humanitarian crises against their will (Jakosben, 2000, p. 132).

The causal mechanism of the CNN effect is usually conceived in the following way: Media coverage (printed and televised) of suffering and atrocities → journalists and opinion leaders demand that Western governments ‘do something’ → the (public) pressure becomes unbearable → Western governments do something (Jakobsen, 2000, p. 132). Many decision makers have lent credence to this view. For example, John Shattuck, once a US Assistant Secretary of State for human rights and democracy, claimed that: ‘The media got us [the USA] into Somalia and then got us out’ (Shattuck, 1996).

Because of this forced intervention, the US government had taken a clear position on Somalia and thus could not begin preparing the US public for their role, duration and eventual winding up of its commitment in Somalia. The result of this intervention was far reaching. For instance, the highlighting of images of dead servicemen caused a powerful impact on the public fueling pressure to the state to withdraw troops (Gowing, 1994, p. 67). So, in this case, the media was placing an otherwise ignored policy issue on the agenda, and almost forcing the administration to react. Therefore, what is sometimes termed as the "CNN effect" is usually necessary to mobilize pressure on (the Western) governments to act. However, the study didn't specify which variable of human factors were mostly affected.

Television coverage is thus a powerful influence in problem recognition, which in turn helps to shape the foreign policy agenda. But television does not necessarily dictate policy responses (Gowing, 1994, p. 18). Also, the media does not necessarily express the wants and vision of the public. More often, it serves to shape their wants. Therefore, if governors do react to the media in a direct fashion, they move even further away from public opinion than they might be otherwise. In essence, the media can serve to shape both public opinion and government policy, but need not do either so blatantly and thoughtlessly. As well, the media should not be relied upon for influence on either party, as its resources are limited, and so is the breadth of its attention, perhaps even more so than the general public.

History has shown that media can incite people towards violence. Hitler used the media to create hatred for Jews (Vladimir & Schirch, 2007). Joseph Goebbels, Hitler's Minister of Propaganda, masterminded the most effective effort of mass persuasion, heavily relying on propaganda messages in motion pictures and radio broadcasting. Aware of the importance of media, Goebbels controlled the press school for journalists and had a hold over radio broadcasting (Cole, 1998). He induced the industry to produce affordable radio sets, installed loudspeakers in public places and sent 'radio wardens' to monitor the use of those radios (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999). Between 1933 and 1942, the German radio audience increased from 4.5 to 16 million (Thomson, 1997). The Nazis mastered the use of slogans and bold-coloured visuals, but most importantly perfected the use of town rallies arousing emotional frenzy and support for Hitler. Furthermore, the town rallies were then reproduced in Nazi newsreels and shown to audiences all over Germany. This kind of propaganda was exceptionally persuasive, as manifested by the historical persistence of the symbols such as the swastika in popular culture more than 50 years later (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999).

In the 1992-5 Balkan conflict, electronic and print media helped promote ethnic conflict and hatred leading to violence. While the explicit broadcast of hate messages was rare, the cumulative impact of biased coverage fuelled the hatred over a long period of time (Buric, 2000; Sadkovich, 1998). Broadcasters polarized local communities to the point where violence became an acceptable tool for addressing grievances (Vladimir & Schirch, 2007). More than 150,000 were killed in the Bosnian civil war between Serbs, Bosnians and Croats. The Dayton Peace Agreement ended the violence in 1995 by instituting a provisional, internationally-run governing body in charge of peace implementation (the Office of the High Representative, OHR). One of OHR's initial assessments of the Bosnian conflict was that all three sides in the conflict utilized radio and television broadcasting to further their conflict goals and demonize their opponents (Buric, 2000; Thompson M. , 1977)

In the past two years, the African continent experienced several political uprisings in Arab countries. Some of these uprisings were claimed to be engineered and subsequently

escalated by media. Using the Libyan civil war as a case study, (Viggo, 2011) explored the media's role in modern conflicts. Particular emphasis was placed on the media's shortcomings in its reporting and analysis of the conflict, highlighting the double standards that the media gave by drawing parallels between the wars in Iraq and Libya in an effort to illustrate the errors repeatedly carried out by mass media. Even though media managed to polarize the nation into the ruled and the political elites by use of 'oppositional metaphors' ('us' vs 'them'), its impact on social status, gender, age groups and other human variables was not clearly highlighted.

The Libyan revolution was grouped together with those revolutions of the rest of the Arab world. What the media failed to point out was that, unlike the revolutions of Egypt or Tunisia, the Libyan uprising was, from the outset, violent in nature. Viggo (2011) concluded with reference to Muammar Qaddafi's capture and subsequent killing on October 20, 2011 that the power of media in conflict cannot be assumed. For instance, commenting on the speed and technology with which images of the event recorded on cell phones were transmitted around the world via social media platforms, and widely disseminated even before Qaddafi's death was confirmed, and immediately sparked international debate regarding the circumstances and legality of his killing, the media played a key role in restoring peace and de-escalating conflict thus setting the new agenda for discussion.

During the 2010 general elections in Côte d'Ivoire, the media landscape was rife with partisan polemic and misinformation from opposing sides and incitements to violence, while members of the media themselves were frequent targets of violence and intimidation (Media Foundation for West Africa, 2011). During the post-election crisis that followed after the announcement of the presidential results, the print media and public television were used by both presidential candidates Laurent Gbagbo and Alassane Ouattara as a tool for propaganda and a means for mobilizing their electorate against their opponents (Electoral Reform International Services, 2011). The media occupied a central role in the post-election crisis and the descent into civil war that saw

the displacement of more than 1 million people, the effective termination of many government services in parts of the country and further economic decline (*ibid*).

A characteristic of the Ivorian civil war was a power-struggle between forces backing Gbagbo and Ouattara to control the media. In response to the pro-Gbagbo biases of the state-run *Radio Télévision Ivoirienne* (RTI), which is the most widely accessed source of news in the country, the Ouattara camp created *Television Côte d'Ivoire* (TCI) in early 2011 (Media Foundation for West Africa, 2011). Both television outlets incited violence against their opponents and attacked media outlets or journalists of their opponents. There is widespread consensus that certain media outlets played an important role in exacerbating the political, social and ethnic tensions in the country (Reporters Without Borders, 2011).

In the Central African Republic, hate speech spread through the media and targeted attacks during 2013 were responsible for exacerbating, with little precedent, a sectarian climate that resulted in the displacement of almost one million people and 75,000 refugees (MRG, 2013). In the midst of an otherwise non-sectarian conflict, hate speech urging revenge between Muslims and Christian anti-balaka groups in media and online platforms gained prominence and it became easier for members from both communities to regard the other group as collectively responsible for individual acts of violence. The impact of hatred spread through the media may extend beyond discrimination to more visible extremes, as in the Democratic Republic of Congo where it drives the continuation of inter-ethnic conflicts (*Ibid*).

In 1994, the Rwandan *Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines* played a crucial role in initiating the slaughter of more than a half a million people in less than one hundred days. The broadcast messages explicitly calling for the murder of the Tutsi population were believed to have contributed to the massacre (Metzl, 1997; Kirschke, 1996)

In Uganda, inadequate media coverage has been blamed for the conflict in Northern Uganda where for more than two decades, the war between Uganda People's Defence

Forces (UPDF) and Lord Resistance Army (LRA) has not been covered adequately (Okumu, 1997). This has made it difficult for the international community to intervene. Similarly, Somalia and Darfur conflicts were too under covered until recently when they hit the world headlines. Okumu (1997) criticized the international media for failing to adequately cover the emerging conflict situation in Rwanda which resulted in the lack of prompt intervention by the international community. Indeed, he argues that a more comprehensive and objective reporting about the Rwandan conflict could have averted the 1994 genocide. This study too did not state how the media impact humans to resort to conflict.

Tensions frequently escalate in situations where information is scarce (Dijk, 1997; Graber, 2002). Offering a variety of information which contains a range of facts, perspectives and opinions would therefore be a de-escalating measure. *“The media cannot be neutral towards peace” (ibid)*. While this might oppose the media professional objectivity above everything else, they must realize that the way in which they report on and about a certain conflict can drastically affect the audience’s perception of the situation and thus may influence further developments.

Media has also been used in several cases to promote peace and reconciliation. For example, in Northern Uganda, media has been used to create the common good for the people to promote peace (Struges, 2007). Mega FM has promoted peace in Northern Uganda with positive effects since 2002. Evidence also suggests that the station played a major part in encouraging LRA members to come out of the bush. Struges (2007) further noted that the LRA leadership was encouraged to listen to the station and on a number of occasions joined radio phone-in talk shows and held discussions with government and civil society representatives, a good step in peace building. Thus mass media played a role in creating peace.

Open Broadcast Network (OBN), a media network established in Bosnia two decades ago, is one of the most ambitious and earliest intentional media attempts to reduce violent conflict. To this day, it remains the only television network established to promote peace

and reconciliation. OBN was a product of the Dayton Peace Agreement reached in 1995, when the Serbs, Croats and Bosnians came under pressure to end their three-year-long violent conflict by instituting a provisional, internationally-run governing body (the Office of the High Representative, OHR) in charge of peace implementation. Following the initial assessments of the Bosnian conflict that propaganda, through ethnic television stations, was instrumental in spreading messages of hate that incited and fueled the conflict, the OHR developed and promoted “unbiased media” to combat persisting propaganda. As a result, the new national television network Open Broadcast Network, (OBN) was launched in 1996 (Sadkovich, 1998).

Since then, OBN has promoted peace journalism by focusing on the efforts of community leaders to promote peace during violence. It has also pioneered a number of programmes aimed at promoting cross-national understanding. The programmes provided practical advice about reconciliation and repatriation. OBN editors categorically refused to employ the overt nationalistic bias of other networks, which carried verbatim, on-air reading of partisan press releases; coverage of parties’ bombastic press conferences; and unedited open letters (Sadkovich, 1998). OBN’s news and information division set the standards for professional reporting in general by avoiding many similar traps of war journalism, but take steps toward open promotion of peaceful reconciliation (*ibid*).

Search for Common Ground (SFCG), a US based NGO dealing with conflict resolution, launched Studio Ijambo in 1995 at the height of ethnic and political violence in Burundi and neighbouring Rwanda. The studio was established with the intention of promoting reconciliation, understanding and foster nonviolent conflict resolution (SFCG, 2004). Since its inception, Studio Ijambo has had a significant positive impact in mitigating conflict by catching and holding the attention of the majority of the radio-listening population. It employed an ethnically balanced team of journalists to produce high-quality radio programs that promoted reconciliation, dialogue, and collaboration, in addition to its credible, unbiased programming which included news, special features, round-table discussions, telephone call-ins, music, and highly popular soap-opera series (Slachmuislder & Nkurunziza, 1972). In addition to providing quality standards for

broadcasters and producers, Studio Ijambo also played a central role in the capacity building of radio professionals through training (SFCG, 2004).

In February 2002, MONUC (the United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo) and Hironnelle Foundation, a Swiss NGO, set up Radio Okapi as a means of promoting peace and reconciliation in DR Congo. With a staff made up of mostly native Congolese journalists and broadcasters, Radio Okapi produced news, music, and information on MONUC activities. Radio Okapi has been on air for 13 years now and has contributed a lot towards reunification of the country (DR Congo) by way of programme broadcasts across the frontlines in both government and rebel-held territory. Since its inception, Radio Okapi has enlightened listeners on the peace process - its successes, failures and hopes. In addition, it has explained the mandate of United Nations in the DR Congo and the limits of that mandate (Betz, 2004). Other than peace process, Radio Okapi has also developed programmes dedicated to health, education, human rights, culture and music, the last of which is crucial in gaining the interest of the Congolese radio listeners (*ibid*).

Equally, Radio Ndeke Luka (RNL), a radio station focusing on development and peace in the Central African Republic (CAR), was established by the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic (MINURCA) and managed by Hironnelle Foundation to promote peace and reconciliation in CAR. Since its inception, the station has managed to contribute to peace-keeping as well as democratization and socioeconomic development. It has highlighted on issues relating to human rights and human rights abuses, the search for peace and initiatives in favour of peace. It has also promoted vocational training for journalists and technicians of Central African Republic resulting in the creation of a positive impact on local media (Betz, 2004).

Social media could also be a powerful tool, focusing worldwide attention on armed conflict and international humanitarian law (IHL). Due to its scale and the ability to easily and exponentially reproduce information, as we saw with the massive viewership of the Kony 2012 video, social media is useful for quickly and efficiently publicizing

events and information which can be used to generate public interest, to bolster advocacy campaigns, and to educate about the law (Koni, 2012).

2.1.2 Perceived Role of Media in Kenya

The Kenyan mass media has played a significant role in economic, social, political and educational issues affecting the nation thus contributing immensely towards development. However, this has come with disgust especially in political issues resulting into violent conflicts (Ibrahim & Jenner, 1997). The invisible role of media in Kenya cannot be assumed given its influential power. For instance, mass media could have played a positive role during the 2007 general elections by supporting the efforts of the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK) towards the realization of free and fair elections. Indeed, the media shaped national and global public opinion, attitudes and practices towards various political parties, presidential candidates and critical issues during election campaigns in Kenya through their extensive coverage and broadcasts, (UNDP, 2008). In addition, mass media could have also played a critical role as a tool for education by supporting the civic education programs conducted by various civil society organizations (Mbeke, 2009).

Apart from the positive roles, media could have played negative roles towards the cause and escalation of election violence. As would be deduced from Kenya during 2007 general election coverage, media portrayed a volatile political environment marred with abhorrence, violence, and a stiff race between two protagonists through biased coverage. Furthermore, major media houses such as NTV and KTN predicted a flawed and highly manipulated election to favor the ruling party. Therefore, the perceived attempt to bungle the vote tallying exercise by ECK only served to confirm the prediction of the media (KNCHR, 2008b). This certainly could have prompted the PEV.

Another media misrepresentation was witnessed during the Majimbo (federalism) debate, which really defined the 2007 elections, (KNCHR, 2008b; MFAF , 2009). According to media supportive to ODM, federalism meant devolution of power and resources to grassroots while to media supportive to PNU, federalism meant eviction of Kikuyus from

the Rift Valley and other parts of the country, (GoK, 2008). According to ODM supporters, federalism would guarantee them access to power to correct historical wrongs committed by all powerful governments since independence while according to PNU supporters, federalism would threaten their land ownership in the former Rift Valley Province and other parts of the country thereby undermining their economic and business interests, (KNCHR, 2008b). Therefore, the media could have laid the foundation for a high-stakes political duel that stimulated ethnic emotions and passions through misinterpretation of facts.

Some media houses, especially the FM radio stations, seemed to have encouraged hate speech that elicited ethnic hatred and animosity that burst into open post-election violence, (BBC, 2008). Among the stations that were most mentioned included Inooro FM, Kameme FM, Kass FM, and Lake Victoria FM (Abdi & Deane, 2008; KNCHR, 2008b). While mainstream media houses like KBC, Nation Media and Standard Group were much more cautious, FM radio stations especially those broadcasting in ethnic languages appeared to fuel ethnic hatred and animosity through the use of hate and unsavory language. For instance, KASS FM radio station broadcasting to Kalenjins in the former Rift Valley Province referred to their Kikuyu neighbours as ‘foreigners’, while a popular Kikuyu radio station, Kameme FM, often referred to Luos as ‘fishermen’ (Mbeke, 2009; KNCHR, 2008b).

Generally it seemed there was absence of professional conduct in most media prior to and during the post-election violence (Howard, 2008). Most media reports initially seemed inaccurate, unbalanced and unfair. Verification of facts was always wanting and victims of the conflict were treated merely as statistics without identities (BBC, 2008). In addition, the media houses also seemed unprofessional in the manner they handled the release of election results. They released varying, piecemeal and speculative results that caused anxiety and confusion among already anxious voters across the country. This could have also spurred the perception that the election was rigged, fueling the post-election violence.

The most negative role that media could have also played during the PEV was creating emotional appeal to audience through misrepresentation of facts. This scenario was experienced when different media houses, depending on their political and ethnic affiliation, reported similar occurrences differently to arouse their listeners' emotions. According to (Otieno, 2005) in his study titled "*Mobile Telephony and Democratic Elections in Kenya: A case of 2002 Elections.*" the absence of a common ground report amongst media houses could provide ground for failure to denounce inhuman acts committed during conflicts. As can be inferred from 2007/08 PEV, the absence of a common ground report by local media houses, due to political or/and ethnic affiliation, could have encouraged conflict adversaries to plan for revenge attacks which could have escalated the conflict.

Despite these negative roles, media also played a positive role during the 2007/08 PEV. The most important role according to Mutua (2001) was acting as a voice for the voiceless in the society. This was done through highlighting of injustices during the conflict to the international community for intervention thus providing public awareness of impending conflict and post conflict situation. For instance, the international media widely covered the 2007/08 PEV calling for the international community's intervention to put pressure on protagonists to end the conflict.

During the 2007/08 PEV, Uasin Gishu County was one of the areas most affected by the violence. According to Some (2008), stiff competition for limited economic opportunities was one of the major factors that fuelled the 2007/08 post-election violence in Uasin Gishu District. The issue, coupled with fears by the local community that it was being dominated by non-indigenous people, generated deep mistrust between various people in the populous area. The "non-indigenous" population was viewed not only as steadily increasing, but also as much more successful economically. This apprehension, which had festered for years, eventually turned into full blown conflict sparked by the bitterly disputed election outcome (*ibid*).

The indirect and invisible role of the media in the PEV in Uasin Gishu has not been widely documented. Likewise, the impact of media cannot be undermined in a conflict situation. Though not comprehensively discussed, the role of media in Kenya can be clearly deduced or inferred from their conduct prior, during and after 2007/08 PEV. This immense media impact has prompted the study to scientifically justify their role in conflict situations.

In summary, this literature review indicates that the mass media coverage of conflict, including conflict management has revealed that the revolution in information technology from 1960s to the present led to the need for a redefinition of what we think of as media and conflict. The other aspect of media in violent conflict especially in a democratizing institution is the use of ‘opposition metaphors’ (‘us’ vs ‘them’). They can also engineer conflict response through what is termed as the ‘CNN effect’ which argues that the media drives Western conflict management by forcing Western governments to intervene militarily in humanitarian crises against their will, (Jakosben, 2000). In addition, the media can serve to shape both public opinion and government policy. Some of the perceived media’s shortcomings in its reporting and analysis of the Kenyan conflict were double standards reporting, misrepresentation, encouraging hate speech that elicited ethnic hatred and animosity, absence of professional conduct, creating emotional appeal to audience through misrepresentation of facts and selection of songs played during conflict among others. Lastly, Heiber (2001) showed that mass media effects to the audience depend on various factors such as social class, ethnicity, social context, age, sex, personality, marital status, nationality, political party affiliation among others, which also forms the background of the study.

2.1.1 Gap analysis

Based on the above discussion, it is true that media plays a major role in inciting conflict all over the world, including Kenya. For example, in the 1994 Rwanda genocide Radio-Television Libre des Milles Collines (RTLM) urged Hutus to kill Tutsis or “the cockroaches’. Equally, other radio stations played a key role in de-escalation of conflict thus promoting reconciliation and peace among conflicting parties. For example, the

Somalia radio station – Radio Galkayo in the 90’s encouraged conflicting clans to negotiate peace while at the same time promoted sporting activities that brought together rival clans. Mega FM Radio station in Northern Uganda also played a major part in encouraging LRA members to come out of the bush and hold discussions with government and civil society representatives through radio (Struges, 2007).

Despite this role of media, minimal studies have been done to establish the extent to which it influences categories of people based on gender, age, social status, religion and residence towards conflict. Therefore the study attempts to fill this gap.

There also exists a geographical gap in conflict studies in Kenya. Most studies have concentrated on armed and cross border conflicts in northern and eastern part of Kenya with little attention being given to other parts of the country. Despite the fact that Uasin Gishu County has always been the epicenter of election related conflicts since 1992, minimal studies have been carried out in this area. This study is also intended to address this geographical gap.

2.2 Conceptual/Theoretical framework.

This section discusses theories of media reporting with reference to libertarian and social responsibility theory. It also highlights the developed conceptual framework of the study.

2.2.1 Theories of Media Reporting

Libertarian Theory

Media under the liberal systems of government, such as that of the U.S. have their critical roles and functions embodied in these countries’ constitutions or fundamental laws. Primarily, the media is free from government controls and acts as a watchdog against government excesses besides basic functions of informing and entertaining. This emphasizes that a free and responsible media guards against government abuses of power through factual reporting, promotion of open debate, representation of diverse views and protection of individual rights (Siebert, Peterson, & Schramm, 1972).

Libertarian theory advocates for media to be self regulating in observance of strict code of ethics and professionalism. To ensure this freedom is not abused in Kenya, the state through its legislative arm has set up a regulatory commission comprising of both media practitioners and government officials to oversee each other (Communication Commission of Kenya, 2008). At times, the state also proposes or nominates a representative in major media houses' board of directors to represent its interests.

This press freedom as outlined by the libertarian theory can be utilized by journalists and opinion leaders to promote peace and conflict transformation. The demerit of this theory is that selfish individuals can exploit this freedom to breed conflicts without the consent of the media. Looking at the Kenyan situation during 2007 general election campaigns, major media houses such as Nation Media, Standard Group and Royal media, through analyzed reporting, created an impression that the country is polarized along ethnic lines (GoK, 2008). The social media, vernacular radio stations and gutter press reports were worse off. In this case, media tried to portray that political parties in Kenya had their primary bases in particular ethnic groups or blocs. Thus media could have built the foundation of PEV through its influence and freedom of reporting as provided under libertarian theory.

On the other hand, the Libertarian theory advocates for legitimate media freedom where the government has no or little control over the media. Under this condition, the government machinery cannot influence the direction or editorial powers to report on skewed messages in its favour. The media practitioners have the freedom to operate within the legal framework and objective reporting thus discouraging conflicts and promoting peaceful coexistence. For example, the media supported the process of initiating mediation efforts between ODM and PNU by calling for urgent settlement of the crisis in their editorials and commentaries (Mbeke, 2009).

The Social Responsibility Theory

The social responsibility theory takes the position that the media needs to assume both moral and legal responsibilities for all that they publish for the general good of the

society (Siebert et al, 1972). This theory creates a platform to make media reporting truthful, accurate and objective at all times. Credibility is the foundation of this theory, and to be credible, media practitioners try as much as possible to be socially responsible, transparent, fair and balanced in reporting while respecting the dignity, privacy and rights of all (Schudson, 2001). Under this theory, media reporting tends to highlight injustices within the community and enlighten people on their rights and privileges. The predicament with this theory is that as people become more enlightened, the more they push for their rights through whatever means available, including use of violence. Thus, the implication of this theory is far reaching in influencing people to unite and rise against injustices (*ibid*).

The Social Responsibility theory binds the practitioners to report objectively, truthfully and transparently as an obligation. The highlighted humanitarian crisis following the 2007/2008 PEV by media made the international community to intervene. As a result, this led to ending the conflict. For example, several world personalities, including African eminent personalities, headed by Kofi Annan, the former UN Secretary General, were among prominent personalities who intervened to bring peace in Kenya. Additionally, the Media Council of Kenya (MCK) put out advertisements calling on Kenyans to shun violence and keep peace as well as calling journalists to adhere to ethical standards (Mbeke, 2009). Similarly, MCK also called for peaceful co-existence between rival ethnic groups and mobilized individuals, churches and private sector to provide relief assistance to IDPS in former Nairobi, Central, Rift Valley and Nyanza Provinces. These are some of the media initiatives that could be seen to promote peace under social responsibility theory.

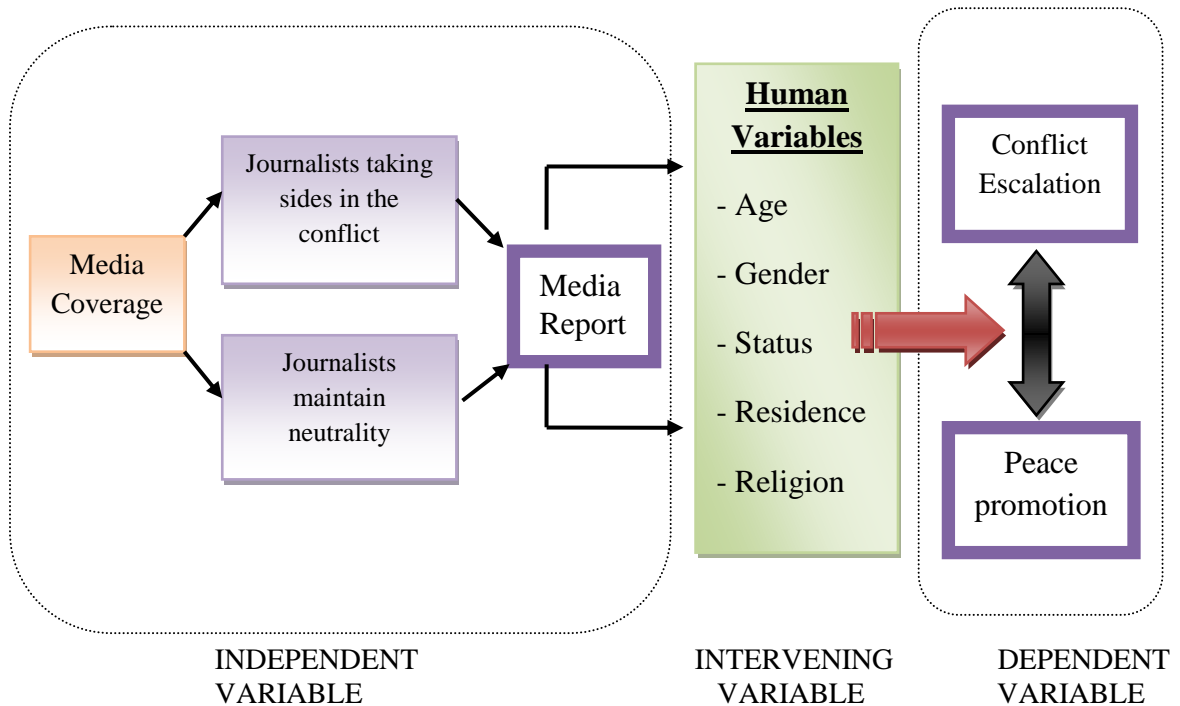
Social responsibility theory is equally attached to corporate social responsibility. The idea that corporations have moral obligation towards the societal wellbeing has its roots embodied in social responsibility theory. Major media houses for instance Nation Media and The Standard Group organized for relief mobilization to assist the displaced persons. NTV, KTN and Royal media in collaboration with Kenya Red Cross (KRC) appealed to

Kenyans to donate food, clothes and shelter to IDPs. This was a positive role played by the media towards promotion of peace.

2.2.2 Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

The study focused on social responsibility theory to develop the conceptual framework. This theory postulates that a free and responsible media has the responsibility of reporting accurately, promoting open debate, representing diverse views, and protecting individual rights against abuse by government machinery. With the analysis of two variables; media reporting as independent variable and conflict management (peace promotion or conflict de-escalation) as dependent variable, the study developed the conceptual framework shown in figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework



Source: Author (2014)

According to the conceptual framework, media coverage is assumed to be greatly influenced by either subjective or objective reporting which determines the nature of coverage. Subjective reporting would involve sorting, analyzing and probably manipulation of reports to suit particular interests, while objective reporting involves

facts, accurate and responsible report based on professionalism. All these are seen to take place within the media environment which represents the independent variable. However, their influential effect on individuals is based on factors such as gender, age, social status religion and residence. These human factors represent the intervening variable, which determine the strength of relationship between the independent and dependent variables. The ultimate cause of conflict is the dependent variable. It assumes two outcomes i.e. escalation or de-escalation as may be influenced by the media report. This media effect on conflict is what the study intended to establish.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the detailed description of the locale of the study, research design, sample size, sampling techniques, variables, instrumentation, and procedures for data collection, data analysis and interpretation. It also highlights the ethical considerations which were adhered to in the research.

3.1 Research Design

The study used a mixture of survey and qualitative methods of research design. The choice of these methods was influenced by the perceived varying degrees of opinions, views and perception of divergent respondents sampled. (Croswell, 2009) argues that qualitative research design is suitable in natural settings. Since the study mostly focused on respondents' perceptions of media and conflict management issues, qualitative approach gave more room for interpretation and understanding. Strauss & Corbin (1999) have further shown that those who use qualitative research obtain satisfactory results and appropriate answers to the central research questions being investigated. Therefore, this design was chosen because of its usefulness in obtaining an overall picture of the study.

3.2 Variables

This study used the independent, dependent and intervening variables as the three major variables to help the researcher to analyze and interpret the data. According to Gray (2009), an independent variable is the one used to explain or predict outcome on the dependent variable; the intervening variable is one that influences the relationship between the observed variables or independent and the dependent variables, while the dependent variable is one that forms the focus of research and depends on independent or explanatory variable. In this study, the independent variable is the approach of media coverage and reporting of armed conflict situations. The dependent variable is the

reaction on media reports with regard to a conflict which would assume two outcomes i.e. escalation or de-escalation. Intervening variables are the effect of media reports on human factors which ultimately determine the course of conflict. The identified human factors are delimited to gender, age, social status, religion and residence.

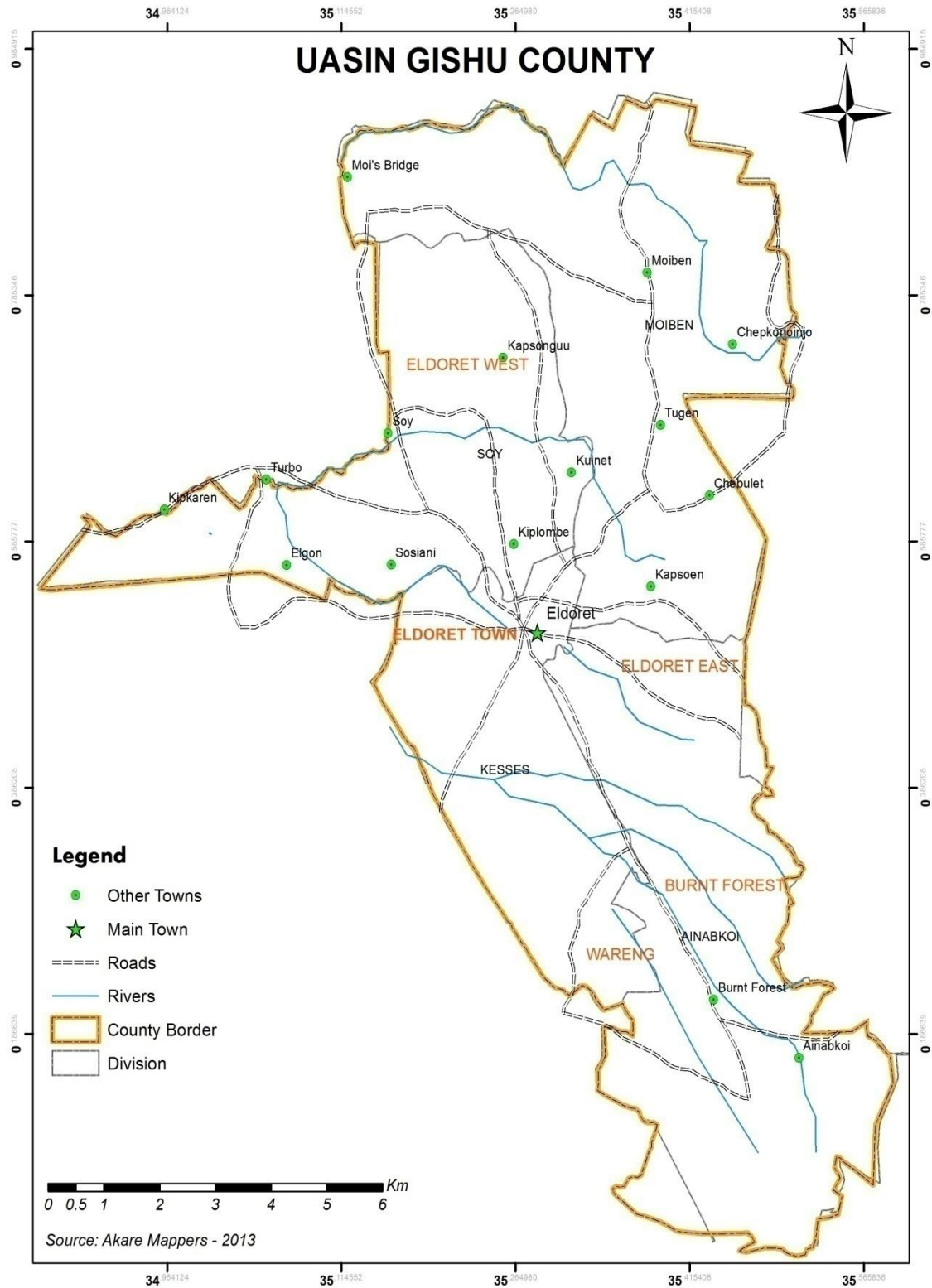
3.3 Site of study

The study was conducted in the Uasin Gishu County. The County occupies the central region of the former Rift Valley Province. It covers an approximate area of 3,328 Sq Kms and is located on a plateau with a cool and temperate climate that is considered one of the best climates in the world (Watson, 2008). The County borders Nandi, Kericho, Baringo, Elgeyo Marakwet, Trans Nzoia, and Kakamega counties. Eldoret is its administrative as well as commercial centre. The county has three constituencies; Eldoret East, Eldoret South and Eldoret North. It has three administrative sub-counties Eldoret East, Eldoret West and Wareng, as shown in Figure 3.0.

According to the 2009 National Census, Uasin Gishu has a population of 894,179 with a population density of 269 people per km² with age distribution of 0-14 years 41.5 %, 15-64 years 55.7%, and above 65 years 2.9% (KNBS, 2009). An estimated 90 percent of the entire land area in the county is arable and can be classified as high potential. However, the poverty level in the area under the county stands at 41% as per (KNBS, 2009). Forty percent (40%) of this population is rural based while 54% is urban. The main economic activities comprise of farming, dairy, commerce and tourism.

The county was viewed as the epicenter of 2007/08 PEV in the former Rift Valley Province (KNCHR, 2008b). This was based on the assumption that the area is cosmopolitan and multi-ethnic in nature and therefore predisposed to ethnic hatred and conflict. Purposive sampling was used to select three administrative Divisions in the County as sample units based on the intensity of violence. As a result, three divisions selected i.e. Ainabkoi, Moiben and Kesses formed the basis for selecting three locations, one from each division. Subsequently, one sub-location was identified from each location from which the sample population was derived from.

Figure 3.0 The Map of Uasin Gishu County.



3.4 Study population

Within the context of the study, population comprised residents of Uasin Gishu County, media practitioners and security professionals. (Kumar, 2011) defines study population as the bigger group or residents of a community about whom the study is concerned while the sample as a subgroup of the population which is the focus of the enquiry and is selected carefully to represent the study population. According to KNBS (2009), Uasin Gishu County has a population of 894,179 (male – 52%, female – 48%). The target population was 12,795 people of Ndanai Sub-location, Ainabkoi location (Ainabkoi Division), Lingwai Sub-location, Tarakwa Location (Kesses Division) and Burnt Forest Sub-location, Olare Location (Moiben Division) (See table 3.1).

Table 3.1: Population size of Sampled Sub-Locations

Location	Male	Female	Total
Ndanai	1,244	1,182	2,426
Burnt Forest	2,631	2,314	4,945
Lingwai	2,710	2,714	5,424
Total	6,585	6,210	12,795

Source: KNBS (2009)

3.5 Sampling Technique and Sample Size

The study employed mixed sampling techniques approach. The strategy combined both stochastic (stratified simple random), and non stochastic (purposive and snowball) sampling approaches. Convenience sampling was used in selection of administrative divisions, locations and sub-locations as follows; the first level of sample involved the selection of three identified divisions of the county; the second level involved selection of one location in each of the sampled divisions while the third level involved the selection of sample population from three sub-locations, one each from the sampled locations.

The various categories of samples were derived from media, security, victims and perpetrators of the PEV. In the selection of the samples, the area of study influenced the

sample size. In the area of media, the researcher used simple random sampling and identified six media personalities. They were drawn from media houses including Citizen, KASS, Changei, Inooro, NTV and KTN. The researcher chose one media personality for every sampled sub-location.

For the security personnel, the researcher used simple random sampling to identify several security officers and provincial administrators at the divisional, location and the sub-location levels. The researcher considered one officer/administrator at each of the three offices visited. This enabled the researcher to gather enough information on the security situation before, during and after the 2007/08 PEV.

For the victims and the perpetrators of the violence, the researcher used snowball sampling by identifying one victim who in turn identified others. In total, 178 victims and 150 other volunteers were interviewed to gain information on the PEV including causes, effects, perpetrators and peacemaking mechanisms. This accounted for 88% of the targeted respondents.

The researcher used 373 respondents drawn from 12,795 people in the three sampled sub-locations as distributed in table 3.2. The sample size was computed using sample size formula as prescribed in Mugenda & Mugenda (2003) as follows:

$$n = \frac{z^2 pq}{d^2}$$

Where: n = desired sample size; z = standard normal deviation at the required confident level; p = proportion of target population estimate; q = 1-p; and d = level of statistical significance set.

Hence, the computed sample size from a population of 12,795 at 95% confident level and 5% confident interval was 373. Equally, Barley (1987) contends that the minimum considerable sample size is 30 cases whereas Guthrie (2010) notes that a sample of 30 will usually give results similar to a normal distribution, although such would be good for small studies. For larger projects, the sample size between 30 and 400 for populations ranging from 30 to one million is ideal; hence the sample size was justified on the above

grounds. This sample size represents approximately 3% of the target population. The sub-location distribution was worked on the weight proportion of the population size of each sub-location as presented in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Sample Size drawn from study area

SER	SUB-LOCATION	RESIDENTS	MEDIA PROFESSIONALS	CONFLICT MGT PROFESSIONALS	TOTAL
1.	Ndanai	64	1	1	66
2.	Burnt Forest	125	1	1	127
3.	Lingwai	178	1	1	180
4.	Totals	367	3	3	373

Source: The Research Findings (2014)

3.6 Reliability and Validity

To a large extent the validity of the findings depends upon the quality of the raw data which depends on the research instruments used. If the instruments are valid and reliable, the findings should be valid and reliable, (Kothari, 2009). To enhance reliability, the researcher designed instruments with simple, unambiguous, logical and comprehensive questions. Different instruments were used to collect data depending on the nature and type of data required.

Reliability was further enhanced by having properly operationalized definition of terms and understanding of concepts to avoid ambiguities. Before adopting research instruments, the researcher cross-checked, inspected and scrutinized information on the research instruments to ensure their accuracy, relevance, completeness, consistency and uniformity. That enabled the researcher to establish whether content in question items deals with and reflects the content and objectives of the study (Patton, 1990).

3.7 Data collection methods

During the study, only qualitative data was collected. Primary and secondary sources of data were used to enhance reliability. The instruments used for primary data collection were interview guides and questionnaires. According to Rasmussen & Erik (2002), interview guides and questionnaires are useful for getting in-depth understanding of the issues under investigation rather than measuring those issues. In-depth interview method (see Appendices 3 & 4 for Interview guides) was used among media and conflict management professionals. This involved a one-on-one interview to elicit detailed answers on media role in conflict management. Interviews were conducted at the convenience of the respondents with an aid of audio taping and note taking.

A questionnaire (Appendix 1) was used for resident respondents. The use of questionnaires was informed by the fact that it cuts costs in terms of both time and money in addition to ensuring anonymity of the respondents. Kothari (2009) posits that questionnaires give respondents ample time enabling them to give well thought answers, besides recommending the use of complementary methods to reveal discrepancies in data collection that a single method cannot. Therefore both questionnaire and interview methods were used to complement each other especially among the literate groups.

Other primary data sources included analysis of newspapers, TV productions and government and non-governmental reports on media and conflict management. Secondary data involved textual and multimedia data forms. They were obtained from both published and unpublished materials such as books, journals, thesis, academic papers, TVs and radio coverage especially prior, during and after 2007 election. Primary data collection was done by the researcher with assistance of three field assistants drawn from the three sampled divisions. The research assistants' task was to identify respondents. Finally, the field research exercise took approximately two months to be completed.

3.8 Data Analysis

The study used qualitative data analysis in drawing linkages between the study problem and theory. Specifically, content data analysis of secondary material was done for their relevance, strength and weakness as regards the study questions. A critical qualitative analysis of the nature and extent to which media generally affect conflicts was established, in addition to an evaluation of the role of media in Kenya 2007/08 PEV.

The study achieved its objectives of establishing the fundamental understanding of how mass media could be used to escalate conflicts and/or promote peace by focusing on analysis of specific variables which enhances the understanding of the roles of media in conflict situations.

3.9 Data Management and Ethical Issues

The researcher received a letter of introduction from Kenyatta University then sought for a written authority to carry out the research from the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology. Since the research dealt with sensitive issues that may discredit the image of particular media houses and involve studying people perceived to have greatly suffered from 2007/08 PEV conflict, their rights to confidentiality and privacy was paramount. The researcher therefore employed informed consent thorough explanations of the purpose of the research, and guarantees of confidentiality in the preamble of questionnaires and also before and during interviews. The overarching principle of ethics in research is that the respondent must always have to give their informed consent (Gray, 2009). To uphold the principle of anonymity, recorded data was given anonymity in the study, where requested or deemed appropriate.

The study emphasized and respected participants' freedom of acceptance or refusal to be interviewed and also of withdrawal from interview at any time. Special attention to building cooperation over time was observed. Clear information was given to outline these assurances. The study tried as much as possible to comply with national policy guidelines on fundamental ethical principles regarding protection of human participants.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter contains findings of the investigation made to determine the role of media in conflict management. It provides the detailed analysis of gathered data, presentation of the findings together with illustrations and discussions on the same. It also provides the interpretation of the results.

4.1 Data Presentation

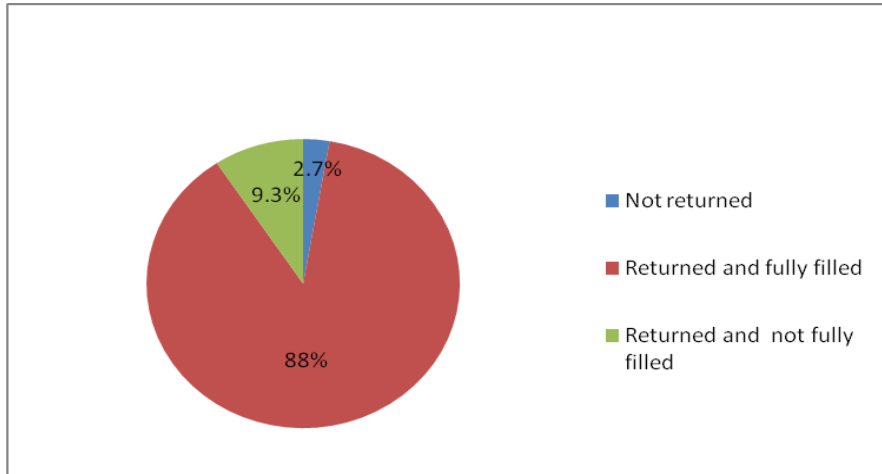
4.1.1 Response Rate

The study targeted a sample size of 373 respondents. All the issued questionnaires were returned but only 328 were duly filled. The researcher only considered the dully filled questionnaires for analysis. This accounted for approximately 88% response rate thus ideal for the study analysis to progress. The response rate is represented on Table 4.1 and Chart 4.1.

Table 4:1 Response Rate

Response	Frequency	Percentages (%)
Not returned	10	2.70
Returned and fully filled	328	88.00
Returned and not fully filled	35	9.30
Totals	373	100

Source: The Research Findings (2014)

Chart 4.1 response Rate

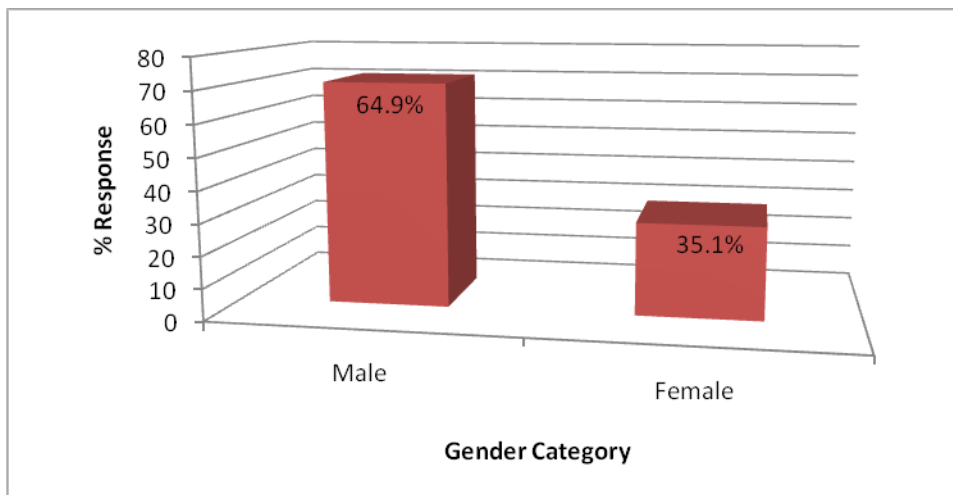
Source: The Research Findings (2014)

4.1.2 Gender Distribution

Table 4.2: Gender Distribution

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Male	213	64.9	64.9
	Female	115	35.1	35.1
	Total	328	100.0	100.0

Source: The Research Findings (2014)

Graph 4.1: Gender Distribution

Source: The Research Findings (2014)

Table 4.2 and Graph 4.1 shows that 64.9% of respondents were male, and 35.1% were female. This means that male gender was the majority of sampled respondents. This was due to the fact that males were easily accessible and participated actively in the PEV.

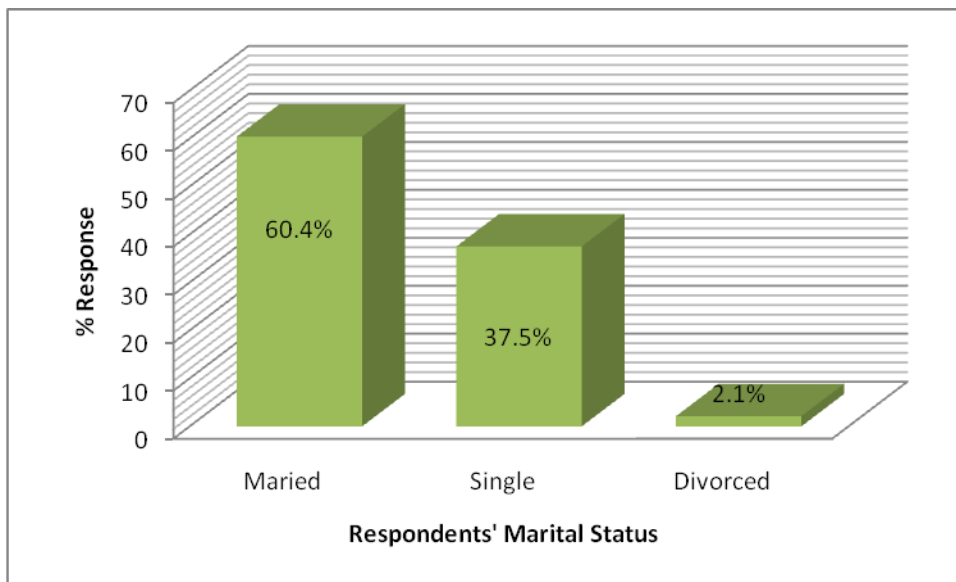
4.1.3 Marital Status Distribution

Table 4.3: Marital Status

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Married	198	60.4	60.4
	Singe	123	37.5	37.5
	Divorced	7	2.1	2.1
	Total	328	100.0	100.0

Source: The Research Findings (2014)

Graph 4.2: Marital Status Distribution



Source: The Research Findings (2014)

Table 4.3 and Graph 4.2 shows that 60.4% of respondents were married, 37.5% were single and 2.1% were divorced. This means that married or couples were the majority of sampled respondents. However, youths, both married and single, accounted for sizable number of sampled respondents and were the most prone to participate in armed violence.

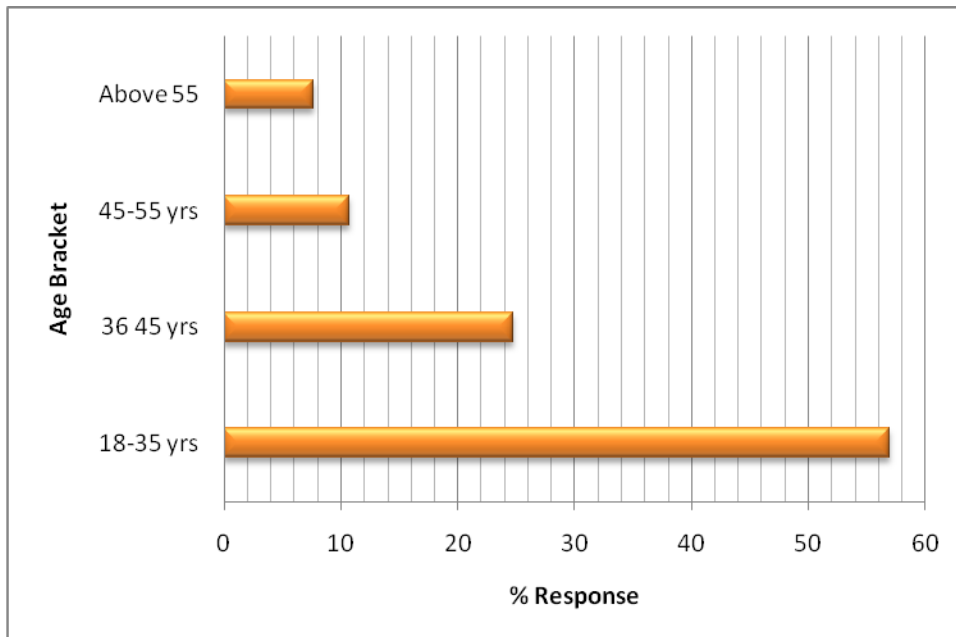
4.1.4 Age Distribution

Table 4.4: Age Distribution

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	18-35 yrs	187	57.0	57.0
	36-45 yrs	81	24.7	24.7
	45-55 yrs	35	10.7	10.7
	Above 55	25	7.6	7.6
	Total	328	100.0	100.0

Source: The Research Findings (2014)

Graph 4.3: Age Distribution



Source: The Research Findings (2014)

The findings in Table 4.4 and Graph 4.3 shows that 57.0% of respondents were aged between 18-35 years, 24.7% were aged between 36-45 years, 10.7 % were aged between 45-55 years and 7.6% were aged above 55 years. This indicates that youths were the majority of respondent as they constituted approximately 82% i.e. aged between 18-45 years. In addition, youths were also considered to be the most active and influenced age bracket thus easily took part in the PEV.

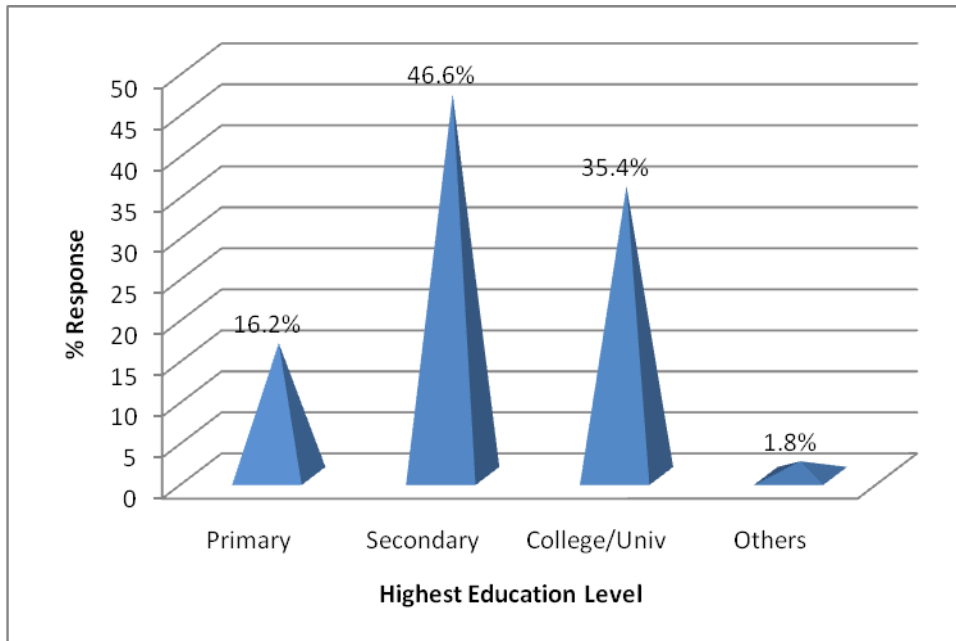
4.1.5 Level of Education

Table 4.5 Level of Education

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Primary	53	16.2	16.2
	Secondary	153	46.6	46.6
	College/University	116	35.4	35.4
	Others	6	1.8	1.8
	Total	328	100.0	100.0

Source: The Research Findings (2014)

Graph 4.4: Level of Education.



Source: The Research Findings (2014)

In Table 4.5 and Graph 4.4, the findings reveal that 16.2% of respondents had Primary school level of education, 46.6% had Secondary school certificate, 35.4% were both diploma or degree holders and 1.8% held other qualifications. This shows that more than 80% of respondents had post primary qualification. Therefore, respondents were able to understand, read and write in both English and Kiswahili apart from the native language, thus being able to make informed decisions from media broadcasts.

4.1.6 Victims of Political Violence

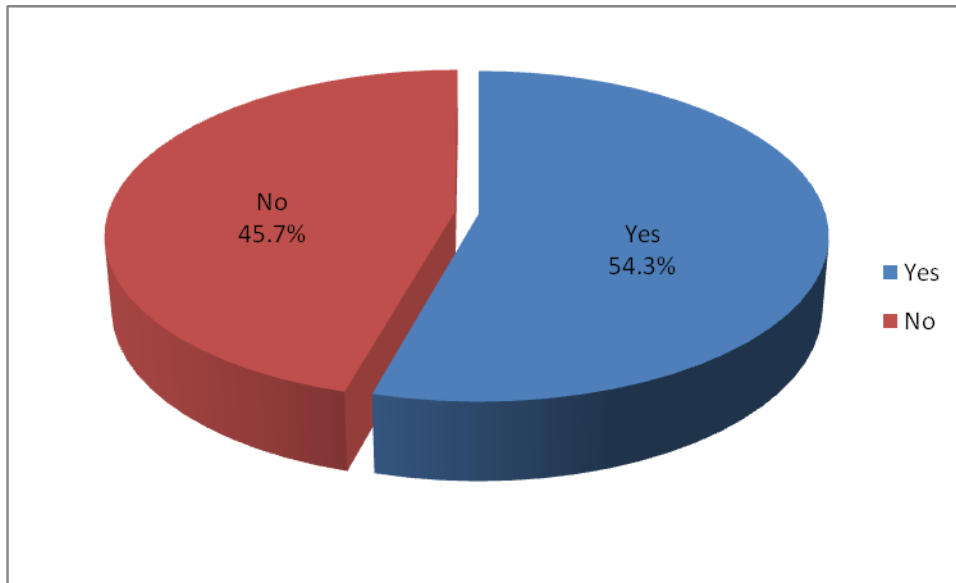
The study also sought to determine whether respondents suffered or were victims of political violence. Findings are presented in Table 4.6 and Chart 4.3.

Table 4.6 Victims of Political Violence

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid			
Yes	178	54.3	54.3
No	150	45.7	45.7
Total	328	100.0	100.0

Source: The Research Findings (2014)

Chart 4.2: Victims of Violent Conflict



Source: The Research Findings (2014)

These finding shows that 54.3% of respondents were victims of election violence, while 45.7% never suffered election related violence. This is also supported by the fact that the

region was the epicenter of violence in the former Rift Valley Province thus exposing more people to election violence.

Cross-tabulation analysis between victims of conflict and gender reveals that 62.61% of sampled women were victims of violence against 49.75% of male counterparts as shown in Table 4.7. These finding shows that females are the most affected gender by political violence, and more than half of females in the sampled area had suffered violent conflict.

Table: 4.7 Cross-tabulation Analyses Between Victims of Conflict and Gender

Victim of conflict violence	GENDER				Totals
	Male		Female		
	Freq	(%)	Freq	(%)	
Yes	106	49.75	72	62.61	178
No	107	50.25	43	37.39	150
Total	213	100%	115	100%	328

Source: The Research Findings (2014)

4.1.7 Hours Spent on Media per Day

Respondents were asked to state the hours they spent on media listening to radio, watching television, reading newspapers or browsing internet per day. The findings are presented in Table 4.8. Table 4.8 shows that 2.4% of respondents did not have time for media, 5.5% spent less than 15 minutes on media, 20.1% spent between 15-30 minutes on media, 25.3% spent 30 min to 1 hour on media, 35.7% and 11.0% spent between 1-3 hrs and 3-6 hrs respectively. This therefore means that more than 70% of respondents spent between 30 minutes to 6 hours on media. Thus respondents were able to listen to nearly all radio and television news broadcasts as well as read newspapers.

Table 4.8 Hours Spent On Media per Day

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid No time	8	2.4	2.4
Less than 15 mins	18	5.5	5.5
15 - 30 mins	66	20.1	20.1
30 mins - 1 hr	83	25.3	25.3
1 - 3 hrs	117	35.7	35.7
1 - 6 hrs	36	11.0	11.0
Over 6 hrs	-	-	-
Total	328	100.0	100.0

Source: The Research Findings (2014)

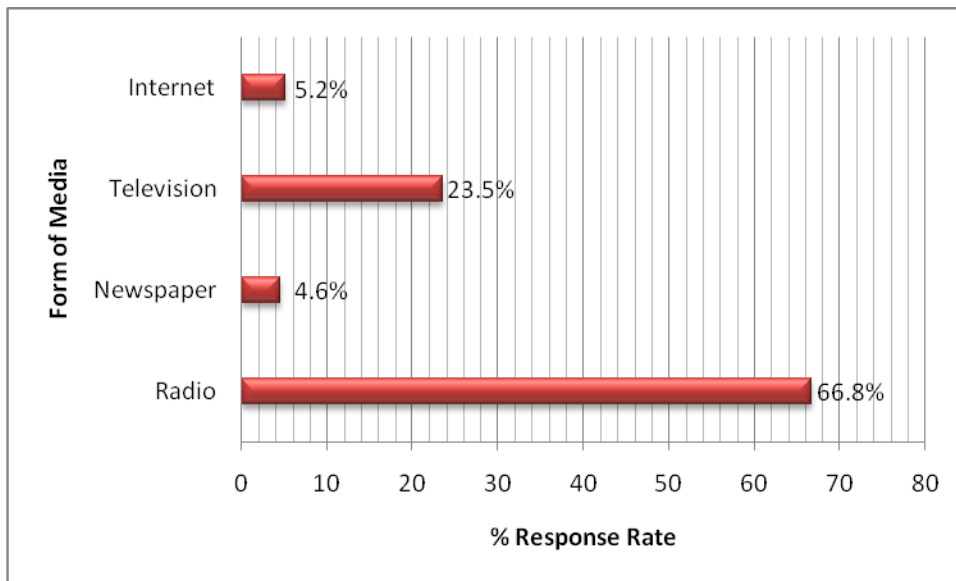
4.1.8 Main Source of Information and Preferred Media House

Table 4.9 and Graph 4.5 show that 66.8% of respondents listened to radio as their main source of information, 4.6% read newspapers, 23.5% watch television and 5.2% use internet as their main source of information.

Table 4.9: Main Source of Information

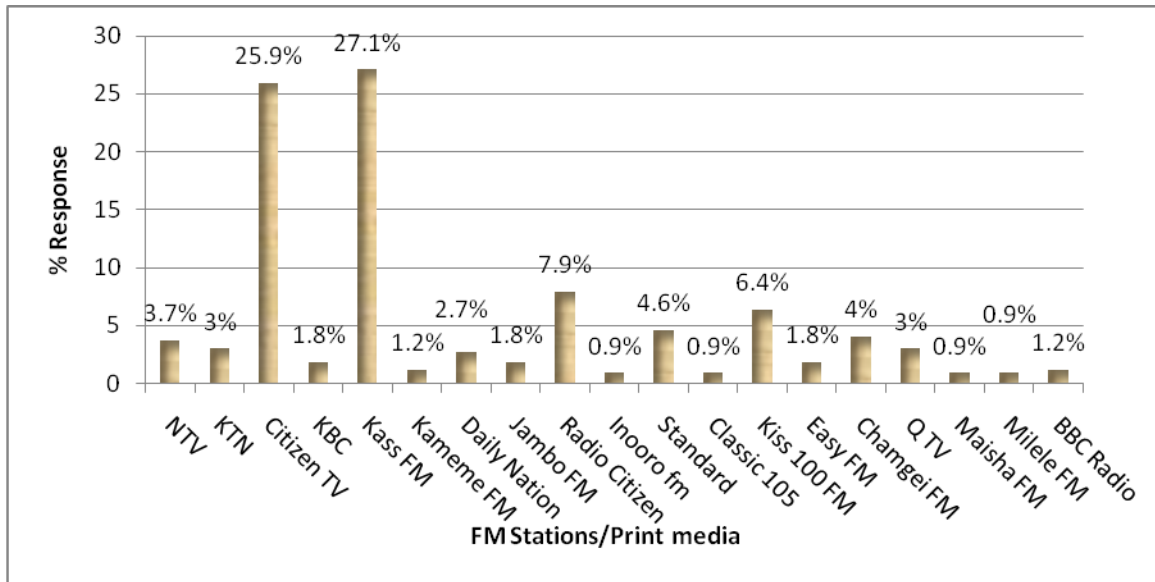
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid Radio	219	66.8	66.8
Newspaper	15	4.6	4.6
Television	77	23.5	23.5
Internet	17	5.2	5.2
Total	328	100.0	100.0

Source: Research Findings (2014)

Graph 4.5: Main Source of Information

Source: The Research Findings (2014)

These findings indicate that the most used sources of information in the study area are the Radio and Television. In addition, the finding on the most preferred media station (Table 4.10) shows that KASS FM was the most preferred radio station with 27.1%, Citizen TV was the preferred Television channel with 25.9% and Standard Newspaper was the preferred paper with 4.6%. Response on other sources of information is shown in Graph 4.6. Inooro FM and Kameme FM, both vernacular stations broadcasting in Kikuyu language, were preferred by 0.9 and 1.2% respectively. This was due to the small population of Kikuyu ethnic group in the sampled areas. This means that most of the respondents listened to vernacular FM stations (KASS FM), watched Citizen Television and read Standard Newspaper.

Graph 4.6 Responses on Preferred Source of Information

Source: The Research Findings (2014)

Table 4.10: Summary of Favourite Station/Print Media

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	NTV	12	3.7	3.7
	KTN	10	3.0	3.0
	Citizen TV	85	25.9	25.9
	KBC	6	1.8	1.8
	Kass FM	89	27.1	27.1
	Kameme FM	4	1.2	1.2
	Daily Nation	9	2.7	2.7
	Jambo FM	6	1.8	1.8
	Radio Citizen	26	7.9	7.9
	Inooro fm	3	0.9	0.9
	Standard Newspaper	15	4.6	4.6
	Classic 105	3	0.9	0.9
	Kiss 100 FM	21	6.4	6.4
	Easy FM	6	1.8	1.8
	Chamgei FM	13	4.0	4.0
	Q TV	10	3.0	3.0
	Maisha FM	3	0.9	0.9
	Milele FM	3	0.9	0.9
	BBC Radio	4	1.2	1.2
	Total	328	100.0	100.0

Source: The Research Findings (2014)

4.1.9 Roles of Media as per Respondents Views

Respondents were asked to provide some of the roles that media played during the 2007/08 PEV. Because of the variation in expression on same opinion, these roles were sorted, filtered, summarized and presented in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11: Roles of Media During and After 2007/08 General Election and PEV

Escalation of Violence			De-escalation of Violence		
Role	Freq	%	Role	Freq	%
Promotion of propaganda	167	51	Civil education	161	49
Platform for hate speech	223	68	Preaching peace	265	81
Bungling election results (errors in running parallel tallying centers)	131	40	Unity call	229	70
Misrepresentation of information	167	51	Informing public on negotiation progress	164	50
Incitement	236	72	Fair coverage of political campaign	200	61
Airing violent scenes	200	61	Airing of peace negotiation	299	70
Partisan or taking political sides	272	83	Airing of contentious areas during negotiation	203	62
Corruption		41			

Source: The Research Findings (2014)

These findings showed that media escalated conflict through promoting partisan interests and taking political sides (83%) and incitement (72%) among others. Conversely, media too played roles in de-escalating conflict through preaching peace (81%), calling for unity (70%) and airing of peace negotiations (70%) among others. Some of the selected responses from respondents show that media escalated violence by involving listeners in the day to day announcements relating to chaos, playing music that could trigger violence and incite members of the community according to a respondent. In addition, another respondent stressed that media escalated violence through '*news briefs that negatively*

reflected some communities'. However, respondents also acknowledged positive contributions of media. A respondent said that media de-escalated conflict by "*calling for voters to maintain peace as well as hosting peace ambassadors on their shows to neutralize propaganda in some regions*".

4.2 Discussion of Findings

4.2.1. Time Spent on Media, Main Source of Information and Favourite Media

The main purpose of the study was to analyze the role of media in conflict management. This culminated to the crafting of three specific objectives. The first specific objective was aimed at establishing the media accessibility level and the types of media that cover the study area. Respondents were asked to state the time (hours) they spent on media, their main source of information and their favorite station or print media. Findings are summarized in Table 4.7, Table 4.8 and Table 4.9.

The result of the descriptive statistics revealed that hours spent on media has a mean of 4.19 with a deviation of 1.185, main source of information has a mean of 1.67 with a deviation of 1.002 and favorite station or print has a mean of 7.23 with a deviation of 5.0. Findings on Pearson correlation, at 95% level of confidence, amongst these variables are shown in Table 4.12.

Table 4.12 Correlation: Time Spent on Media, Main Source of Information and Favourite Media

Factors of analysis	Hours spent on media	Source of information (Media)	Favourite station/print media
Hours spent on media	-	0.092	0.161(**)
Source of information	0.092	-	0.174(**)
Favourite station/print media	0.161(**)	0.174(**)	-
N	328	328	328

** Correlation is significant at the 95% level (1-tailed).

Source: The Research Findings (2014)

The study findings revealed a positive but weak correlation of 0.092 between hours spent on media and main source of information, not statistically significant at 95% level of confidence; a positive and weak correlation of 0.174 between main source of information and favorite station, statistically significant at 95% level of confidence, and a correlation between source of information and hours spent on media of 0.161, statistically significant at 95% level of confidence. Therefore, there appeared to be a weak positive and significant relationship between times spent on media, favourite station/print media, and source of information which could be interpreted as respondents spent more time listening to their preferred stations to gain information. Besides, results from interview with both security specialists and media practitioners revealed that vernacular FM stations are popular amongst the rural populace and television has greater influence on listeners because they relay real time pictures.

The study finding reveals that radio is the main source of disseminating conflict information in Kenya. This is due to their ability to reach even the most remote corners of state, inexpensive broadcasting and cheap to acquire as compared to other mass media, thus eliminating the barrier of illiteracy to spreading news, information or propaganda. With an exceptionally high illiteracy rate, especially in rural areas, respondents' attitudes are influenced by the radio broadcasts appealing to them on the basis of their ethnic identities. These findings collaborate with the findings of the study by Forges (1999).

Forges (1999) study titled '*Call to Genocide*' showed that a large number of Rwandans could not read or write and, as a result radio was an important way for both the government and the rebels to deliver messages to the population. In addition, Bonior et al (1984) findings on the role of media in Vietnam War shows that roughly 50 million in the US watched television news each night and read newspapers on Vietnam War. These findings are contrary to Kenyan situation where preferred media is radio. This can be explained by the fact that radios are cheaper and portable compared to televisions. Equally, batteries, which are used to power radios, are readily available in shops and are

relatively cheap and affordable compared to electricity and solar power which is expensive.

4.2.2 The Role of Media

Specific objective two was designed to establish the extent to which media could have escalated and/or de-escalated violence during the 2007/2008 PEV in the study area. In order to respond to this, respondents were asked whether media could have played a role during 2007/08 PEV and the role it played in relation to the PEV. 82.6% of respondents agreed that media played a role while 17.4% declined. Furthermore, 30.2% of respondents agreed that media escalated the conflict, 16.2% said that media de-escalated the conflict, 39.6% agreed that media performed both roles and 14% said that media did not perform any role as shown in Table 4.13.

Table 4.13: Role of Media in during 2007/08 PEV in Kenya

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Escalated conflict	99	30.2	30.2
	Deescalated conflict	53	16.2	16.2
	Both roles	130	39.6	39.6
	None	46	14.0	14.0
	Total	328	100.0	100.0

Source: The Research Findings (2014)

These findings reveal that more than 80% of respondents agreed that media indeed played a role, with conflict escalation role (69.8% of respondents) outweighing de-escalation role (30.2% of respondents). These findings fully agreed with media practitioners and security specialists' views of media roles during 2007 PEV, which they subjectively put at 70% and 30% for conflict escalation and conflict de-escalation respectively.

Given these findings, media plays a pivotal influence in conflict escalation. Ideally, with its professional objectives of accuracy, impartiality and public responsibility as required by libertarian theory, media should be a contributor to peace building. However, these findings proved the contrary that during the 2007/08 PEV, the media played a negative role of conflict escalation. As argued by Wolfsfeld (2001), media sensationalizes conflict with simplistic reporting which reinforces stereotypes that reinforce elite consensus, and reflects its own environment of shared or isolated context.

In comparison to other studies, the findings are in line with the findings of Dallaire (2007) in analysis of *Media Dichotomy, Case of Rwanda*, that the local media, particularly RTLM were literary used as a weapon to incite the killings of Tutsi. Conversely, the study by International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) on role of media affirms that media can not only help to defuse conflicts, but is also uniquely positioned to encourage coexistence and co-operation between people of different origins. This was not the case with the Kenyan media during 2007 PEV, according to these research findings. Additionally, practicing objective, fact-based reporting that avoids stereotypes or stirring up rumors, individual journalists and the media as a whole have a tremendous potential to contribute to understanding and bridge-building as confirmed by Dallaire (2007).

These findings that media played a role in conflict escalation negates the postulation of social responsibility theory of media reporting, which requires that media needs to assume both moral and legal responsibilities for all that they publish for the general good of the society without causing any harm. This escalation role caused conflict which led to destruction of properties and loss of lives. Even though the social responsibility theory requires mass media to highlight injustices within the community and enlighten people on their rights and privileges, the predicament is that as people become more enlightened, the push for their rights through whatever means available, could lead to conflict as witnessed in after the 2007 general elections.

4.2.2.1 Media and Hate Speech

Findings on whether media could have encouraged hate speech during the 2007 general election showed that 61.3% of respondents agreed and 38.7% declined. The extent to which media promoted hate speech is shown in Table 4.14.

Table 4.14: Extent of Media Encouraged Hate Speeches.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Very large extent	77	23.5	23.5
	Large extent	109	33.2	33.2
	I don't know	32	9.8	9.8
	Small extent	68	20.7	20.7
	Very small extent	4	1.2	1.2
	None	38	11.6	11.6
	Total	328	100.0	100.0

Source: The Research Findings (2014)

With a mean of 2.78 and a deviation of 0.59, 23.5% of respondents said the media encouraged hate speech to a very large extent, 33.2% said to a large extent, 9.8% indifferent, 20.7% said to a small extent, 1.2% said to a very small extent and 11.6% said none. This reveals that 52.8% of respondents agreed that media greatly encouraged hate speech during 2007/08 PEV, 20.7% agreed to a small extent and 26.6% agreed that media did not encourage hate speech. Therefore, media encouraged hate speech to a large extent during 2007/08 PEV. Additionally, Pearson correlation between media role in encouraging hate speech and the extent to which it contributed to 2007/08 PEV reveal a strong and positive correlation of 0.518 statistically significant at 95% level of confidence, as shown in Table 4.15.

Table 4.15: Pearson Correlation between Hate Speech and 2007/08 PEV

Factors of concern	Do agree that media can encourage hate speech?	Extent to which media could have promoted hate speech during 2007/08 PEV.
Do agree that media can encourage hate speech?	1	0.586(**)
Extent to which media promoted hate speech during 2007/08 PEV.	0.586(**)	1
N	328	328

** Correlation is significant at the 95% level (1-tailed).

Source: The Research Findings (2014)

This finding shows that media was used to spread hate speech. In comparison to findings on favorite media, it can be deduced that during the conflict FM radio stations broadcasting in ethnic languages urged their listeners to support positions taken by politicians from their ethnic communities. Specifically, a respondent claimed, “*media used news briefs that negatively reflected some communities to promote hatred*”. For instance, media aligned to ODM acted as the mouthpiece of politicians calling for mass action against the government and other communities while PNU sympathetic media broadcast messages calling on their supporters to resist mass action and urged the government to protect Kenyans and their property. This is too supported by another respondent who claimed, “*Media promoted propaganda through distorting truth*” as witnessed in *majimbo* debate.

Secondary data analyzed also confirmed the findings. For instance, on 18th October 2007, a vernacular FM station reported a remark by a former Kinangop MP in a public meeting that: “*Raila hates the Kikuyu people and when elected, he will revenge by forcing the Kikuyu to wear kaptulas (colonial-era shorts) and eat omena (a species of fish).*” Speaking at the same function, another politician claimed: “*The majimbo system propounded by Raila will result in the eviction of Kikuyu people from Nyanza and Rift Valley by the Luo and Kalenjin communities, respectively.*” Such remarks polarized the opposing sides (KNCHR, 2008b). In addition, some of the songs played mainly by

vernacular media houses to spread hate speech included ‘*bim en bim*’ by the late D. O. Owino – refereeing to Kikuyu and Kalenjins as monkeys and baboons respectively (*ibid*).

In comparison to interviews with media practitioners and security specialists, they supported the finding that media encouraged hate speech to a large extent due to the fact that, according to a security specialist, most political parties e.g. PNU, ODM, ODM-K, etc in Kenya are tribal or regional oriented and people believe and follow what their leaders say. According to one media practitioner, hate speech can make recipients to feel that they are targeted and thus gang up to defend themselves, which results in conflicts. In addition, hate speech is encouraged through news headlines. Interview findings further revealed that most newspapers and radio stations used vivid key remarks by politicians and opinion leaders to construct their news headlines, sometimes with reference to past emotive events, selective reporting and common prejudicial stereotypes about groups. In addition, when the violence broke soon after the announcement of the presidential results on December 30th 2007, the community radio tended to give a lot of airtime and prominence to the violence through spiked and animated descriptions of what was happening. For instance, during the vote tally at KICC, KTN, NTV, Citizen TV and radio amongst other vernacular stations dedicated much of their time highlighting how ECK was bundling votes, fights and quarrels between officials and politicians and amongst politicians. This promoted hatred amongst the already polarized citizen that resulted in violence. To curtail this, media practitioners observed during the interview that “*Caution should be exercised by editors to ensure that both sides are given fair coverage as well as internal training, especially to field reporters, on conflict sensitive reporting*”.

The finding is supported by other studies such as Thompson A. (2007) that Rwandan authorities relied on RTLM and Radio Rwanda to incite, mobilize and give specific orders to carry out killings (RTLM transcripts: 13, 29 April; 15, 20 May; 1, 5, 9 June 2004). Furthermore, Viggo (2011) in his analysis of Arab Springs in North Africa, using Libyan Uprising as a case, reported that these springs were engineered and subsequently escalated by media. More specifically, study by Abdi & Deane (2008) and reports (KNCHR, 2008; KNCHR, 2008b; MFAF , 2009; GoK, 2008) all confirm that some

media houses, especially the FM radio stations, seemed to have encouraged hate speech that elicited ethnic hatred and animosity that burst into open post-election violence. For instance, KASS FM radio station broadcasting to Kalenjins in the Rift Valley referred to their Kikuyu neighbors as ‘foreigners’, while a popular Kikuyu radio station, Kameme FM, often referred to Luos as ‘fishermen’ (Mbeke, 2009; KNCHR, 2008).

These findings negate the provision of libertarian theory which requires media to be immune from government controls and act as watchdog that guard against government abuses of power. Instead of condoning inflammatory hate remarks by politicians, media comfortably aired them, including political propaganda adverts directed towards opponents, thus allowing for manipulation by politicians. Conversely, social responsibility theory binds the practitioners to report objectively, truthfully and transparently as an obligation. This should not be misconceived to mean inciting remarks, as the same theory also obligates reporters to assume both moral and legal responsibilities for all that they publish for the general good of the society.

4.2.2.2 Media and Propaganda.

Finding on whether media promoted or provided a platform for propaganda during the 2007 general election showed that 71% of respondents said ‘Yes’ and 29% said ‘No’. The extent to which media promoted hate speech is shown in Table 4.16.

Table 4.16: Extent to which Political Propaganda Led to 2007/08 PEV

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid Very large extent	79	24.1	24.1
Large extent	81	24.7	24.7
I don't know	39	11.9	11.9
Small extent	111	33.8	33.8
Very small extent	12	3.7	3.7
None	6	1.8	1.8
Total	328	100.0	100.0

Source: The Research Findings (2014)

These results show that 24.1% of respondents agreed that media promoted political propaganda to a very large extent, 24.7% said to a large extent, 11.9% indifferent, 33.8% said to a small extent, 3.7% said to a very small extent and 1.8% said none. These revealed that 49.8% of respondents agreed that media promoted propaganda during 2007/08 PEV to a large extent, 36.8% agreed to some extent and 14.2% agreed that media did not promote propaganda. Thus, media fairly promoted political propaganda during 2007/08 PEV. Moreover, Pearson correlation between media promotion of political propaganda and the extent to which it contributed to 2007/08 PEV revealed a positive but weak correlation of 0.386 and statistically significant at 95% level of confidence as shown in Table 4.17.

Table 4.17: Pearson Correlation between Media Propaganda and 2007/08 PEV

	Can media be manipulated by politician and opinion leaders?	Extent to which this led to 2007/08 PEV.
Can media be manipulated by politician and opinion leaders?	-	0.386(**)
Extent to which media could have been manipulated during the 2007/08 PEV.	0.386(**)	-
N	328	328

** Correlation is significant at the 95% level (1-tailed).

Source: The Research Findings (2014)

Some respondents corroborated this fact, for instance, a respondent said, “*Media used exaggerations in reporting*” while another claimed, “*media used favouritism*”. These results were also supported by the analysis of media reporting and secondary data. As witnessed during 2007 general election, significant sections of the media houses were co-opted into political schemes of various political parties. They acted as propaganda mouthpieces for getting the messages of preferred candidates out to demonizing the opponents, according to the security specialist.

Some media houses ran advertisements that were in bad taste and elicited public outcry about ethics in advertising. For instance, the media mishandled the Majimbo (federalism)

debate, which really defined the 2007 elections. Media stations aligned to ODM urged its supporters to back federalism as it would guarantee them access to power to correct historical injustices committed by former regimes. On the other hand, media stations aligned to PNU urged its supporters to denounce federalism, as it would threaten their land ownership in the Rift Valley and other parts of the country thus undermining their economic and business interests (KNCHR, 2008b).

From the interview results, there are conflicting views. Security specialists believe that media encouraged or promoted controlled propaganda while media practitioners denied so and argued that they objectively reported what leaders said, and this fact could have caused conflicts. In support of his view, a media practitioner upholds that care is exercised in first publication to ensure validity and reliability of information before it's aired to avoid propaganda. Conversely, the security specialist argued that there could be factual accuracy in a single story that could not be substituted for the total truth. He stated that; "...*factual accuracy can be misleading and thus can be used to promote political propaganda*". To deter this, one media practitioner says that news coverage and editors should seek alternative voices to a story and confirmation from relevant authorities before broadcasts.

The findings of the study that media fairly promote propaganda corroborate with the findings of Chretien, Spurk, & Christopher (1995) in his study of the role of radio in Rwanda. Chretien et al (1995) findings reveal that from the opening days of the war, the government understood the importance of using media to rally Rwandans around the regime and used it to carry out a vigorous propaganda campaign. In support of this, Chretien et al (1995) findings reveal how RTLM reported the assassination of the Burundi president in a highly sensationalized way to underline supposed Tutsi brutality and heightened Hutu fear of Tutsi : "*RTLM transcripts: 25 October; 20, 29, 30 November 2003*" (International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, 2003). Other propaganda by RTLM were the repeated themes developed for years by the extremist Hutu that the Tutsis were 'foreigners' hence had no claim to Rwanda aimed at increasing virulent propaganda to justify Tutsi killings. The findings of study by KNCHR (2008) show that in Kenya,

media portrayed a volatile political environment marred with abhorrence, violence, and a stiff race between two protagonists i.e. the PNU and ODM parties. In addition the researcher's findings corroborate with CIPEV Report (GoK, 2008) that media too propagated the Majimbo (federalism) debate during 2007 elections.

4.2.2.3 Media Running Parallel Tallying Centers and 2007/08 PEV

Finding on whether media could be allowed to run parallel tallying centers during general election showed that 42.7% of respondents agreed and 57.3% declined. The extent to which media erred in running parallel tallying centers and the extent to which these errors led to 2007/08 PEV is shown in Table 4.18 and Table 4.19.

Table 4.18: Extent to which media Erred in Running Parallel Tallying Centers

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Very large extent	114	34.8	34.8
	Large extent	99	30.2	30.2
	I don't know	33	10.1	10.1
	Small extent	82	25.0	25.0
	Total	328	100.0	100.0

Source: The Research Findings (2014)

These result shows that 39.6% of respondents said the media erred in running parallel tallying centers to a very large extent, 22.3% said to a large extent, 10.4% indifference and 25.6% said to a small extent and 2.1% to a very small extent. This revealed that 65% of respondents agreed that media erred to a large extent in running parallel tallying centers during 2007/08 PEV while 24.5% agreed to a small extent. 10.4% were none committal. Thus, media erred in running parallel tallying centers to a large extent during 2007 general election.

Table 4.19: Extent to which Errors in Running Parallel Tallying Centers led to PEV

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Very large extent	162	49.6	49.6
	Large extent	73	22.3	22.3
	I don't know	34	10.4	10.4
	Small extent	52	15.6	15.6
	Very small extent	7	2.1	2.1
	Total	328	100.0	100.0

Source: The Research Findings (2014)

The extent to which media erred in running parallel tallying centers contributed to 2007/08 PEV showed that 49.6% of respondents said to a very large extent, 22.3% said to a large extent, 10.4% indifference, 15.6% said to a small extent and 2.1 to a very small extent. These findings revealed that 71.9% of respondents agreed that media erred in running parallel tallying centers to a large extent contributing to 2007/08 PEV while 17.7% agree to a small extent. Thus, media erred in running parallel tallying centers contributed to 2007/08 PEV to a large extent. Furthermore, Pearson correlation between media erred in running parallel tallying centers and the extent it contributed to 2007/08 PEV revealed a positive and strong correlation of 0.69 statistically significant at 95% level of confidence. Similar sentiment is held by a respondent who claimed, “*media wrongfully played the role of ECK by carrying out parallel vote tallying.*” Besides this, the security specialists and media practitioners agreed that media running parallel tallying centers contributed to 2007/08 PEV to a large extent.

The media practitioners espoused that before and during the election period, different media outlets and opinion pollsters released unverified results. For instance, during the voting and tallying of results, NMG ran short message services (SMS) showing updates of presidential and party results while Citizen TV ran a parallel tallying program despite this being the mandate of E.C.K. As the gap between the two presidential contenders widened coupled with the delay by the electoral body to release results, the situation worsened thus escalating conflict.

To avoid such mistakes in future, both media and security specialists suggested the following measures to be undertaken; enactment of laws to govern opinion polling and regulate media outlets on statistics; training of media personnel on elections coverage; public awareness on democratic electoral processes; reform of electoral body on management of elections; and vetting of leaders and employees of the body.

These findings are supported by Howard (2003) who stated that most media reports initially seemed not accurate, balanced and fair in disseminating election results. In addition, BBC (2008) also reported that media houses were unprofessional in the manner they handled the release of election results. They released varying, piecemeal and speculative results that caused anxiety and confusion among already anxious voters across the country. This spurred the perception that the election was rigged fueling the post-election violence.

4.2.2.4 Media Cover-up/Withholding Conflict Information

The finding showed that 66.5% of respondents agreed that media covered-up or withheld information relating to conflict during the general election while 33.5% declined. The extent to which withholding information contributed to 2007/08 PEV is shown in Table 4.20.

Table 4.20: Extent to which media withheld vital information led to 2007/08 PEV

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid Very large extent	77	23.5	23.5
Large extent	107	32.6	32.6
I don't know	44	13.4	13.4
Small extent	97	29.6	29.6
Very small extent	3	.9	.9
Total	328	100.0	100.0

Source: The Research Findings (2014)

These results showed that 23.5% of respondents said the media withholding of vital information contributed to 2007/08 PEV to a very large extent, 32.6 % said to a large extent, 13.4% indifference, 29.6% said to a small extent and 0.9% to a very small extent. These revealed that 56% of respondents agreed that media withholding of vital information about conflict contributed to 2007/08 PEV to large extent while less than 30% of respondents agreed to a small extent. The correlation between withholding of information and PEV revealed a positive but weak correlation of 0.34 statistically significant at 95% level of confidence as shown in Table 4.21.

Table 4.21: Correlation between withholding information and 2007/08 PEV

	Media withhold vital information about the conflict situation?	Extent to it contributed to 2007/08 PEV,
Media withhold vital information about the conflict situation?	1	0.341(**)
Extent to it contributed to 2007/08 PEV,	0.341(**)	1
N	328	328

** Correlation is significant at the 95% level (1-tailed).

Source: The Research Findings (2014)

These findings are also upheld by respondents' views. A respondent viewed withholding information as "*giving wrong information concerning vote tallying*" while another vividly put it as "*reporting wrong information to people*", which they believe to have contributed to/or escalated conflict. On the other hand, one security specialist believes that media did not really withhold information, but gave reports that suited their listeners and political affiliations. This he termed as 'constructed reporting', which could be viewed as distorted information.

Media practitioners also supported this, though they argued that words and phrases may have different connotations among different groups in terms of age, gender and status, which could result in distortion or withholding of information. In addition, news editing

and editors' comments could give skewed and misleading reports if they are personal and partial, thus leading to conflicts. One security specialist affirmed that unverified information should not be aired due to danger of speculating violence. This could instill fear, cause real violence and destabilize law and order. However, the media practitioners assured that measures to verify the validity of news such as confirmation of news reports through actualities, video footage, narrations and confirmation from relevant authorities are practiced to deter distortion of information.

The results of these finding on media withholding of vital information corresponds to the findings by Okumu (1997). In his study on the *Root of Conflicts in Northern Uganda*, the findings reveal that inadequate media coverage of LRA grievances has been blamed for the conflict in Northern Uganda. He further noted that for the past 18 years the war between Uganda People's Defence Forces (UPDF) and Lord Resistance Army (LRA) has not been covered adequately. In further support, (Thompson A. , 2007) criticized the international media for failing to adequately cover the emerging conflict situation in Rwanda which resulted in lack of prompt intervention by the international community. Indeed, he argues that a more comprehensive and objective reporting about the Rwandan conflict could have averted the 1994 genocide. Otieno (2005) in his study titled "*Mobile Telephony and Democratic Elections in Kenya: A case of 2002 Elections.*" also concluded that the absence of a common ground report amongst media houses provided ground for failure to denounce inhuman acts being committed during election conflicts.

4.3 How Media Influenced Human Variables Towards Conflict

The specific objective three was intended to assess the influence media has on selected human factors/variables towards conflict. Five human variables were identified for analyses i.e. age, gender, status, religious and residence factor. These factors were rated on a scale of 1-6 clustered to three levels as Low (1 and 2), Medium (3 and 4) and High (5 and 6).

4.3.1 Age Factor

Findings on age factor shows that 29% of respondents said low influence, 22.3% medium influence and 48.7% high influence as shown in Table 4.22 with a mean of 3.2 and deviation of 0.132. Therefore, media significantly influenced people based on age.

Table 4.22: Age factor Influence

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Low	95	29.0	29.0
	Medium	73	22.3	22.3
	High	160	48.7	48.7
	Total	328	100.0	100.0

Source: The Research Findings (2014)

Table 4.23: Cross-tabulation Analysis of Respondents' Ages and Age Factor

AGE	Age factor influence						Totals	
	Low		Medium		High		Totals	
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
18-35 yrs	47	25.1%	52	27.8%	88	47.1%	187	100%
36 45 yrs	24	29.6%	5	6.2%	52	64.2%	81	100%
45-55 yrs	12	34.3%	12	34.3%	11	31.4%	35	100%
above 55	12	48%	4	16%	9	36%	25	100%
Total	95		73		160		328	

Source: The Research Findings (2014)

Table 4.24: Cross-tabulation Analysis of Respondents' Gender and Age Factor

GENDER	Age factor influence						Totals	
	Low		Medium		High		Totals	
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
Male	56	26.3%	44	20.7%	113	53%	213	100%
Female	39	33.9%	29	25.2%	47	40.9%	115	100%
Total	95		73		160		328	

Source: The Research Findings (2014)

However, cross-tabulation analysis between age factor influence on age distribution (Table 4.23) and gender distribution (Table 4.24) reveal that youths are more influenced (18-35yrs – 47.1% and 36-45yrs – 64.2%). Similarly, male (53%) are more influenced by media than their female (40.9%) counterparts. These finding on age factor influence can be attributed to youth unemployment (KNCHR, 2008b). The Kenyan youths are products of a society that is characterized by inequalities and lack of opportunities for social advancement, in addition to social exclusion and limited access to basic social amenities.

In support of these findings, the Commission of Inquiry into the Post Election Violence (CIPEV) established that there was an estimated two million unemployed youth. While universities in Kenya produce about 40,000 graduates every year, only 150,000 informal jobs have been created since 2003 (GoK, 2008). This report also supports the cross-tabulation analysis between respondents' education level and age factor, which revealed that majority of those influenced were secondary and college graduates.

Unemployment rates have been compounded further by failure of successive governments to comprehensively address the issues facing the youth. This has rendered youths frustrated and therefore vulnerable to crime and violence, both as victims and perpetrators. According to KNCHR (2008b), youths got recruited into violent gangs-such as Mungiki-largely based in former Rift valley, Nairobi and Central Provinces, Kalenjin warriors-former Rift Valley Province, Sungu Sungu- former Nyanza Province, SLDF - Mt. Elgon, Jeshi la Mzee – Nairobi etc. These illegal groupings were easily manipulated, particularly by politicians and used to escalate conflict in Uasin Gishu County.

These findings collaborate with (Viggo, 2011) findings on the Arab springs. Viggo (2011) in his analysis of Arab Springs in North Africa, using Libyan Uprising as a case study, reported that youths were mainly used to escalate conflict. Similarly, Financial Times Magazine dated September 12, 2010 reported that the Egyptian conflict was mainly carried out by youths, who formed majority of the Islamic Radical Group (IRG) members. Since these conflicts were media propagated according to Viggo (2011), this

could be the justification that media influence people based on age factor and youths are the most vulnerable.

4.3.2 Gender Factor

26.5% of respondents said media has low influence on factor gender, 25.9% medium influence and 47.6% high influence as shown in Table 4.25 with a mean of 2.21 and deviation of 0.834. Therefore, media has high influence based on gender.

Table 4.25: Gender factor

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Low	87	26.5	26.5
	Medium	85	25.9	25.9
	High	156	47.6	47.6
	Total	328	100.0	100.0

Source: The Research Findings (2014)

Table 4.26 Cross-tabulation Analysis between Respondents' Gender and Gender Factor

GENDER	Gender factor influence						Totals	
	Low		Medium		High		Freq	%
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%		
Male	41	19.2%	59	27.7%	113	53.1	213	100%
Female	46	40%	26	22.6%	43	37.4%	115	100%
Total	87	-	85	-	156	-	328	-

Source: The Research Findings (2014)

Gender is an important element of any social-cultural analysis of conflict. This cross-tabulation analysis (Table 4.26) reveals that male is the more influenced gender, as it accounts for 27.7% and 53.1% of medium influence and high influence respectively. This might be attributed to cultural dynamics that influence the relationship between male and female in society. Women are marginalized in political and economic processes although they are the majority (GoK, 2008). This marginalization has exposed them less to participation in national issues, politics and other development. Therefore, media reports on national important issues might not significantly influence female as much as their male counterparts. Therefore, these fundamental differences between male and female on media influence could be attributed to this fact.

4.3.4 Status Factor

Findings on status factor shows that 40.2% of respondents said low influence, 19.2% medium influence and 40.6% high influence as shown in Table 4.27 with a mean of 2.0 and deviation of 0.9. Therefore, media moderately influence people based on social status.

Table 4.27: Status factor

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Low	123	40.2	40.2
	Medium	63	19.2	19.2
	High	133	40.6	40.6
	Total	328	100	100

Source: The Research Findings (2014)

Table 4.28 Cross-tabulation Analysis between Respondents Age and Status Factor

AGE	Status factor influence						Totals	
	Low		Medium		High		Freq	%
	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%		
18-35 yrs	83	44.4%	29	15.5%	75	40.1	187	100%
36-45 yrs	35	45.2%	15	18.5%	31	38.3%	81	100%
45-55 yrs	6	17.1%	10	28.6%	19	54.3%	35	100%
4 above 55	8	32%	9	36%	8	32%	25	100%
Total	132	-	63	-	133	-	328	-

Source: The Research Findings (2014)

Cross-tabulation analysis between status and age factor (Table 4.28) reveals low amongst age 18-35 years (44.4%) and age 36-45 years (45.2%) as shown in Table 4.26. In the contrary, a high influence is experienced for age 45-55 years (54.3%) and a medium influence for above 55 years (36%). This finding reveals that status factor influence elderly people more than the youth. This can be attributed to the fact that most of respondents are rural based and were exposed to same political, economic, social and cultural setup.

4.3.5 Residence factor

The findings shows that 50.6% of respondents agreed that media has low influence on people based on their residence, 15.2% medium influence and 34.1% high influence as shown in Table 4.29 with a mean of 1.84 and deviation of 0.91. Therefore, media has low influence on people based on their residences.

Table 4.29: Residence Factor

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Low	166	50.6	50.6
	Medium	50	15.2	15.2
	High	112	34.1	34.1
	Total	328	100	100

Source: The Research Findings (2014)

Cross-tabulation analysis reveals contrary findings. Cross-tabulation between residence factor and respondent age (57.75%), gender (male - 53.52%, female – 45.22%) revealed low media influence. This also supports respondents’ response to residence factor showing low influence (50.6%). This might be attributed to varied demographic characteristics between respondents, specifically age and gender, thus fact expressed in status factor.

4.3.6 Religious Factor

Findings on religious factor showed that 25.9% of respondents said low influence, 9.5% medium influence and 64.6% high influence as shown in Table 4.28, with a mean of 2.39 and deviation of 0.87 as shown in Table 4.30. Therefore, media had high influence on people based on their religion.

Table 4.30: Religious factor

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Low	85	25.9	25.9
	Medium	31	9.5	9.5
	High	212	64.6	64.6
	Total	328	100.0	100.0

Source: The Research Findings (2014)

4.3.7 Correlation between Factors

The correlation between the factors as shown in Table 4.31 reveal that there existed a relatively strong positive correlation of 0.499 between age factor and gender factor and a weak positive correlation of 0.155 between residence factor and religious factor, all statistically significant at 95% level of confidence. Likewise, there also exists a very weak negative correlation of -0.011 between age factor and status factor, correlation of – 0.346 between age factor and resident factor and correlation of -0.135 between age factor and religious factor, all significant at 95% level of confidence. However, other correlations, as shown in Table 4.31 were not significant. These findings reveal that

media reporting on conflict positively influence listeners based on their age and gender. Similarly, interviews with the media practitioners and the security specialists revealed the same. They both agreed that media could influence people based on age, gender and religious variables to a large extent. More specifically, the media practitioners upheld that *'words and phrases may have different implications among different groups in terms of age, gender and status'* and thus media influence listeners based on those variables.

Table 4.31: Pearson Correlation amongst Human Factors

	Age Factor.	Gender Factor	Status Factor	Resident Factor	Religion Factor
Age Factor.	1	0.499(**)	-0.011	-0.346(**)	-0.135(*)
Gender Factor.	0.499(**)	1	0.041	-0.470(**)	-0.028
Status Factor.	-0.011	0.041	1	-0.063	-0.115(*)
Resident Factor.	-0.346(**)	-0.470(**)	-0.063	1	0.155(**)
Religion Factor	-0.135(*)	-0.028	-0.115(*)	0.155(**)	1
	328	328	328	328	328

** Correlation is significant at the 95% level (1-tailed).

Source: The Research Findings (2014)

These findings corroborates Heiber (2001) findings, which shows that mass media effects to the audience depend on various factors such as social class, ethnicity, social context, age, sex, personality, marital status, nationality, and political party affiliation. These findings further reveal that there is no significant relationship in conflict reporting influence between religious and residence factors. This might be due to the homogeneity of respondents in terms of religion and residence (KNBS, 2009). However in a divergent situation with heterogeneous religions, conflict report could exhibit a significant influence based on religion.

4.4 Summary of Findings

From 88% response rate, male were the dominant gender accounting for 64.9%, youths aged 18-45 years accounted for 81.7% of respondents, 82% of respondents had post primary qualification, 54.3% of respondents were victims of election violence with more female (62.61%) than male (49.75%). Approximately 70% of respondents spent between 30 minutes to 6 hours on media with Radio and Television being the main sources of information with KASS FM and Citizen TV being the most preferred radio station and television channel.

There existed a positive and statistically significant correlation between hours spent on media and source of information at 95% level of confidence, a negative and statistically significant correlation between source of information and favourite station at the 95% level of confidence, and no statistically significant correlation between source of information and hours spent on media at the 0.05 significance level.

Findings revealed that 82.6% of respondents agreed that media played a role while 17.4% did not agree. Furthermore, 30.2% of respondents agreed that media escalated conflict while 16.2% agreed that media de-escalated the conflict. Equally, 39.6% agreed that media played both roles while 14% agreed that media did not play any role.

There exists a positive and statistically strong significant correlation, at 95% level of confidence, between age factor and gender factor; residence factor and religious factor. Likewise, there also exists a negative and statistically strong significant correlation between age and status factors, age and residence factors, and age and religious factors.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter wraps up the study. It contains summary of findings, answers to research questions, conclusions, recommendations and suggestions for further studies.

5.1 Summary of Findings

The main purpose of the study was to analyze the role of media in conflict management in Kenya. Based on the analysis, the answers to the research questions are as follows;

5.1.1 What is the degree of media accessibility level, and the various types of media coverage, in Uasin Gishu County?

As per the findings, 66.8% of respondents listened to radio as their main source of political information, 4.6% read newspapers, 23.5% watched television and 5.2% use internet as their main source of political information. This indicates that the most common source of information in the study area are Radio and Television. In addition, KASS FM was the most preferred radio station with 27.1%, Citizen TV was the preferred Television channel with 25.9% and Standard Newspaper is the preferred paper with 4.6%. This means that most of the respondents listened to vernacular FM stations (KASS FM), watched Citizen Television and read Standard Newspaper.

The results of Pearson Correlation between time/hours spent on media, main source of information and favourite station/print media revealed the hours spent on media has a mean of 4.19 with a deviation of 1.185, main source of information has a mean of 1.67 with a deviation of 0.1006 and favourite station or print has a mean of 7.14 with a deviation of 1.00. These results show that there was little or no significant variation in hours spent on media and main source of information. However, there was a slight

significant variation amongst favorite media and electronic prints, thus there seems to be slight variation amongst news reported by media houses.

Furthermore, the finding revealed a positive and statistically significant correlation between hours spent on media and source of information at 95% level of confidence, a negative and statistically significant correlation between source of information and favourite station at the 95% level of confidence, and no statistically significant correlation between source of information and hours spent on media at the 0.05 significance level. Therefore, there appeared to be a weak positive and significant relationship between time spent on media, favourite station/print media, and source of information, which could be interpreted as respondents spent more time listening to their preferred stations to gain information

5.1.2 To what extent did media escalate and/or deescalate violence during the 2007/2008 PEV in Uasin Gishu County?

Findings on whether media played a role during 2007/08 PEV conflict revealed that 82.6% of respondents agreed that media played a role while 17.4% declined. Furthermore, 30.2% of respondents agreed that media escalated conflict, 16.2% said that media de-escalated violence, 39.6% agreed that media performed both roles and 14% said that media did not perform any role. These findings revealed that more than 80% of respondents agreed that media indeed played a role, with conflict escalation role (69.6% of respondents) slightly outweighing de-escalation role (55.8% of respondents). Table 4.9 gives the summary of media role during 2007 general election and subsequent 2007/08 PEV as given by respondents. From the results, it can be deduced that media played both roles of conflict escalation and de-escalation during the 2007/08 PEV. More specifically, media encouragement of hate speech contributed to 2007/08 PEV to large extent; promotion of political propaganda contributed to 2007/08 PEV to large extent; media running parallel tallying centers contributed to 2007/08 PEV to a large extent and; media withholding vital information contributed to 2007/08 PEV to some extent.

5.1.3 What influence did media have on human variables towards conflict and conflict management in Uashin Gishu County?

5.1.3.1 Age Factor

Findings on age factor showed that 29.0% of respondents said low influence, 22.3% medium influence and 48.7% high influence with a mean of 2.12 and deviation of 0.85. Therefore, media significantly influenced people based on age. The age group mostly influenced by media was 18 - 45 years as they accounted for 81.7% of respondents, due to unemployment characterized by inequalities and lack of opportunities for social advancement through failure of successive governments to comprehensively address the issues facing the youth. Hence, youths have been frustrated and vulnerable to crime and violence, both as victims and perpetrators (KNCHR, 2008).

5.1.3.2 Gender Factor

26.5% of respondents said media had low influence on gender factor, 25.9% medium influence and 47.6% high influence with a mean of 2.21 and deviation of 0.835. Therefore, media highly influenced people based on gender. The gender most influenced was male, who accounted for 64.9% of respondents. These finding can be attributed to cultural dynamics that influence the relationship between male and female in society, as women are marginalized in political and economic processes thus less exposed to participation in national issues, politics and development. Therefore, media reports on national important issues do not significantly influence female as much as their male counterparts.

5.1.3.3 Status Factor

Findings on status factor shows that 40.2% of respondents said low influence, 19.2% medium influence and 40.6% high influence with a mean of 2.0 and deviation of 0.9. Therefore, media moderately influenced people based on social status, given that majority of respondents came from the rural area and were exposed to same political, economic, social and cultural setup.

5.1.3.4 Residence Factor

The findings showed that 50.6% of respondents agreed that media had low influence on people based on residence, 15.2% medium influence and 34.1% high influence with a mean of 1.84 and deviation of 0.91. Therefore, media has low influence on people based on their residence due to varied demographic characteristics between respondents specifically age and gender.

5.1.3.5 Religious Factor

Findings on religious factor shows that 25.9% of respondents said low influence, 9.5% medium influence and 64.6% high influence with a mean of 2.39 and deviation of 0.87. Therefore, media had high influence on people based on their religion due to homogeneity of respondents with regards to religion. However, this might vary depending on religious diversity.

5.2 Conclusions

Based on the findings the study concludes that the most common sources of information in the study area are Radio and Television with KASS FM being the most preferred radio station, Citizen TV the preferred Television channel and Standard Newspaper the preferred newspaper. Thus most residents of Uasin Gishu County listen to vernacular FM stations (KASS FM), watch Citizen Television and read Standard Newspaper. Furthermore, there was little or no significant variation in hours spent on media as majority of residents spent between 30mins to 3 hours on media per day. However, there is a slight significant variation amongst favourite media/prints, thus there seems to be slight variation amongst news reports by various media houses.

The study also concludes that media greatly played conflict escalation roles during the 2007 general election and subsequent 2007/08 PEV. Some of the roles included; encouraging hate speeches to greater extent; running parallel tallying centers to a large extent; withholding of vital information about conflict to a small extent; misrepresentation of information to a great extent; incitement to a large extent; partisan or taking political sides to a very great extent; and corruption to a small extent. Some

positive roles played by media were conducting civic education to a great extent; preaching peace and calling for unity to a very great extent; public awareness and fair coverage of political campaigns to a great extent; and airing of contentious issues during negotiations to a very great extent.

The study concludes that media significantly influenced people based on age factor; highly influence people based on gender factor; high influence on people based on religious factor; moderately influence people based on status factor and low influence on people based on residence factor.

The study findings confirmed that media significantly influenced people's perceptions and actions towards the 2007/08 PEV. Therefore, based on this fact, the researcher concludes that media generally influence people's perceptions and actions towards violent conflict.

5.3 Recommendations

The study made the following recommendations:

1. Based on the findings that there exists a significant variation amongst news reported by various media houses, the study recommends that media houses should adopt a common conflict reporting approach. This will help in mitigating the discrepancies in coverage to unearth areas of dispute and consensus objectively with a view of encouraging amicable solution to the matters at hand.
2. The regulatory authorities should design a tailored regulatory mechanism for vernacular FM stations different from the conventional ones. This is so because of their immense influence and popularity especially amongst the less educated members of society.
3. Since media played both conflict escalation and conflict de-escalation roles during the 2007 general election and subsequent 2007/08 PEV as per the findings of the study,

- the study recommends that media regulatory and law enforcers should design stern laws, rules and penalties for both media houses and personalities who use media for negative purposes.
4. The study too recommends that local media reporters or journalists be trained on conflict reporting. Since conflict reporting is more challenging, most journalists were very unprofessional in the manner they handled the PEV reports as per the findings and therefore media training institutions should design study units on conflict reporting. The Media Society of Kenya should organize workshops and training on conflict reporting and management for its practitioners.
 5. The study recommends that Media should not be allowed to run parallel tallying centres alongside that of the official electoral body. However, they should be encouraged to report on the accuracy of the electoral body results and to objectively highlight on any discrepancies noted on these results.
 6. The study also recommends that media reports should not be constructed to target particular listeners. As deduced from the findings that people respond to conflict issues differently based on age, gender, social status, religion and residence, conflict reports should cut across all listeners and impact all equally.

5.4 Suggestion for Further Study

A research of this nature cannot be exhaustive in covering the area of investigation. Despite the success of this study, many issues still remain unresolved while others also evolved during the study. The paradigm shift in communication has led to the growth of social media. The study suggests research to be undertaken in areas of social media (internet and mobile telephony) and conflict management. Further analysis in the research topic should be done using multiple factor correlation to assess the inter-variable relationships. Lastly, the study suggests further study to be carried out to determine why the study area has always been the epicenter of electoral conflicts.

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Appendix I: The Map of Counties of Kenya



APPENDIX II: Respondent's Questionnaire

SECTION A: Researcher's Details

I am a postgraduate student at Kenyatta University, undertaking Master of Arts degree in Peace and Conflict Management. I am conducting a research on "Role of Media in Conflict Management in Kenya: A Study of Media and Conflict in Uasin Gishu County," in partial fulfillment of the award of Master of Arts Degree. I would like to solicit your kind assistance by preparing yourself to provide responses to the questions posed below. Information is required for academic purposes. Equally, the information received will assist policy makers to come up with policies that will regulate media operations. It will also be used as a tool for enhancing peace and coexistence by encouraging media practitioners to report objectively and within the established laws and ethics. The data collected will be treated in strict confidentiality. Your cooperation will be highly appreciated. Thank you in advance.

Yours faithfully,

Researcher Name: Z. K.Chebii

Registration Number: Admission No: C50/NKU/PT/24550/2010

Instructions: please tick [] your answer where applicable.

SECTION B: Respondent's Details

1. What is your gender?

Male

Female

2. How old are you?

18-35 yrs

36-45 yrs

45-55 yrs

Above 55

3. What is your Marital Status?

Yes

No

4. Highest level of Education and training attained?

Primary

Secondary

College/University

Others

5. Have you ever been a victim of a violent conflict?

Yes

No

SECTION C:

Q6. In a normal day, on average, how many hours do you spend doing each of the following? Watching TV, Listening to the radio, Reading a newspaper, on the internet or sending emails for yourself rather than for work?

No time

Less than 15 mins

15-30 mins

30 mins – 1 hour

1-3 hours

3-6 hours

Q7. Which form of media is your main source of information?

Radio

Newspaper

Television

Internet

Q8. Specify the radio station(s), Television channel(s) or Newspaper(s) you commonly listen to, watch or read respectively.

i.

ii.

iii.

iv.

Q9. To what extent do you agree or disagree that media report influences most of your decisions or actions.

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

Q10. To what extent do you trust the media to give reliable information on violent conflict issues?

- Very large extent
- Large extent
- I don't know
- Small extent
- Very small extent

Q11. Which form of media or press do you trust to report on conflict issues fairly?

- Radio
- Newspaper
- Television
- Internet

Q12. Uasin Gishu County has been the epicenter of violent conflicts in the region. To what extent do you agree or disagree that media has extensively highlighted the issues of violent conflicts in the area?

- Very large extent
- Large extent
- I don't know
- Small extent
- Very small extent

Q13. Which form of media or press do you trust had extensively covered the Uasin Gishu County violence?

- a. TV
- b. Radio
- c. National newspaper
- d. Local newspaper
- e. Magazine
- f. Internet

Q14. From the above forms of media, name examples of media houses that you have selected.

- i.
- ii.
- iii.
- iv.
- v.

Q15. Do you think media could have played a role during the 2007 general election in Kenya?

- Yes
- No

Q16. If Yes, what role did media play?

- i. Escalated violence
- ii. De-escalated violence
- iii. Both roles

Q17. What roles do you think media played or could have played in:

a. Escalation of violence

- i.
- ii.
- iii.
- iv.
- v.
- vi.

b. De-escalation of violence

- i.
- ii.
- iii.
- iv.
- v.
- vi.

Q18. Based on the under listed factors, rank them in a scale of 1 – 5 (denoting no influence to great influence) the extent to which they influenced or controlled your reaction to media coverage and reports on 2007/08 PEV.

- a) Age
- b) Gender
- c) Social status
- d) Habitation (Urban/Rural)
- e) Religion

SECTION D:

Provided below are questions that contain some of the roles that media played during 2007 general election, perceived to have contributed to 2007/2008 PEV. Based on your opinion and extent of agreement, rate them in a Likert scale as provided.

Q19. Do you agree that media especially the radio stations encouraged hate speech through broadcast and analysis?

- Yes
- No

Q20. If yes, to what extent do you think this could have elicited ethnic hatred and animosity among communities and tribes in Kenya?

- Very large extent
- Large extent
- I don't know
- Some extent
- Small extent

Q21. Do you agree that media can act as a mouthpiece of politicians and opinion leaders during violent conflict situation?

- Yes
- No

Q22. Based on above issue, to what extent do you agree that Kenya media could have acted as mouthpiece of politicians and opinion leaders during the 2007/08 PEV?

- Very large extent
- Large extent
- I don't know
- Some extent
- Small extent

Q23. Do you agree that media could fail to provide background information of emerging conflict or take part in conflict by covering-up or withholding vital information?

- Yes
- No

Q24. With reference to Kenyan situation, to what extent do you agree that mass media could have failed to provide adequate information or/and provided poor analysis of the situation which eventually caused anxiety and confusion among Kenyans?

- Very large extent
- Large extent
- I don't know
- Some extent
-

Small extent

Q25. Do you think media should be allowed to run a parallel vote tallying centres along with the official Election Commission centre as they did during the 2007 general election in Kenya?

Yes
No

Q26. To what extent do you think that Kenya media houses, that were running parallel election tallying centres, were unprofessional in the manner they handled the release of election results by releasing varying, piecemeal and speculative results.

Very large extent
Large extent
I don't know
Some extent
Small extent

Q27. To what extent do you agree that this unprofessionalism could have led to or escalated conflict during the 2007/08 PEV in Kenya?

Very large extent
Large extent
I don't know
Some extent
Small extent

Thank you.

APPENDIX III: Interview Guide for Media Professionals

Introduction

The purpose of this interview is to collect information from media professionals fromTelevision/Radio station of KTN, CITIZEN, KASS FM, INOORO FM, etc (specify)..... in Location of Division in Uasin Gishu County.

The interview is aimed at soliciting data to assess the role of media in conflict management in Kenya. Your views will be useful in influencing security decisions in the County and also for academic purposes and will be treated with confidentiality.

Section A: General Information

Your Title:

Age:

Gender:

Marital status:

Education level:

Institution/Organization you work for:

Duration (years) you've been in this work:

Which media house do you work for

Section: Interview Questions

Q1. When there is violence, what particular care should be taken about publication of the first incidents?

Q2. News headline do have the first impact on audience or listeners interpretation and subsequent perception on its contents. Journalists, especially during 2007 general election more often used vivid remarks by key politicians and opinion leaders to craft their headlines. In addition, emotive references to past history dominated most newspaper headlines during PEV. What impact could this have had towards violence during 2007/08 PEV.

3. In mixed societies, editors should be aware of the danger of promoting selective reporting and common prejudicial stereotypes about groups.

a) To what extent do you concur with this statement especially with reference to 2007 general elections in Kenya?

b) What measures do your editorial put in place to discourage such negative reporting?

4. Where there is potential for ethnic violence there should be a constant effort to investigate and expose the underlying causes.

a) Do you think this prudent course was exercised during 2007/08 PEV?

b) How do the media practitioners ensure that underlying issues are objectively addressed and impartially reported during conflicts?

5. Factual accuracy in a single story is no substitute for the total truth. A single story, which is factually accurate, can nonetheless be misleading. You as a journalist;

a) What measures are in place to ensure that factual accuracy does not lead to conflict?

b) To what extent have you ensured that your coverage and editorials do not capitalize on factual accuracy to promote conflict?

6. Over the past, and especially during the 2007 general election, media houses ran documentaries on how certain parts or communities were marginalized by former regimes, with the potential that they would benefit could there be a change of guard in governance.

a) To what extent do you think such documentaries and reports hindered the spirit of nationalism?

b) Could such negative reporting be attributed to the conflict after 2007 general election?

7. Statistics have been used to excite passion, and as witnessed during the 2007 general election, the release of presidential results was varying and inconsistent.

a) To what extent do you think this contributed or inflamed 2007/08 PEV?

b) How can we avoid such mistakes in future?

8. Generalizations based on the behavior of an individual or a small number of individuals were invariably adopted by most media houses during the 2007 general election. This, to most people, was believed to be the channel through which hate speech spread.

a) Do you agree that generalization heartened hate speech?

b) How can this cause or inflame conflicts?

9. Words and phrases may have different connotations among different groups in terms of age, gender and status.

a) Can distortion in translation cause conflict, given that most leaders give speeches in English which have to be translated for local reporting?

b) What can media do to mitigate word distortion that can cause or inflame conflict?

10. It is normal practice for media houses to edit and select which part of coverage is aired to audience or listeners accompanied by brief comments.

a) How can editorial comments contribute to news/fact distortion and misleading news reports? Could this be responsible for the violence witnessed during the 2007 general elections?

b) Indeed, it is recognized that editorial comments, however gentle, do not necessarily compensate for the harm done by a misleading news report. What measures have the media houses put in place to ensure objective reporting and maintenance of neutrality?

11. Unverified information should not be aired by the media houses. In particular, what is the danger of speculating violence?

- a) Are there measures put in place to certify the validity of news before broadcast?
- b) How can a media house confirm the validity of what journalists report?

APPENDIX IV: Interview Guide for Security/Conflict Professional

Introduction

The purpose of this interview is to collect information from security professional in..... Location of Division in Uasin Gishu County. The interview is aimed to solicit data to assess the role of media in conflict management in Kenya. Your views will be useful in influencing security decisions in the County and also for academic purposes and will be treated with confidentiality.

Section A: General Information

Your Title:

Age:

Gender:

Marital status:

Education level:

Institution/Organization you work for:

Duration (years) you've been this work:

Section B: Interview Questions

Q8. Media is considered to be the most important source of news and possibly the most powerful influence on public opinion. How much do you think this influenced public opinion resulting in the 2007 PEV?

Q9. Media can be said to be a double edged sword, it can be used both for conflict escalation and de-escalation. To what extent do you agree with this statement in view of the 2007/08 PEV?

Q1. Would you agree with the statement that media precipitated PEV by portraying a volatile political environment during the electioneering period, and in what ways?

Q4. How could the labeling of 2007 general election as a political supremacy war between ODM and PNU by media helped escalate the conflict?

Q3. Most of the FM stations have been blamed for quoting persons/leaders that made derogatory remarks based on ethnicity, race, creed, color or sex. Could have this caused or/and spurred 2007/08 PEV and how if so?

Q6. In your opinion, do you think media played constructive roles in peace building in the aftermath of 2007/08 PEV, and how? (Give some crucial positive roles of media)

Q2. Can we claim that the most important role that the media played during the conflict was probably acting as a voice for the voiceless?

Q7. The widely aired shaking of hands and signing of peace accord by the two principals could have had an impact on PEV. In your own view, why do you think media capitalized on this issue? And of what significant, if any, did it play towards realization of peace?