

**MEDIA COVERAGE OF POLITICAL CONFLICTS INFLUENCING PEACE
BUILDING IN SELECTED HOTSPOTS IN KENYA SINCE 2007 ELECTIONS**

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**A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Peace and Conflict Studies at Masinde Muliro
University of Science and Technology**

September, 2019

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DEDICATION

To the memory of my late Mother Lucy Mugure Maina who went to be with the Lord when I was only 11 years, and to my late Dad, best friend and my mentor Dave Maina who went to be with the Lord Almighty just when I needed him most. Shalom till we meet again. Special dedication goes to my prayer partner and husband Absalom K. Gichuhi, my model daughter Stacey Wachuka and my loving son Alvin Gichuhi without whose Prayers, support, patience and encouragement this work would not have been completed. This Work is also dedicated with great appreciation to my brothers David and John and my only sister Mary Mary, my family members and to all who stood with me in Prayers and offered Words of encouragement.

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I laud the members of the fourth estate, journalists and colleagues in the Media who dedicate their lives in pursuit of practices that support peace and manage conflict. They have played a pivotal role in preventing the circulation and broadcasting of propaganda, inflammatory material, hate media, or damaging rumors which destroy communities and precludes the building of trust. They have also endeavored to provide accurate representation of the causes of conflict and its resolution in a balanced way.

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ABSTRACT

Since the 2007/008 Post-Election Violence (PEV), media coverage on political conflict has remained a complex yet intriguing issue to unbridle more especially on the Kenyan peace-building landscape .By and large, it has proved to be an elusive concept, globally, continentally, regionally, transnationally and locally. Many scholars have written on the effects media has on conflict situations in Africa particularly on how media fuels conflict. However, the literature on conflict and peace-building reveals a dismal focus on the role of the media in peace processes, in fact in fragmentary terms. The greatest problem surrounding Media Coverage of Political Conflicts and Its Influence on peace building is that, it has been blamed widely for igniting ethnic hatred and animosity leading to PEV of 2007/2008 in Kenya. There is lack of sufficient literature on Media as a peace building tool. Yet, the role of the media in the conflict and its ability to mediate peace is not adequately tackled. This prompted the study. Therefore the study objectively sought to: examine peace interventions programs employed by Kenyan Media in peace building since 2007/8 PEV; analyze how Social Media peace messages campaigns can be used for building peace during and after Kenya 2007/8 PEV and to explore challenges and opportunities of Kenyan Media in peace building process. The study was guided by three theories: libertarian, social judgment and social responsibility. The study adopted descriptive research survey utilizing mainly qualitative techniques of data collection and analysis which relied mainly on the interviews, questionnaires, FGDs and content analysis of secondary sources. An interdisciplinary media-political conflict model was adopted in examining political conflict influence on peace-building. The study area focused on selected hotspots following the Post-Election Violence in Kenya. These were: Kibera in Nairobi County, Kibuye in Kisumu County, flower firms in Naivasha, Nakuru County, Likoni Town in Mombasa County and Kiambaa village in Uasin Gishu County. The study population included; middle management staff of the media houses in Kenya, social media users and senior management staff of media houses. The study targeted a population of 500 from which a sample of 150 was determined scientifically. The study findings revealed that 30% of news broadcast and 40% of newspaper readers contributed to media peace intervention programs whereas only 10% of media analysts influenced publications .The study also found out that 80% of respondents avouched that social media was effective in peace building and 80% of the respondents agreed that the media played a huge role in instigating violence. This is a serious challenge. Despite the phenomenal alchemy that surrounds media coverage and political conflict and consequent influence on peace building, the study provide a preponderant opportunity to revisit, make valuable insights and contribute to knowledge in the wider field of peace and conflict studies. Therefore, the study recommends that, one, media houses should adopt a common conflict reporting approach key in mitigating discrepancies in coverage. Two, promotion of continued efforts that scrutinizes social media behavior should be enhanced. Three, local media reporters and journalists should be engaged in rigorous training on conflict reporting.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BBC:	British Broadcasting Corporation
CCK:	Communication Commission of Kenya
CPJ:	Committee for the Protection of Journalists
ECK:	Electoral Commission of Kenya
FM:	Frequency Modulation
ICC:	International Criminal Court
KANU:	Kenya African National Union
KBC:	Kenya Broadcasting Corporation
KTN:	Kenya Television Network
MONUC:	United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo
NARA:	National Accord and Reconciliation Act of parliament
NSC:	National Steering Committee on Peace building and Conflict
NTV:	Nation Television Network
NGO:	Non-Governmental Organization
Open:	Broadcast Network OBN
ODM:	Orange Democratic Movement
ODM-K:	Orange Democratic Movement
PEV:	Post-Election Violence
PNU:	Party of National Unity (a political party in Kenya)
RTLML:	Radio Television Librie des Millers

SJT:	Social Judgment Theory
SMS:	Short Messaging Services
SRT:	Social Responsibility Theory
SFCG:	Search for Common Ground
UNDP:	United Nation Development Program

OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS OF CONCEPTS

Conflict: is struggle the between individuals or collectives, over values or claims to status, power and scarce resources in which the aims of the conflicting parties are to assert their values or claims over those of others.

Broadcast Media: Broadcasting Media is the distribution of audio and/or video content to a dispersed audience via any electronic mass communications medium, using the electromagnetic spectrum (radio waves), in a one-to-many model.

Hotspots: Violence prone areas (Kibuye,Kiambaa,Kibera,Likoni and Naivasha) during the disputed 2007/2008 Kenyan General election

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.

Media Houses: Media houses includes FM stations, free to view TV stations and a number of print newspapers and magazines. In this study the media houses included Daily Nation; The East African Standard and The People Daily; KBC TV, Pamoja FM; and Ghetto.

Middle Management Staff: intermediate management of a hierarchical organization that is subordinate to the executive management and responsible for at least two lower levels of junior staff. The middle management staff served as a link between the senior management and the lower (junior) levels of the organization during the study. In this study they were used as the key informants.

Peace is a period of harmony between different social groups that is characterized by lack of violence or conflict behaviors, and the freedom from fear of violence.

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

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.

PEV: Post-Election Violence: The political violence experienced in Kenya after disputed 2007 general elections.

Senior Management Staff: Senior management, or upper management, is generally a team of individuals at the highest level of management of an organization who have the day-to-day tasks of managing that organization. In this study they have been used as key informants.

Social Media Users: Users who accessed social media services via web-based technologies on desktops and laptops, or download services that offer social media functionality to their mobile devices such as smartphones and tablets during and after the 2007/2008 election violence.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides the background to the study, the statement of the problem, the objectives of the study and the related research questions. The chapter also provides both policy and academic justification and the scope of the study. The last segment of this chapter highlights the summary.

1.1 Background to the Study

In the recent years, the preponderance of a free, reliable and professional media in contributing to global stability has gained traction in international conflict discourses. There is commendable research focusing on power of the media as a driver of violence and conflict than peace. Though discourses on media and conflict specializes almost exclusively in one or another form of political conflict, the longstanding credence of media scholars has tended to lean on international conflict (Vladisavljevic, 2015). However, and as a matter of importance, many international organizations under the auspices of United Nations agencies are now working with the media in conflict management and peace-building. This trend has been going on since post-conflict situations of Rwandan genocide and the war in Balkans. Globally, it is evident that political conflict is pervasive and has increasingly affected many nation-states. Syria, Honduras, Cambodia, Brazil, even the US have not been exempted from this kind of situation.

According to Westphal, (2004), globally the Media have the power to defuse tensions by supplying credible information and reaching a large audience, the media help in managing conflicts and promote democratic principles. Open Broadcast Network (OBN), a media network established in Bosnia two decades is Media attempts to reduce violent conflict through peace promotion and reconciliation .The role of media has becoming so essential in building peace or bringing sustainable solution for the particular incidences or conflicts. The argument is that as it is possible to use the media for mass mobilization in the wartime, they shall also play their contribution for peace building during conflicts.As a result of their (Media) ability to reach and influence large numbers of people, the media carry immense power in shaping the course of a conflict. This immense power shall be used for the positive contribution to de-escalate of violence or conflicts or to stop the conflict by solving the problem.

In Africa, the political terrain has shifted tremendously. Nearly all states are awash with conflict. Despite this phenomena, media is exploding and flourishing in certain countries on political crisis. With changes happening so rapidly, the shifting landscape has had dire implications for media coverage in conflict (Deane,2013).Therefore, whether greater media plurality in Africa foster social cohesion and peace-building, remains a subject of interrogation in this study. Pervasively, it can be noted that countries such as Libya, Ivory Coast, Democratic Republic of Congo, Central Africa Republic, Sieraleone, Liberia and Zimbabwe, have been affected by political conflicts and the media to some extent has played a role, either constructive or destructive in fostering peace.

Kenya's media looked at from the international law is ranked as a perpetrator of political violence just like Rwanda. Though Kenya has been a relatively peaceful country over the years, it has However, it has experienced armed conflict internally, just like many others countries. The armed conflicts in Kenya have been manageable in the sense that the government has always been able to contain the situation. Nonetheless, that was not the case in December. Following the announcement of the 27th December 2007 presidential elections of the incumbent term of President Mwai Kibaki, Kenya experienced its worst political crisis. This ignited the long hidden ethnic tensions, resulting in violence, (Amutabi, 2009). It resulted in massive destruction of property, loss of life and displacement of people . An estimated 1,200 died and 350, 000 people were displaced from their homes . Moreover, an estimated 3,560 people suffered serious injuries and there were over 900 cases of rape reported.

The greatest problem surrounding Kenya Media coverage of political conflict influencing peace building in Kenya is that, it has been blamed widely for igniting ethnic hatred and animosity and especially during the PEV of 2007/2008 in Kenya. There is lack of sufficient literature on Media as a peace building tool used before, during and after the PEV. Yet, the role of the media in the conflict, as well as its ability to mediate peace is not adequately tackled. As a result, the researcher felt obliged to look at this topic that is widely written on .The Kenyan 2007/8 PEV from a new light perspective.

Taking the Kenyan post-election violence of 2007/2008 serves as a good discussion to exemplify the process from conflict to peace-building. First, it illustrates Interventions Programs employed by Kenyan Media in peace building since 2007/8 PEV. Secondly, this thesis explores challenges and opportunities of Kenyan Media in peace building process. The research was carried out generally in selected areas where 2007/2008 PEV in Kenya was more prevalent. These are Kibera in Nairobi County, Kibuye in Kisumu County, Flower Farms in Naivasha in Nakuru County, Likoni Town in Kwale County and Kiamba Rural Village in Uasin Gishu County. I chose to carry out my study in these areas because they were considered as “hotspots” in Kenya during the PEV, that is, areas most afflicted by the PEV (Lafargue, 2009). Scholars of the post-election phenomenon in Kenya quickly conclude that, the crisis was a deeply rooted political and ethnic problem. Yet, the role of the Media in the conflict, as well as its ability to mediate peace is not adequately tackled.

Media is considered to be the 4th pillar of the society after legislature, executive and judiciary. The influence of the media, particularly the electronic media, continues to grow with time. This is demonstrated by the increasing number of media outlets, such as radio stations. The internet as is also a prominent medium of mass communication. Because of the influence it has over society, the Media can play a significant role in peace building. More specifically, in Kenya, media have been a key component during elections .Many scholars such as Deane (2008), and Lafargue (2009) have researched and written about the Media’s influence in the Kenyan society.

However, they all fall short of in one area. Their main focus is how the propelled and/or fueled Kenya's 2007/8 Post Election Violence. There is lack of sufficient literature on Media as a peace-building tool used before, during and after the PEV. During Kenya's 2007/2008 post-election violence, a democratic Media encouraged dialogue, tolerance and interaction among communities hence reducing ongoing conflicts and building lasting peace. Literature on conflict and peace-building reveals a dismal focus on the role of the media in peace processes. Existing theory only tends to portray the media as essential in reporting. According to Bratic (2006), if the Media is often found to support forces that lead to violent conflicts, it should also have power to support forces to peace building. Therefore, any discussion that examines the role of the media in promoting specific types of behavior must consider how the media affects audiences.

One of the challenges faced by the Media in Peace Building is that, there are instances where Media has been viewed as an Instigator/ Propeller of Violence. Mcquail (2005) states that it seems that whenever the stability of society is disturbed by crime, war, economic malaise or some moral panic the mass media are given some of the responsibility.

The founder of Peace Journalism-Galtung focuses on the positive values of journalism in ensuring peace during conflicts and wars. According to Galtung, the concerns of journalists in reporting conflict are in maintaining sustainable peace and bringing resolution for the conflict. Galtung (1986, 1998, and 2002) indicated that PJ focuses on

stories that promote peace initiatives; tone down ethnic and religious differences; prevent further conflict; give attention to the structure of the society; and advocates conflict resolution, reconstruction and reconciliation.

In most cases, whatever the words used by various scholars, like peace journalism, conflict sensitive reporting, and peace building media, the center of the issues is how ‘stories of conflict are presented’ and how salient issues are reported by the media . If peace-building means strengthening the prospects for peace in conflict countries and enhancing the capacities of the civil society for non-violent conflict transformation, then media ought to be perceived, and strengthened as a component and a powerful tool of the wider civil society that has a stake in social changes, as well as in peace-building.

Peace building means reinforcing the prospects for peace and minimizing the chances of further violence. The aim of peace building is to develop society’s ability to sort out its conflicts in a peaceful manner. The media is well placed to facilitate peace building. Although there are known cases in Africa and in the Horn of Africa region where media have been used to stir up conflict and exacerbate war, the power of media to transform violent conflicts into non-violent ones is too crucial to be underestimated. The Kenyan media abandoned the notion of commercializing news content for the sake of profits, avoided naming either the victims or the perpetrators of the violence, employed investigative/critical journalism and chose to preach peace. This was a positive move,

which was later to help reunify Kenya. This conduct demonstrates the maturity of the media and further proves that the Kenyan Media uphold and respect their role in Kenyan society. In this case, the Kenyan media seem to have understood that the right to peace outweighed the right of Kenyans to know (freedom to receive information) which tribe was killing which and in what manner; information that would only have aggravated the situation.

In summary, the influence of the media on society has attracted international agencies closely involved in peace-building since the early 1990's. The Media can contribute to peace, by engaging in credible reporting, representing balanced opinions in its editorial content, and opening up communication channels among parties in a conflict. It can also identify and articulate without bias the underlying interests of warring factions. By doing so, the Media is capable of disseminating information that builds on the confidence of stakeholders in a conflict.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The greatest problem surrounding Kenyan media coverage of political conflicts, and its influence on peace-building in selected areas in Kenya since 2007/8 Post Election Violence, is that, it has been blamed widely for igniting ethnic hatred and animosity and especially during the PEV of 2007/2008 in Kenya. There is lack of sufficient literature on Media as a peace-building tool used before, during and after the PEV. Yet, the role of the media in the conflict, as well as its ability to mediate peace is not adequately tackled. Literature on conflict and peace-building reveals a dismal focus on the role of the media

in peace processes. Existing theory only tends to portray the Media as essential in reporting and generating discourses on conflicts (Wolfsfeld, 2004; Bratic, 2006). Further problem that bedevil Kenya Media in addressing its role in peace-building is that, it has not received much intellectual and critical research attention specifically on its positive interventions in peace process. Scholars of the post-election phenomenon quickly conclude that, the crisis was a deeply rooted political and ethnic problem.

Yet, the role of the media in the conflict, as well as its ability to mediate peace is not adequately tackled. In the East African region, Kenyan media like that in Rwanda has been scrutinized at the level of international law as a perpetrator of political violence. Many scholars such as Deane (2008), Makinen & Kuira (2008), Ogola (2011) and Lafargue (2008) have researched and written about the Media's influence in the Kenyan society. However, they all fall short of in one area in that their main focus is how the Media propelled and/or fueled Kenya's 2007/8 Post Election Violence. There is lack of sufficient literature on media as a peace-building tool used before, during and after the PEV. As a result, the researcher felt obliged to look at this topic that is widely written on yet present a new perspective on the Kenyan 2007/8 PEV .

Taking the Kenyan post-election violence of 2007/2008 serves as a good discussion to exemplify the process from conflict to peace-building. First, it illustrates Interventions Programs employed by Kenyan Media in peace building since 2007/8 PEV. Secondly, this thesis explores challenges and opportunities of Kenyan Media in peace building process. The knowledge gap filled by this study is that, if the Media is often found to

support forces that lead to violent conflicts, it should also have power to support forces to peace building (Bratic, 2006). If the Media have played an important role in breeding violence, it seems reasonable to examine the prospects of the reverse perspective-positive Media contributions to ending violence and peace building in Kenya.

The Study demonstrated how an intended outcome programs can contribute successfully to peace building process.

1.3 Research Objectives

The overall objective of the study examined media coverage of political conflicts influencing peace building in selected Hotspots in Kenya since 2007 Elections

The specific objectives were to:

- i. Examine Media Peace Intervention programs employed by Media Houses in peace building during and after 2007/8 PEV in Kenya.
- ii. Analyze how Social Media Peace Messages Campaigns can be used in peace building since 2007 Elections.
- iii. Explore Challenges and Opportunities of the Kenyan Media in promoting and enhancing peace-building in Kenya.

1.4 Research Questions

The research, in an attempt to meet the research objective, found answers to the following

questions:

- i. How did Media Peace Interventions Programs employed by Media Houses helped in de-escalated violence during the 2007/2008 PEV in Kenya?
- ii. How can the social media be used successfully to promote peace building in Kenya?
- iii. What are the Challenges and Opportunities of the Kenyan Media in promoting and enhancing peace-building in Kenya?

1.5 Justification of the Study

1.5.1 Academic Justification

The rationale of this study lies in the fact that many people believe that Media had a lot of influence during and after the PEV of 2007/8; fueling the hatred and violence during the conflict. Many others have argued that Media served as a peace-making and peace-building tool thereafter. However, Kenya Media its effects and role in peace building and conflict prevention remain undocumented. This has led to the current literature on Media and peace building fail to either prove or disapprove the effect and role media played before, during and after the PEV and preventing their recurrence as well in Kenya. Therefore, this is a relatively unique and timely study. Therefore, in terms of academic research, the study adds to the body of knowledge relating to Media operations and conflict management as well as promoting aspects of peace building in times of conflict locally, regionally and internationally. This research will also inform stakeholders who wish to have basic knowledge on using the media in conflict intervention.

1.5.2 Policy Justification

In terms of policy making, this study was justified because it also provided information that would enable conflict management policy makers, Media Houses, law enforcement and political leadership to make informed decisions in formulation of policies and how to prevent conflicts through early warning and sensitizing by the Media on how their actions can result in conflict. The government, in consultation with all stakeholders in the media industry should enact a progressive media policy on conflict management.

The researcher took into account the sensitivity of the matter during the study bearing in mind the PEV is a wound which has not yet healed in the lives of many Kenyans. The researcher was however encouraged to do the research.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The scope of this study is Media Coverage of Political Conflicts and Its Influence on Peace Building in Selected Hotspots in Kenya since 2007/8 Post Election Violence. This study covers: Media Peace Intervention programs employed by Media Houses in peace building during and after 2007/8 PEV in Kenya; Social Media Peace Messages Campaigns in peace building during and after Kenya 2007/8 PEV and Challenges and Opportunities of the Kenyan Media in promoting and enhancing peace-building in Kenya.

The research was carried out generally in selected areas where 2007/2008 PEV in Kenya was more prevalent. These are Kibera in Nairobi County, Kibuye in Kisumu County, Flower Farms in Naivasha in Nakuru County, Likoni Town in Mombasa County and Kiamba Rural Village Church, in Uasin Gishu County. I chose to carry out my study in these areas because they were considered as “hotspots” in Kenya during the PEV ,that is, areas most afflicted by the PEV. The research was conducted between the months of December 2016 and March 2017.

1.7 Chapter Summary

In a nutshell, this introductory chapter was interested in presenting the problem under investigation. The greatest problem surrounding Kenyan media coverage of political conflict influencing peace building in Kenya is that, it has been blamed widely for igniting ethnic hatred and animosity and especially during the PEV of 2007/2008 in Kenya. There is lack of sufficient literature on media as a peace building tool used before, during and after the PEV. Yet, the role of the media in the conflict, as well as its ability to mediate peace is not adequately tackled.

The knowledge gap filled by this study is that, if the Media is often found to support forces that lead to violent conflicts, it should also have power to support forces to peace building. In summary, the influence of the media on society has attracted international agencies closely involved in peace-building since the early 1990’s. The Media can contribute to peace, by engaging in credible reporting, representing balanced opinions in its editorial content, and opening up communication channels among parties in a conflict. It can also identify and articulate without bias the underlying interests of warring

factions. By doing so, the Media is capable of disseminating information that builds on the confidence of stakeholders in a conflict. The next chapter delves upon pertinent literature associated with the topic under investigation herein and is reviewed thematically as per the objectives of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This section contains the empirical literature related to this study. It also discusses the theoretical background of the study. The existing literature has been reviewed thematically and critiqued in order to bring out the existing gaps in Kenyan media, its control and usage in the Kenyan context; what role the media played to escalate and/or deescalate the PEV 2007/2008 . Additionally, the theories relevant to the study have also been outlined to provide the theoretical basis for the study and the literature by extension. The chapter is organized in the following sub-topics: media peace intervention programs employed by media houses in peace-building; social media peace messages campaigns; challenges and opportunities of the Kenyan media in promoting peace-building in Kenya. This chapter also delves on the conceptual framework and theories as well as the chapter summary.

2.1 Media Peace Intervention Programs in Peace Building

In the last six decades, the influence of the Media in the global arena has increasingly been recognized, especially its power to either exacerbate or contain potential conflicts. The number of conflicts, however, that gets international attention is small U.N (2005). According to Westphal (2004), the Media have the power to defuse tensions before they even reach a critical point. By supplying credible information and reaching a large audience, the media help in managing conflicts and promote democratic principles.

It is well known that the media set agendas McCombs, Shaw & Weaver 1997; Graber (2000), and use values such as prominence (journalists quoting renowned public figures

when reporting news stories) to satisfy the interests of the public. Media can play a role in all of these categories. In fact, the United Nations classified the development of local media as a ‘cross-cutting’ peace-building concern, ‘transcending’ all types of activities (United Nations, 1996).

In Africa, there are positive examples where the Media has been useful in peace initiatives, albeit when violent conflicts have ended. Since 2002, Mega FM has promoted peace in Northern Uganda through encouraging dialogue between the Lord Resistance’s Army (LRA) factions, government and civil society as a good step towards peace, (Oriarie 2009). Earlier on in 1995, Burundi’s Search for Common Ground (SCG) initiative launched radio Ijambo (“wise words” in Kirundi) in the months ending the genocide in neighboring Rwanda, Gardner (2001).

Search for Common Ground (SFCG), a US based NGO dealing with conflict resolution, launched Studio Ijambo at the height of ethnic and political violence in Burundi and neighboring 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 (Slachmuis,2005).

The media can be defined as a channel through which messages are passed to an audience. The intention of passing this message is always to inform, persuade, or provoke response among others (Liljana *et al*,2014). Also, 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. Media in this study, this concept refers to all “types of print media such as newspapers and magazines as well as electronic media, including radio and TV programmes”. It also includes social media which is defined as a group of internet based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of the web and that allow the creation and exchange of user-generated content. The content might include text, video, images, podcasts and other multimedia communications. The most prominent examples of social media include, Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, Reddit, Google + Googletalk, Yahoochat, Skype, WhatsApp.

Goodhand and Humle's (1999), define conflict as a struggle between individuals or collectives, over values or claims to status, power and scarce resources in which the aims of the conflicting parties are to assert their values or claims over those of others. The definition of conflict and defining conflict areas is not easy and no two places are alike. Journalists need to know what they can expect on sight in order to define the objectives of their project.

In coverage of conflict, Media encourages dialogue, tolerance and interaction among communities hence reducing inherent conflicts and building lasting peace. In coverage of conflict in order to foster peace, Dul (2007) writes that the Media is only an instrument. It is like a pistol or the pen. It is indispensable entity in peace and security anywhere. Post-Election Violence: The definition of election violence used most often will be used in this thesis is: 'any random or organized act or threat to intimidate, physically harm, blackmail, or abuse a political stakeholder in seeking to determine, delay, or to otherwise influence an electoral process' . If this violence occurs between the announcement of the official election results and the inauguration of the newly elected body, we speak of post-election violence. Violence can be committed by state actors (military or police), parties, rebel groups, and militia and paramilitary groups. Often the violence starts when the losing party is dissatisfied with the election results. In peace building, evidence shows that Media can be a powerful tool for peace fostering, This is by engaging in credible reporting, representing balanced opinions and opening up communication channels among parties in a conflict, (Malakwen, 2014). Peace building: is understood in this

thesis as the initiatives that are aimed to prevent violent outbreaks of conflicts or to transform violent conflicts in a sustainable manner into peaceful means.

Apollos (2008), Anyonje and Nyandiba (2013), suggest that as a process, peace building is a planned activity, directed towards achieving harmonious co-existence among people. Kamenju (2003), reveals that Peace is also related to leadership and good governance fosters peace while lack of good governance robs a nation or a community of peace. Conflicts that are the main obstacle to peace have different causes. For instance, explaining the causes of conflicts among individuals, lie in their individuals and cultural differences, clashes of interests, and social changes. Likewise, the competitions and desires to dominate and control resources within the community lead individuals, families as well as large social groups to conflicts.

According to Ignatieff, four different conflict stages successively determine an ethnic war. Firstly, the state collapses, because of a changing regime, or economic crises, or other reasons. This collapse is followed by collective fear of the inhabitants of the state. Then there is nationalistic paranoia in which especially propaganda plays a role in encouraging the frightened population in safeguarding their national interests, enlarging the ethnical differences. In this phase the population is also mobilized to start a war; weapons are taken up. The final phase is the actual ethnic war. Nationalism plays a big role in this process, being the reaction of the population to the collapse of the state;

people tend to be nationalists when they have fear, fear that is caused by not being able to rely on the state anymore (Ignatieff 1998).

Mwagiru (2000) points out that conflict is endemic in society that it is here with us as long as there are human beings. He further suggests that conflict is necessary and cannot be eradicated in the same way for example that we eradicate a disease such as small pox or malaria. Indeed, a society without conflict would be both stale and sterile. The challenge thus, is not to eradicate conflict but to manage it properly and learn from it. In order to effectively manage conflicts and learn from them, one must engage in peace building efforts to ensure people from diverse backgrounds, pursuing different goals co-exist in peace and harmony.

The essential role of the Media in reporting conflicts is to accurately present events in a fair and balanced manner. Usually, these values are used interchangeably and simply mean, giving each side an opportunity to express its opinions. However, there are contradicting views on the social responsibility role of the media. Researchers Mbeke (2008); Somerville (2010); Ismail & Deane (2008) endeavored to explain reasons behind the crisis. Their work highlights ethnic tensions and shortcomings in media management, as reasons to why the media in Kenya is losing its credibility. Their analysis does not explicitly establish the link between media as an instigator of violence or an arbiter for peace, neither is it focused on human rights discourses. As such, this study moves to investigate the link and contribute to research.

In general, conflict prevention and peace-building programs aim to change attitudes and behaviors away from violence and toward peace. Conflict prevention and peace-building respond to violence of all kinds direct forms of armed violence and structural forms of violence that discriminate against certain ethnic, religious, gender, or economic class groups. A wide range of programs and projects aim to build relationships across the lines of conflict - building a foundation for open communication. Violence polarizes people - pitting some groups against other groups of people.

Peace-building seeks to build a bridge between groups of people - de-polarizing people's attitudes and behaviors toward each other. All conflict prevention and peace-building efforts therefore, aim to be part of this change process. The goal of conflict prevention and peace-building, in general, is to move from polarization to positive relationships. In Bratic's words, "if the media is often found to support forces that lead to violent conflicts, it should also have power to support forces to peace" (Bratic, 2006).

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. Since its

inception, Radio Okapi has enlightened listeners on the peace process its successes, failures and hopes. The Hironnelle Foundation²⁰ established radio Agatashya (little swallow), in Kinyarwanda to secure peace and dialogue among Rwandans coming from the genocide scourge, Dahinden (2007).

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. 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. The programmes provided practical advice about reconciliation and repatriation, Sadkovich, . Media aided pacification, though from diverse motives. Regionally in case of a crisis or a conflict, the international media can attract worldwide attention. The mass media is a pervasive part of daily life especially in industrialized countries and thus able to shine a light on conflicts anywhere in the world.

Since most armed conflicts these days have governmental and not territorial reasons; the parties are often concerned with making sure that the majority of people are on “their” side, which bears a lot of potential for misrepresenting facts and trying to seize control over the distribution of information. For this very reason the intervention of unbiased and free global media is important not only for the world public but also for the people directly affected. The number of conflicts, however, that gets international attention is small; therefore, local media is vital in this context Nations Office for West Africa (2005) UNOWA Workshop on Reporting for Peace.

Additionally, fragmentary studies on media operations have not been conducted sufficiently to provide a roadmap on media intervention programs. In Africa and in the east African region, the media in the region has had a near similar developmental trajectory. Mwesige and Kalinaki (2007) posit that media were part of the anti-colonialism movement, but later became central pillars in the emergence of the near authoritarian regimes in the region. In the post-colonial East Africa colonial legislation did not change drastically to reflect the region’s new realities of independence, or may be for the media there were no new realities after all. In some cases, media became embedded in the ruling structures, in other cases they struggled to straddle the middle ground of detachment from the ruling elite with varying degrees of success. In what has been dubbed East Africa’s second liberation, particularly in Kenya, the media became part of the civil society movement that championed change.

Rwanda provides an interesting case study where media, in the mid-1990s, was considered an active player in closing the political space and contributing to its recent dark past. With respect to the freedom of the press Rwanda still features as the dark horse cited by the global media watchdogs for stifling free expression. Other countries at various times fall on this list of course even if with varying degree of ratings.

The Ugandan press, two decades ago, was a case study of liberal media progressiveness. Not so anymore. Then, President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni rose to power on a wave of populism and popular public discontent with the previous initial dictatorship and later lackluster regime in Kampala. But Ugandan press did not start that way.

Prior to independence it had had a lively press playing a crucial role in the struggle for independence. Then came independence and such stars of the earlier years such as Uganda Express, Munnansi, Munno, and Emmambya Esaze dimmed (Mwesige & Kalinaki, 2007). Tanzania is another EA country that has had a fairly free media. Although the Freedom House rating for the Tanzanian media is partly free, the nation does not have a volatile history of actively banning the press as is the case with other EA countries. But Tanzania, just like primarily Rwanda and Burundi have had state controlled newspapers. In the case of Tanzania that state of affairs changed in 1992 when multi-party politics were established. Most of the largest circulating newspapers are state owned including The Daily News, Kipanga and Uhuru. There is now an active

independent media probably the leading independent publisher being Reginald Mengi. With more than 350 newspapers registered with the government Tanzania gives the impression of an active media environment. However only about 15 per cent of these registered papers are actively published. While the remaining countries of EA have had instances of turmoil and political instability Tanzania has had the more peaceful political transition since independence. It may very well be that the unifying dominance of a single language, Kiswahili, may have had something to do with it.

Most of the Tanzanian media are published in Kiswahili, the language spoken throughout the country. This too could have contributed to the peaceful coexistence in Tanzania. Radio is by far the most popular media in Tanzania. As in the case of Kenya the government owned station, Radio Tanzania, has the widest reach and is the more popular one. But there are other private radio stations. By 2006 there were more than 50 stations on air most of them broadcasting in Kiswahili. Like their counterparts in other parts of EA these stations are largely entertainment oriented, mostly staffed by comedians whose forte is common social talk.

Tanzania was late in launching television broadcasts and yet was the first to launch color TV in 1972 in Zanzibar. The country has however witnessed an impressive growth in television broadcast with over 15 television stations being on air. Few of them broadcast nationally. Majority however relay international TV content particularly CNN, BBC and

other global networks. The IPP media group owned by Mengi has critical presence not just in print media but electronic media as well including on Television and radio.

Rwanda is a country rising from the ashes of 1994 genocide. Like Tanzania, Rwanda too has a unifying language, Kinyarwanda, which somehow has not helped bring the two dominant ethnic communities in that country together. However, today many issues, and particularly those that relate to media, tend to be viewed through the prism of genocide. Students of media in Rwanda tend to agree that the media, in the lead up to 1994, either simply watched as the genocide raged or played an active role in encouraging the mayhem.

Radio Television Libre des Mille Collines, a private radio station that was launched in 1993 by supporters of the then President Juvenal Habyarimana is accused of declaring the launch of the “final war to exterminate the cockroaches” and listing the people to be killed including providing the addresses of such people (Mwesige & Kalinaki, 2007). The militia who went around Rwanda killing people has been shown in pictures holding radio receivers to their ears as they hunted for their victims. Since then at least three individuals associated with radio stations management have been convicted at the UN Rwanda Tribunal in Arusha of being pillars in the genocide campaign. Thompson (2007) has noted that the news media were both implicated in and devastated by the genocide. Forty-nine media professionals were murdered and others jailed after the fact, accused of

inciting or participating in the killing. Rwanda's media sector has been striving to emerge from the trauma ever since. Because of the devastation wrought by the genocide, newsrooms in Rwanda are populated for the most part by young journalists with little or no professional training. Broadcasting news by using community radios can help reach people in different areas, even with different languages more easily. The danger of manipulation and inflammation of ethnic tensions, however, cannot be ignored.

Another advantage of local media, especially radio is that in border areas it is possible to convey peace messages to passing fighters and refugees alike. Democratic media structures need more than this; it is vital that the use of information within a society is not solemnly passive but that the population gets actively involved in creating content and broadcasting it (Deutsche Welle Global Media Forum (2008), *Media in Peace-building and Conflict Prevention*).

The key independent Print Media in Kenya are the Nation Media Group, the Standard Group, People Limited, and The People Daily by the Mediamax Group and other gutter press. Since independence in 1963, the media, particularly print, has been dynamic, given periods of repression. This study will examine some of the content of the three leading Nairobi dailies during Kenya 2007/2008 PEV and how all of them showed credible interest in the principles of Peace Journalism. The three dailies are Nation, Standard, and The People Daily. Started in 1958, the Daily Nation is now East Africa's most widely

read newspaper with a daily circulation over 200,000 copies three times that of the nearest competitor.

The Nation is owned by Nation Media Group, which also owns and operates the weekly The East African, The Business Daily, Uganda's Daily Monitor, the Swahili Taifa Leo, the television station NTV, and the radio station Easy FM (Munyua, 2011). The Standard, founded in 1902, is Kenya's second most widely read newspaper with a circulation of 70,000. It is owned by The Standard Group, which also owns and operates the television station KTN. The People daily is owned by the Mediamax. The Mediamax announced the launch of Kenya's first national free-sheet in 2014 at no charge to readers at various distribution points throughout the country. Previously, The People Daily was available on a weekly basis since 2009. It is the third highest newspaper distributed in Kenya in terms of circulation leading up to the presidential election, the tenor of Kenyan political coverage was divisive.

Broadcasting Media is the distribution of audio and/or video content to a dispersed audience via any electronic mass communications medium, using the electromagnetic spectrum (radio waves), in a one-to-many model. Television is commonly referred to as TV. Television is a mass medium, for entertainment, education, news and advertising. Galadima (2010), inputs that the television media have important roles to play in braking down the stereotypes, misconceptions and misinterpretations that lead to community

conflicts. Broadcasters who report on conflict situation must see themselves first and foremost as conflict interveners, they must cultivate the attitude of reporting what can unite rather than divide the people.

Today, many people wake up to clock radios, drive to their work listening to car radios, and also spend some of their leisure time hearing their favorite radio programs. Tett (2010) avers that Community radio plays a vital role in building vibrant communities, in mobilizing groups to action by informing and empowering citizens, in giving voice to the marginalized groups of Society, and in bringing community needs to the attention of local and even national governments. Alumuku (2006) adds that, Radio Broadcasting is a voice, a resource and a tool for communities to work together towards development. Dunaway, (2002) stresses on the idea that, community radio aims to serve particular community with information, education and entertainment. The danger of manipulation and inflammation of ethnic tensions, however, cannot be ignored. The Broadcast Media studied here; are Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC), Pamoja F.M and Ghetto F.M (Bwire 2013).

Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) is the state-run media organization of Kenya. It broadcasts in English and Swahili, as well as in most local languages of Kenya. In 1964, when Kenya became an independent country, the corporation's name was changed to Voice of Kenya. In 1989, the Kenyan parliament reverted to the corporation's name from

Voice of Kenya to Kenya Broadcasting Corporation. The Kenya News Agency (KNA) and the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) have a duty, during the election period, to inform the public about the entire electioneering process, highlighting key issues and educating the voters. This is in line with KBC's statutory role to "conduct broadcasting services with impartial attention to the interests and susceptibilities of the different communities in Kenya". As a State broadcaster, KBC has a duty to provide fair and balanced election coverage, and afford fair opportunity for the presentation of divergent views and dissenting opinions.

The law further requires that KBC should, in consultation with the IEBC, during the campaign period preceding any presidential, parliamentary or county government election, allocate free air time to registered political parties participating in the election to expound their policies. As a public media enterprise, KBC has a responsibility to educate voters and keep them informed throughout the electoral process. Its election-related programmes must reach the greatest number of voters possible. They should, especially, target groups that traditionally may have been excluded from the political process, such as ethnic or religious minorities and women.

The programmes should be accurate and impartial and must effectively inform voters about the voting process, including how, when and where to vote, register to vote and verify proper registration, the secrecy of the ballot (and thus safety from retaliation) and,

the importance of voting (Shitemi, *et. al*, 2013). How, then, did the Kenyan media report on the crisis? Prior to the elections the media did a tremendous job covering campaigns and providing air time and space for candidates to reach the masses. They also did well in releasing opinion polls that proved largely correct in predicting the outcome of parliamentary elections. One reason for the contested presidential election is that the media carried extensive coverage of the voting process and released unofficial results in which Kenyans believed. During the 2007/8 Kenyan PEV, the media played a significant role. There are many positive roles that the media played ,for example, the role in the efforts to promote peace, stability and democracy, at the same time there are many negatives roles that that the media played ,that is, that propelled the eruption of the PEV (Plaisance 2005).

Kenya is often referred to as a model for political stability and economic development in Africa, the extent of violence experienced in 2007/8 was unprecedented; a new experienced that baffled the country. Elections in Kenya have been associated with violence for about 20 years now; but in 2007, the escalation to eruption in violence was unexpected and therefore the country was unprepared to deal with it which led to slower responses by the government and therefore slower results (Munyua, 2011).The media served as voice for those who could not be heard in the society.

These was particularly true with the local language radio stations where they provided platforms where the listeners could call in and air their grievances allowing the message to be received by the targeted local and international authorities whilst protecting those

who people at the grass-root level (Ogola, 2011). An example would be following the wide coverage of the 2007/8 Kenyan PEV, the international media pressurized the Kenyan authorities to end the conflict. Failure to do so led to the intervention of the international community through the provision of a third-party mediator (Odinga, 2013). On one hand, one can argue that the media could have supported the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK) by promoting free and fair elections and fostering a unity amongst Kenyans whilst providing civic education to the citizens and therefore acting as a peace-building agent. The Kenyan media abandoned the notion of commercializing news content for the sake of profits, avoided naming either the victims or the perpetrators of the violence, employed investigative/critical journalism and chose to preach peace. This was a positive move, which was later to help reunify Kenya.

This conduct demonstrates the maturity of the media and further proves that the Kenyan media uphold and respect their role in Kenyan society. In this case, the Kenyan media seem to have understood that the right to peace outweighed the right of Kenyans to know (freedom to receive information) which tribe was killing which and in what manner; information that would only have aggravated the situation. Though the role of media in the Kenyan 2007/8 PEV has been somewhat documented, the impact of media on peace – building has not yet been fully explored.

In the same way, the role media have played in peace building in a conflict situation is still characterized by little exploration. Moreover, the contestations and disputations surrounding the concept of peace-building warrants further interrogation. As avouched by

Wemester (2001), peace-building has been likely, the most confusing and misstated term. Though Cousens, Kumar and Wemester (2001), present a compelling cross-section that defines peace-building, the media's understanding of its deductive and inductive axes, is still elusive and evasive. Consequently, it is a daunting task for Kenyan media. Thus, the role of media can be inferred from how media behaved before, during and after the 2007/8 PEV. It wasn't until 4 January 2008 that a significant break occurred with the joint-headline "Save Our Beloved Country" appearing on the front page of the Nation, Standard, People, and three other Kenyan newspapers. Before this orchestrated call for unity, nearly all coverage was split into a two-party framework, pitting the PNU against ODM, instead of framing the coverage within the greater concern for national well-being (Karoney, 2005).

Joint radio broadcast and joint newspaper headline also had significant impact, among other media events. There was a parliament reporter and somebody asked him 'Why did you guys all have the same headline "Save Our Country"?' And he said, 'Let's be realistic. It's not that we're really concerned about that, because conflict sells. The reason we did that is we realized we couldn't do business with the dead'. The Media finally stopped airing politicians stopped inviting analysts, stopped talk shows for a while. Moreover, they refused to carry some content, for example, the Nation refused to carry certain ads.

The Swedish Embassy called the Journalist and asked her to rally around and get the senior women editors of the papers and to report the voices of women and the impact of this on ordinary people use their pen before even the editors choose the stories. Get the

message out that 'Enough is enough!' and get ordinary women to speak on how they have suffered and how peace was paramount. The impact was immense and it was called the White Ribbon Peace Campaign and so this led the way for other women groups to rally, thus the interventionist movement (BBC Report, 2008).

Journalists across the country joined efforts to call for peace. According to the Committee for the Protection of Journalists (CPJ), a group of 40 Kenyan female journalists launched a "white ribbon" campaign to encourage peace and ethnic harmony (CPJ 2009). The study revealed the use of Peace photos in cooperation with a Newspaper joint-headline " Save Our Beloved Country" by the Print Media was a great breakthrough for much coveted peace during the Kenya 2007/2008 PEV. As Loretta Hieber points out in her article Media as Intervention, Media played a great deal in peace making in Kenya 2007/2008 PEV. For example, creation of programming for mass consumption inform of content stories, television and radio programs, songs, whereby the programs contained educating information on non-violent modes of conflict resolution, (Hieber 2002). While some sections of the media, particularly ethnic language radio stations allegedly disseminated ethnic centered information, some media houses bridged gaps between warring ethnic groups. For instance, independent radio and television used interactive shows to engage audiences in peace dialogue (Klopp,2010).

Pamoja FM, located in Kibera slum one of the main centers of the post-election unrest in Nairobi played an especially courageous role. Pamoja FM insisted on providing a voice for different communities and worked to calm conflict. Through talk show tried to reach

across ethnic barriers, and were actively curtailing calls that seem to be engaging in ethnic stereotypes and were calling for reconciliation (Bwire, 2013). In Kibera minutes before the attack of Kikuyu and Kambas, Pamoja FM radio decided to call some of the Kikuyu, Kamba and Luo elders to the studio to discuss the implications of the rumour about the attack and they allowed the callers to call in and ask questions. People listened to the elders.

Another example would be Kenya Musicians. There are several cases that were present in the Kenyan situation; first, famous Kenyan musicians from all tribes came together and released a peace song that was aired several times a day by the mainstream media houses (Shitemi, et. al, 2013). They also played powerful music and the patriotic songs were helpful. The decision to spend an entire day talking about peace was very powerful (Bwire, 2013). Ghetto FM located in Pumwani is another example. The station prides itself as, Kenya's politically-neutral station at election time (2013). During the recent (2013) Kenya's election they continuously relayed this message that, *"As a nation still trying to achieve national cohesion and integration, the 43rd tribe that is represented by Ghetto Radio is definitely what the Kenya needs in order to live as one"*. Another example is Koch FM. In response to the PEV it gathered community members to create peace messages and jingles, which they regularly played on air and also mobilized, organized, and undertook a call-for-peace procession in Korogocho and Ngomongo.

They also distributed handbills and T-shirts with peace and reconciliation messages (Bwire, 2013). The Media played its role to bring down the tensions when Media owners resolved to give a common voice. They agreed to find a common approach, common headlines, common DVDs being distributed to all Media houses that each Media house in a collective way was able to help bring down the passions. The Media finally stopped airing politicians, stopped inviting analysts, stopped talk shows for a while. Things changed a lot when NGOs came in and set up Media programs that promoted peace. The Media especially the Broadcast Media aided greatly to bring back sanity back during 2007/08 PEV in Kenya.

Spitlunik (1996) argues that radio today achieves what newspapers did in the colonial world. Drawing on Benedict Anderson's (1983) concept of "imagined communities", she writes that it creates a shared cognitive space, a community of listeners who incorporate its linguistic elements into their everyday lives in both the conscious and unconscious ways. Radio in Kenya is the simplest yet, significant medium among audiences, its casual approach and conversational style has created "celebrity status" for announcers. The news writer frames ideas and opinions by means of information selection and dissemination to audiences. News reports can therefore offer a broad picture of social reality and promote social solidarity by reinforcing national identity and shared beliefs through language choices.

In pursuit of this role, a consortium of private media owners, the Standard Group, The Nation Media Group and Royal Media Services, attempted to promote social solidarity by running a media campaign with the title ‘give us back our country’. The state-owned media did not participate in this peace initiative because it was basically a campaign of the public against the inaction of the state. By using the inclusive phrases ‘us’ and ‘our’ to represent the citizens’ voice and right to enjoy peace, the message was that ordinary Kenyans were keen to dissociate themselves from political machinations by demanding the unconditional restoration of the erstwhile peace. Nation Television, Nation Newspapers, Kenya Television Network and the Standard Newspaper carried the campaign. This lobbying for peace through the media was intended to influence the leaders to search for a peaceful agreement since the electorate who were being used as pawns in the game were communicating that they were no longer interested in violent means of resolving the election impasse.

The media peace campaign was carried in the daily newspapers and aired on prime time TV through open letters and graphic images of fireballs, dead bodies and shattered buildings. These media messages with emotional overtones were meant to appeal to the leaders’ conscience and jolt them into action. In situations of political uncertainty, the mass media are said to play a crucial role in the construction, articulation and reflection of reality where public opinion tends to become more media dependent (De Fleur and Ball- Rokeach, 1989). In the Kenyan case, the media determined the mood of the nation by running headlines that held readers on tenterhooks. For instance, on February 10,

2008, The Standard reported that the whole of the following week it would be ‘all eyes on Serena’ for the hopeful yet apprehensive Kenyans.

This implied that the media was prodding the public to focus on the news that would emerge from Serena Hotel where the Kofi Annan-led mediation talks were in progress. This media angle reinforced the notion that Kenyans had suspended their daily activities until the impasse was solved. Shinar (2003) observes that in situations of uncertainty, people turn to the media for guidance. The media become the most effective channels for acquiring information to use in making decisions about political goals. This link was apparent at the height of the election dispute in Kenya when Kibaki and Raila were petitioned, mainly by the media – including publishing open letters to set aside their differences and meet for the sake of peace. A sustained media campaign that Kenya was ‘on the brink of war’ ensured that the antagonistic parties engaged in self-examination and backed down from the initial explosive stands.

Kenya Media was given a role in voicing messages of reconciliation, especially their response to the formation of the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation Team (KNDRT) in February 2008. This team was mandated to find an end to the violence, formulate the power sharing agreement, initiate a framework for national healing and reconciliation and establish ways of redressing the disputed election results. In one of the first calls for reconciliation and negotiation, an editor asked Kibaki and Raila: ‘How

many more must die, how much more must be destroyed before you come to your senses?’ (Daily Nation, January 3, 2008).

This portrayed a media that demonstrated social responsibility by directly questioning the moral probity of the leading antagonists. It followed the realization that the media could not simply remain objective and highlight the conflict without contributing to attempts at resolving it. Consequently, media owners, in conjunction with the Concerned Citizens for Peace, changed tack and began a programme of peace education.

This demonstrated a humane and patriotic, as opposed to an objective but aloof, media. They realized that focusing on the blame game in the face of a humanitarian catastrophe could only promote hatred and vengeance and prolong the conflict. As the KNDRT team got to work, the press portrayed the peace and reconciliation process as very delicate by propagating phrases like ‘the stakes are high’, ‘the world is watching’, and that it was ‘a race against time’ (Sunday Standard, February 3, 2008). The gesture of peace and reconciliation imminent in the handshake by Kibaki and Raila on February 1, 2008 was expected to neutralize the preceding period of fierce media and public outrage over how the government had failed to manage the conflict.

It is in this second phase of Media coverage of the post-election violence that we see the Media tone down its language that seemed to escalate the violence, and focus more on

communicating messages that sought to promote reconciliation and peace. Of interest is how the media articulated their role in the post-conflict setting. A report in the Sunday Standard highlighted the fact that the Media were required to show leadership in areas of dialogue, national cohesion and reconciliation (Okello, 2009). According to Okello, the Media ought to highlight messages that promoted unity and patriotism rather than hype disagreements that drove citizens to the abyss of deeper conflict.

Similarly, Bratic (2005) argues that in order to work for the public good, the media should convey messages in forms that contribute to the formation of positive attitudes and opinions and to the increase of knowledge and awareness. He concludes that the journalistic agenda of social responsibility could facilitate the agenda of peace building. The media in Kenya has on various occasions indulged directly in national crises by creating public sentiment. For instance, the Daily Nation of January 3, 2008 addressed Kibaki and Raila in an editorial and told them that: ‘the earnest cry of all Kenyans is: step back from the brink’. In another report, The Standard incited the public sentiment by telling Kenyans to shun politicians who would flee the country by plane if a full-scale war broke out. Therefore, in times of public repression, the media reflects public sentiment by being the mouthpiece of the masses. However, in times of normalcy, the media can whip up emotions by their reports of investigative journalists. Bratic (2005), opines that, since the need for information is increased by uncertainty in conflict situations, the power of the media as the main agenda setter increases, in part due to its power to summarize overarching developments in the conflict.

The media should be arbiters in conflict rather than catalysts. Tehranian (1993), envisages that new cultural forces, including responsible Mass Media, peace discourse and peace journalism, are essential for achieving a transition to a peace culture. Similarly, Bratic (2005) suggests that the media should represent all sides and opinions in a conflict and post-conflict situation since this promotes the potential for reconciliation and acceptance of a diversity of ideas.

The question of whether to offer amnesty to suspects of the postelection violence or to prosecute them featured as a barometer of commitment to reconciliation. ODM reportedly called for the unconditional release of their arrested supporters, regardless of the seriousness of the charges that faced them, arguing that this would lead to peace and reconciliation. As one reporter toned down the issue, ‘the question of war crimes does not arise in our case because there was neither war nor a war situation (Mwalulu, 2009). However, PNU responded by telling the press that there would be no blanket amnesty without trial and prosecution to punish the real offenders. Here, there was a subtle negotiation through the Media between PNU and ODM, using the violence suspects as the bait. The Media promoted the view that since ODM had recognized Kibaki as the president for the sake of peace, the ODM youths should have been released unconditionally from remand in exchange for the ODM peace gesture.

The self-righteousness exhibited by both PNU and ODM on the issue of how to deal with perpetrators of the violence and the subsequent scuttling of the amnesty debate confirms the contention by Haugerud (1995) states that official rhetoric is a strategic balance between coercion and persuasion. ODM has both coerced and persuaded the government to release the ODM youths unconditionally. The media reaction to the amnesty debate as a plank in the reconciliation efforts was nonchalant since they reduced the issue simply to 'the amnesty debate'. The implication here is that political debate is usually a battle of wits and the more convincing and wily debater often wins on the basis of conviction, regardless of the truth of the matter.

The media portrayed Raila as pro-peace and concluded that he had conceded too much while the PNU camp was increasingly painted as content with coalescing executive power around Kibaki. Raila struck a conciliatory tone. He told the press that ODM was committed to the success of the negotiation talks and 'were doing all to ensure that the ground was stable for talks and that Kibaki also ought to have approached mediation in good faith' (Sunday Standard, February 3, 2008).

This second phase of post-conflict reportage could be called the Operation Karibu Nyumbani (Operation Welcome Back Home) phase. Here, IDPs were presented for acceptance through peace rallies and voluntary reintegration by their neighbors. Indeed, the National Dialogue and Reconciliation statement signed by the ODM and PNU

negotiators on February 1 states in paragraph 3 (1) that: ‘The final goal of the dialogue is to achieve sustainable peace, stability and justice through the rule of law and respect for human rights’. Aside from all this, the media supported the process of initiating mediation efforts between Odinga’s ODM and Kibaki’s PNU by calling for imperative settlement of the crisis in their editorials and commentaries. The mainstream media provided live coverage of the signing of the power sharing pact by President Kibaki and Prime Minister Odinga.

Since then, the media have monitored and highlighted the negotiations of Agenda 4 (for long term issues) and monitored the implementation of the Independent Review Commission, the Independent Inquiry into Post-Election Violence, the Comprehensive Constitutional Review and the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission. The signing of a peace agreement or any other event that marks the official end of war, signals the beginning of post-conflict reconstruction (Anderlini and El-Bushra, 2009). According to the former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, post-conflict reconstruction refers to “ the comprehensive efforts to identify and support structures which will tend to consolidate peace and advance a sense of confidence and well-being among people” (Burke, 2010). 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 Koffi 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. Regional and international actors were quick to respond. The international community backed an African Union (AU) Panel of Eminent African Personalities mediation process, chaired by former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan.

Fifteen bilateral donors adopted a “business not as usual” stance with the Kenyan government until a political settlement was reached, which included threats of aid cuts as well as travel bans and targeted sanctions on elites who were thwarting the mediation.

After nearly 40 days of mediation, the violence finally ended on February 28 with the signing of an “Agreement on the Principles of Partnership of the Coalition Government.” The two parties agreed to end the violence, address the humanitarian situation, and resolve the political crisis through the passage of a National Accord and Reconciliation Act (2008), which created a Government of National Unity in which Kibaki remained President and Odinga assumed a new position of Prime Minister.

The parties also agreed to examine the long-term underlying drivers of the conflict under Agenda 4 of the National Accord and establish an Independent Review Commission on the 2007 Elections (the Kriegler Commission) and a Commission of Inquiry into Post-Election Violence (the Waki Commission), and a Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission.¹⁸ The Government of National Unity was formed in mid-April, and in July an Implementation Framework for addressing these underlying drivers was established.

The period of negotiated peace was short-lived. Despite the passing of the National Accord and Reconciliation Act, further conflict was reported over delayed naming of the cabinet. This threatened to reverse the gains of the truce as reflected in an opinion editorial, headlined: ‘It is time to put an end to the madness and demand our country back’, published in the Daily Nation of April 11, 2008. This was a candid wake up call to the Kenyans to take charge of the peace process and the destiny of their country and not over-rely on the political class for all the answers.

Oriang (2008), wrote that Kenyans needed peace and quiet to search their souls and come up with a new way of co-existing because the principals (Kibaki and Raila) appeared unable to put an end to the nonsense. Here, Oriang’ was requesting Kenyans to make peace and to forget how politicians had misused them. It is also instructive that when the coalition cabinet was formed, the Daily Nation of April 14, 2008 set the national sense of accomplishment with their headline: ‘Cabinet for Peace’. This portrayed that there were no options except to form an all-inclusive cabinet that catered for all regional, ethnic and

political party interests. The media conceded that though bloated and expensive, at least all conflicting interests were taken aboard in an attempt to pacify all.

A report by Buri (2008) introduced the concept of ‘homing’ as an idea that pinpointed the missing link in the resettlement and peace campaigns at the community level. Buri contends that homing heightens peace and reconciliation and confirms that operation Rudi Nyumbani would not be as easy as the government presented it. It is about having a mechanism in place to ensure that the communities where the IDPs were returning to understand the need to accept them back as fellow Kenyans who may be different, based on ethnic identity, but shared one national identity as Kenyans. Buri proposes that, for national healing, there should be repentance of our active and passive participation in the sacrifice of innocent blood at the altar of our political ambitions and greed for control.

He further points out that ‘resettlement is more than simply telling the people to pack and go back to their lands, and homing entails reinstatement that would bring the people as close as possible to the pre-election state. The report by Buri implied that by building transitional camps and supplying building materials, the government was simply housing rather than homing the returnees.

This means that resettlement was more than identifying a piece of land and dumping the landless there to eke out their survival. It is about the role of the larger society in

reconciliation and healing. Another voice of reconciliation was seen in an article by Okanga (2005), that posed the question: 'The differences that divided us are long gone, so why is so little progress being made in reconciling Kenyans?' This alluded to the complacency that was setting in due to the perceived calm in the country. It was also reported that leaders had become insensitive to the needs of the refugees they helped create and that 'they have gone on with their lives as if nothing happened' (Orwa 2008). These reports suggested that the leaders were the real obstacles to the peace and reconciliation process. The media propagated the notion that leadership and a sustained peace agenda at the national level were lacking.

Summarily, the media can become a preponderant societal force in building environments that can counter the aggression and escalation inherent in practices of violence and conflictive situations. Media programs interventions therefore would focus to equip communities, with tools to make informed decisions in terms of crisis and importantly discriminate between hateful messages and good messages. As noted by Kogen & Sheth (2012), this is an essential component of peace-building programs. Due to poorly structured media interventions, no matter how well-crafted may aggravate tensions and consequently undermine peace-building efforts.

2.2. Social Media and Peace Building

Albeit there is no specific body of literature on sending messages to change attitude and behaviors, there is a wide range of literature that covers interventions to address conflict.

Disturbingly, literature focusing in social media per se on peace-building is fragmentary. Kaplan and Haenlein (2010), defines social media as a group of internet based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of the web and that allow the creation and exchange of user-generated content. The content might include text, video, images, podcasts and other multimedia communications. The most prominent examples of social media include, Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, Reddit, Google + Googletalk, Yahoochat, Skype, WhatsApp.

Social media refers to the means of interaction among people in which they create share and or exchange information ideas in virtual communities or networks using technology based applications. Facebook is a popular free social networking website that allows registered users to create profiles, upload photos and video, send messages and keep in touch with friends, family and colleagues. Twitter is a free micro blogging service that allows registered members to broadcast posts called tweets. Twitter is a free micro blogging service that allows registered members to broadcast posts called tweets. Twitter is the first people's broadcast media said Douglas Rushkoff, author and media theorists, (Morozov 2011). Twitter members can broadcast tweets and follow other user's tweets by using multiple platforms and devices. Wikipedia is a free, open content encyclopedia created through the collaborative effort of a community called the Wikipedians.

Anyone registered on the site can create an article for publication. Registration is not required to edit articles. Furthermore, social media depends on mobile and web-based technologies to create highly interactive platforms through which individuals and communities share co-create discuss and modify user generated content. It introduces substantial and persuasive changes to communication between organizations communities and individuals. It is argued that social media has introduced positive effects such as allowing the democratization of the internet while also allowing individuals to advertise and form friendship.

Facebook and twitter have enabled users to collaborate on issues they feel strongly about. However, it is very difficult to verify the authenticity and accuracy of Internet reports, including visual materials. Audiences may not know who, when, where, and under what circumstances a particular photo or video clip was taken, (Morozov 2011). In the Global arena, while the exact significance of the new media “revolution” for peace-building is still hard to pin down, the use of social networking sites Facebook and Twitter to organize protests in Colombia, Iran and Egypt, and the use of text messages for activist mapping by the Ushahidi website during the post-election violence in Kenya, are promising examples of the possibilities. The greatest potential of social media is their ability to make media peace-building interventions more participatory. Dialogue is the first step in creating the sense that disputes should be settled through negotiation rather than violence. Radio phone-in shows are ideally suited to spur this dialogue within the safety of anonymity (Adam and Schoemaker, 2010).

In 2010, mobile phone companies reported a sharp incline in the number of transmitter towers destroyed by insurgents (Adam and Schoemaker, 2010). International Media Support (IMS) urges that media coverage of tribal or ethnic violence purposely avoid blame and accusation, or unnamed sources without explanation of why attribution was deleted. IMS manuals advise newsroom diversity and a newsroom culture that can identify hate speech, gender discrimination, and xenophobia (Howard, 2008).

Yet the media is a ‘double-edged sword’ (Howard et al., 2003). Its other edge the ability to reconcile communities after civil conflict and contribute to peace building has, however, been less widely recognized. Few organizations working in conflict zones have adopted media interventions as part of their peace-building efforts. International Media Support (IMS) urges that media coverage of tribal or ethnic violence purposely avoid blame and accusation, or unnamed a newsroom culture that can identify hate speech, gender discrimination, and xenophobia (Howard, 2008).

In Africa for example, for many years’ political violence upheavals, nuclear proliferation and international terrorism have posed the biggest threats to the nation state. We are now in an era in which the internet has been added to that arsenal. Where millions of finger plucking and poking at touch screen phones, a logging in posting, can bring down a government as they did in Egypt declares, Countemanche (2011). “I’ve always said that

if you want to liberate a society just give them the internet” said Wael Ghonim a Google executive and the administrator of Facebook page, Ghannam, (2010).

With shared awareness comes the collective strength of the crowd young activists in Egypt as in nearby Tunisia and elsewhere in the region, were able to use their access to new social media tools to publicize demands, call demonstrations and win support from broader sectors of the population affirms, Harsch (2011). The social media tools gave Hosni Mubarak’s opponents unprecedented ability to share information and organize their activities including the massive protests which riveted the world attention asserts, Tapscott (2011). As hundreds of thousands Egyptians in Cairo’s Tahrir square celebrated the resignation of President Hosni Mubarak on 11th February 2011, some wielded signs proclaiming “Thank you Facebook” (Harsch 2011).

In Tunisia, Bouazizi’s suicide tragically brought to light many of the long standing problem, Tunisia’s youth now face government cronyism, corruption restriction of civil right and unemployment rate of 30% claims (Wambugu (2011).With these problems on their mind angry Tunisian’s used twitter to organize their protest and inform the outside world of their activities (Tapscott, 2011).

These protests which were largely organized by the apparent leaderless online activists, asked people to stand up, showing the world that they are not a cowardly submissive people declares (Wambugu 2011). The swift and unexpected overthrow of 23-year-old

regime in Tunisia and the mass unrest in Egypt have sparked debate on how far social media networks can challenge governments around the world, (Wambugu, 2011). Hosni Mubarak's government tried to stifle the protests by shutting off internet indefinitely, after the demonstrations in Libya started up.

Internet access and cell phone services had severely deteriorated however shutting down internet backfired for these governments as people went on with the protests and they even got more intensified. When people had their tools of communication such as Twitter and Facebook taken away from them, they had no choice but to come to the street and communicate, state (Tapscott, 2011). In Egypt for instance, when the last internet operator in the country was ordered to shut down all services. Google and Twitter joined together to establish three mobile numbers for people to call and record tweets as voice messages. These voice messages were then made available to users. They could listen to the tweets instead of reading them. The new audio tweets instantly gave the content a more personal feel as users could hear the voices of the tweeter and the surrounding background sounds. Google's blog referred to this project as the new weapon against repression. The swift and unexpected overthrow of Zine El Abidine Ben Ali's 23-year-old regime in Tunisia and the mass unrest in Egypt have sparked debate on how far social media networks can challenge governments around the world" (Wambugu 2011). Soon after, Egypt followed suit. Inspired by Tunisia, Egyptian activists called protests against their own government on 25th January.

The protests mushroomed across the country (Harsch, 2011). Hosni Mubarak's departure from power after three decades of rule showed that the power of social media sites and mobile phone technology proved a far bigger threat to The Former Egyptian president (Ghannam 2011). Now that the world has seen the strength of social media, specifically Facebook and Twitter, when used by angry, disgruntled civilians, many are left wondering who will be next.

No discussion of the use of media in peace building is complete without mention of the opportunities that the advance of new media, particularly mobile phone technology and the internet, offer. When the Taliban government was overthrown in 2001, the telephone network in Afghanistan was virtually non-existent.

In Kenya situation, in March 2010 there were a little over two million Facebook accounts according to the Communication Council of Kenya CCK (Wambugu (2011)). This accounts for about 5 percent of the entire population. These numbers are much large now with more and more Kenyans joining Facebook. A great majority of those on social media are the youth. The reason for their popularity has been attributed to the easy access from cell phones. There is a Short Message Service SMS to Facebook for instance, that sends a text to the users on every time something happens on Facebook. More importantly there is an application called Facebook zero, a text only free version of Facebook launched in 2010 in collaboration with mobile providers. This has brought Facebook to a larger number of people who prior did not have accounts. In addition to those who access social media websites on their phone there are those who are computer

literate. According to a 2008 Consumer Insight Limited study, 74 percent of the population in Nairobi had used a computer at least once in their lives (CIL ,2008). Synovate on other hand has estimated that in 2009, 30 percent of the Kenyan urban population used the internet weekly (ITU, 2010). As a rule, all who use the internet regularly also have a Facebook account or have accounts on other social media platforms. Twitter is a social network site much like Facebook. Tweets, which are twitter messages, are text based with a maximum of 140 characters long.

Unlike Facebook messages which can contain photos or videos. These messages are posted on the user's profile page and read by followers, not friends as on Facebook. While Facebook has a limit of 5000 friends for every member, there are no such limits on followers on Twitter.

According to Goldstein and Rotich (2009), Kenya has perhaps the richest blogging tradition in sub-Saharan Africa, which made their use even more effective and readily available during the election. Kenyan bloggers became a critical part of the information flow in the country, starting from the three-day ban on live broadcasts, when it is reported that the web traffic from within Kenya shot through the roof. The influence grew further when radio broadcasters began to read entries from influential bloggers over the airwaves, helping them reach not 5 per cent, but 95 per cent of the Kenya population. Social media is considered to contribute to government accountability, human rights activism, the development of civil society and practices of citizenship. In terms of

accountability and transparency, it is increasingly difficult for governments to hide or manipulate information or to act inconsistently with citizen concerns. The use of mobile phones and the Internet, for example, allow for news of any inappropriate government actions to quickly reach the public and to be challenged.

Kenya's post-election violence demonstrated the effects that new technology can have. Despite a history of violence associated with elections, these were the first elections where mobile phones and access to vernacular radio stations were widely available. Mobile phones and media (including social media) can play the roles of mirroring events and providing an important opportunity for reflection and insight into political dynamics. They can analyze the level of dialogue, the polarization, and progress towards reconciliation, including possible avenues for the peaceful resolution of disputes. In these cases, the media, internet and mobile phones acted as enablers providing a positive role in mediating divergent perspectives, and creating a national vision of reconciliation; a space for dialogue that helped to reduce polarization and supported transitional justice processes.

Shortly after Kibaki was proclaimed winner on December 30th, 2007, the Kenyan internal security minister John Michuki announced the ban of live broadcast, (The Standard 2007). During the onset of the 2007/2008 election violence, the government imposed a media black-out where all broadcasting stations were shut down both the national and international community had no way of knowing what was happening in the

country. During the media black-out, online networks proved to be the next best option to some Kenyans. This saw the creation of political blogs whereby bloggers wrote on what was going on wherever they were and asked readers to e-mail or post comments with details about incidences they witnessed.

In view of the foregoing, various social media platforms Sisi Ni Amani, which is Kiswahili for 'We are peace,' is a grassroots peace building program that links local NGOs in Kenya to support peace efforts at the local level. While *Sisi Ni Amani* has programs that are not technology-focused, one of their core projects is a SMS text message subscriber service that provides information about leadership, local news, and provides a neutral source for information during tense periods such as elections (*Sisi Ni Amani*, 2013). However, as posited by Martin-Shields (2013), the impact as well as the import of this subscriber service is not clear, it is blurred and narrow-based. This effort is in direct reaction to the violence in 2007/8, which was facilitated in part by mobile phone communication; Sisi Ni Amani is making an effort to take the same medium and use it to project political information, and knowledge about peace building fostering. Sisi Ni Amani currently runs mobile phone SMS programs across Kenya, and works with national networks such as the National Steering Committee on Peace building and Conflict (NSC) to increase the reach of their programming to as many communities as possible (Okuthe, 2013). Documenting the efforts of Sisi Ni Amani-Kenya to engage with citizens around the country through local networks, the film reminds us that innovation and technology, in the hands of committed individuals, can make a positive difference.

The Kenyan activists featured in the documentary focus on the importance of “living democracy every day”, as opposed to seeing democracy as solely the act of casting a vote. Mobile phones alone and other technologies are not a panacea but rather tools by which to address these issues. “Peace in Our Pockets” is a striking successful example of this synergy. Amani Kenya @108 operates differently from Sisi Ni Amani’s mobile phone SMS information sharing since it is rather a data collection and management program.

It is part of the Uwiano Platform for Peace comprehensive peace architecture, which encourages information sharing between government, international, and NGO actors in Kenya who are working to prevent violence (Chuma and Ojielo, 2012). Another social media platform is known as *Ushahidi* meaning ‘witness’ in Swahili. The *Ushahidi* platform was developed as a rapid prototype model that enabled individuals to submit reports via SMS or e-mail detailing acts of violence and trouble spots. A Kenyan could send an incident report with location details to a short code number (Cullum 2011). The text or e-mail could be rerouted through frontline SMS, a free software that turns a laptop and a mobile phone or modem into a central communications hub . The functionalities and affordances of the program, made it a very efficient means of spreading information among the population about forthcoming actions and demonstrations. The program enabled users to send and receive text messages with large groups of people through mobile phones. It did not require an Internet connection, and worked with existing plans on all GSM phones, modems and networks, and synched with the *Ushahidi* platform.

The message would then be received by an administrator who would verify the information with the original sender. If the report proved credible, it would be uploaded onto Google Maps in as close to real time as possible. This we see as evidence of the capability of digital networks enabling social processes such as in this case information cascades whereby people are seen to make decisions sequentially, observe others' decisions, draw rational inferences from these decisions and imitate them or share them on the basis of their inference (Cullum (2011)).

The creation of the *Ushahidi* network structure, was seen as conducive to information which cascaded because users could easily observe what their connections did, make inferences and decisions on the basis of these observations which in turn were propagated further along the network (Enjolras, Steen-Johnsen, and Wollebæk 2012). The citizen voices online may not have been as loud as those people marching in the streets, but the online communities expanded the democratic space and allowed people to share their opinions, (Banda 2010). The use of *Ushahidi* was successful in drawing local and international attention on what was going on in Kenya as well as filling in the gap that was left by the silenced media stations, Cullum (2011). In this case we can see the powerful achievement of social media in having the capacity to link people within a digital network and in bridging the local and global enabling social processes where individual behaviors are aggregated to produce collective outcomes. *Ushahidi* may have been the most powerful crowd-sourcing tool born out of a crisis but the influence of social media and citizen journalists has grown in East Africa.

The most common cited benefit use of social media has been its ability to lower the costs of mobilization and participation. Information and communication technologies such as *Ushahidi* reduce costs associated with publishing and accessing information and facilitate communication and coordination across distances. This, in turn, reduces the transaction costs for organizing collective action and the costs of participation. The *Ushahidi* platform significantly reduced the costs of participation in a human rights campaign with the sole requirement being a mobile phone signal (Haider, 2011).

The *Ushahidi.com*'s code, which is open source, has since been shared and in May 2008 it was shared with a group in South Africa that used it to map incidents of xenophobic violence. The deployment was considered rudimentary and made the founders realize the need to rebuild the framework from the ground up.

Since then, *Ushahidi.com* has released several versions of the software, which has since been deployed in the Democratic Republic of Congo, India, Kenya, Philippines, Pakistan and by major media houses – including Al Jazeera and The Washington Post (Banda, 2010). In a study conducted by Mäkinen & Kuira, social media generated an alternative public sphere, which widened the perspectives about the crisis and enabled new kinds of citizen participation in discussing the situation. The crisis also showed the significance of the social media as a horizontal form for information sharing. The social media offered narratives by citizen reporters and digital activists that were more diverse than the views presented in the mainstream media and represented grassroots reactions during the crisis.

While the international media only scratched the surface of what was happening, and the traditional media partly resigned to censorship due to fears of repression, the social media offered swifter, more subjective, and more detailed coverage during a fast moving and changing situation this in turn resulted into the main stream media relying on social media sites for information as they quickly gained confidence from the general public (Mäkinen and Kuira, 2008).

In Kenya, as in the rest of Africa, SMS is the most widely used digital application. The leading Kenyan online community, Mashada, during the elections period became overwhelmed with divisive and hostile messages. By the end of January 2008, the moderators decided to shut down the site, recognizing that civil discourse was rapidly becoming impossible. However, a few days later Mashada's site administrator David Kobia launched 'I Have No Tribe', a site explicitly centered on constructive dialogue among Kenyans. The Mashada site was then redirected to the new site of which it rapidly filled with comments, (Goldstein and Rotich, 2007).

This was a period that accelerated the development of the Kenya blogosphere and blogs were suddenly a critical source for Kenyans in Nairobi and the diaspora. Rumors that were spread via text message were dispelled via an online dialogue that took place on blogs and in the comments section of blogs. Kenyan bloggers became a critical part of the national conversation, starting during the three-day ban on live broadcasts, when the web traffic from within Kenya shot through the roof. The influence ballooned further when

radio broadcasters began to read influential bloggers over the airwaves, helping them reach not 5 percent, but 95 percent of the Kenya population . Given the news blackout, many Kenyans also turned to other means of getting and relaying information. One such means was the use of short messages services (SMS) from mobile phones. There were some inspiring examples of using mobile devices as social media tools in Kenya’s crisis. One such example is Voices of Africa, a concept of mobile reporters, which was also practiced in time of violence in Kenya (Wambugu (2011)).

These local reporters used mobile phones and a portable keyboard to write, take photos, short videos, and also to publish their reports online. The project covered the electoral process from the preparations to the post-election violence and riots. In situations of crisis when the mainstream media suffer restrictions and do not cover many events and grassroots opinions, new social media offer opportunities for a diversity of voices to be heard and connect with each other. Rather than speaking for Kenyan people affected the situation, we could point to the several ways people raise their voices and make stories more nuanced.

“Peace in Our Pockets,” is a documentary directed by Kenny Dalsheimer and produced by The Groove Productions, runs 55 minutes. “Peace in Our Pockets” takes the viewer from the tragedy of Kenya’s 2007 post-elections and culminates on the day of the 2013 national elections. When the violence erupted, the leading mobile service providers, Safaricom and Celtel, allowed providers to send messages of peace and unity provided by the service providers themselves. This was after the then Chief Executive Officer (CEO)

of Safaricom, Michael Joseph, convinced the government not to shut down the SMS. During this time, Safaricom and Celtel called upon citizens to shun violence and keep the peace (Munyua, 2011). Because of the lack of clarification and law of what constitutes as hate speech, when it comes to SMS and online broadcast content, little was done to manage what was put out for public consumption.

People used mobile phones to communicate and circumvent the media blackout. SMS messages were used to share news and feelings, but the ability to send mass SMS had been disabled by the government to prevent people from sending what it deemed to be “provocative messages.” Much of critic of social media has been that it has decreased face-to-face interactions, there have been issues of trustworthiness and reliability of information presented, concentration, ownership of media content, and the meaning of interactions created by social media. Although empirical evidence is thin, there is positive anecdotal evidence that social media can contribute to peace building by improving knowledge for conflict prevention and increasing contact and understanding between opposing groups (Oatley and Gagliardone, 2011).

2.3 Challenges and Opportunities of the Media in Promoting and Enhancing Peace-Building

Peace-building calls for strategic networking because different players play critical role during post conflict. However, Maluki (2014) avers, his assertion falls shorts of describing challenges and prescriptive prospects of peace-building that emanate from

media's role in the whole gamut of peace-building. While the media can play central role in promoting peace by using various techniques, they are facing some challenges to do so, and even sometimes, they are playing destructive roles in the peace building process. Looking into the global view, these challenges are described differently. For example, Shoemaker and Reese (1996), outlines the challenges in five hierarchical levels such as individual level, media routines level, organization level, extra media level, and ideological level.

These are internal and external to the journalists/ media. For example, the interest of the journalists towards peace promoting issues and conflict issues are quite different. It is a mere fact that some journalists are hungry to report about conflicts than peace process.

It is because conflicts and clashes are largely appealing issues in the news selection criteria to the journalists worldwide (Garrison 1992, Galtung and Ruge2001, and Fair 2000) and these issues are by themselves attract the attention of both the media and the public. Wolfsfeld (2004) also indicated the news media are attracted to war and conflict, while peace processes make for paltry news footage. In addition to the hungry appetites of the journalists towards conflicts, the media people not only give lesser attention to the peace initiatives but also do not consider that peace building is as parts of their responsibilities. They considered that the peace building obligation is given for somebody else.

However, as stated by Lynch and McGoldrick (2005), it is the responsibility of the journalists to create the society to consider and value non-violence response to the conflict. This is not an external goal that imposed on journalism from outside; rather it is the obligation of the media to create the opportunities results directly from the role assigned to journalism in democratic societies.

2.3.1 Challenges Faced by the Media in Peace-Building

Looking into global view, Wolfsfeld (2004) argues that, Media researchers tend to concentrate on analyses of conflicts, rather than peace processes which remain hidden or even subtle. In his accounts on Peace Journalism, Galtung (1998) exemplifies difficulties in reporting peace processes and argues that peace and news make strange bedfellows news covers events, not processes. This approach to peace news is problematic. It presents the public with an extremely narrow and simplistic view of inherent conflicts and does not offer possible cues for stakeholders to promote long-term policies.

A similar struggle to find ways of framing peace discourses in the Media was experienced after the post-2007 crisis. In this light, Robert Karl Manoff argues that independent media have an almost inherent capability to contribute to conflict resolution and peace-building. He points out that the basic functions of media are the same as those involved in conflict-resolution processes: channeling communication to counter misperceptions; framing and analyzing conflict; identifying interests; defusing mistrust and providing emotional outlets (Manoff, 1998).

Media plays a very important role in society. It constitutes a space in which the conflicts that arise in society can be articulated and are inevitably in themselves actors in that conflict. This is succinctly explained by Mahatma Gandhi, who said that: One of the objects of a newspaper is to understand the popular feeling and give expression to it; another is to arouse among the people certain desirable sentiments; the third is fearlessly to expose popular defects (Gandhi, as cited in World Development Report 2002).

Nonetheless, the use of media as a peace-building tool is still controversial. The vast majority of the peace-building literature blatantly omits the role of the media Call and Wyeth, 2008; Roeder and Rothchild, 2005; Paris, 2004; Otunnu and Doyle, 1998; Miall et al., (2005) and this trend is also visible in policymaking: The Dayton Accords, which ended the Bosnian war, did not include any media intervention plan, and the Millennium Development Goals make no mention of the importance of independent local media.

There are two reasons for this ‘apparent blindness’ (Howard et al., 2003) to use media in peace-building. The first is that politicians, the military and aid organizations often perceive the media as a threat (Adam and Holguin, 2003). The second reason is that journalists themselves are uncomfortable with their role as peace-builders. This function is perceived to be incompatible with the basic journalistic principle of objectivity, which dictates that the media should merely report, and not play any part in a conflict. Diverting from the objectivity principle may cause the media to lose their credibility, and thus their “market value” (Bourdieu, 1996). A new school of journalism thus argues that the media

have a moral responsibility to report in a manner that does not champion warfare, but promotes peace (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2007).

This “peace journalism” is, however, not the only way in which the media can contribute to peace-building. The media can also be used in a more pro-active manner to promote the aforementioned cognitive, attitudinal and behavioral changes in society. These programs are distinct from news reporting or peace journalism and dubbed “intended outcome” journalism.

Whilst not dismissing the importance of peace journalism, this essay will focus on the intended outcome media interventions, as their success in peace-building has been more robustly demonstrated. In Africa, one of the challenges faced by the Media in Peace Building is that, there are instances where Media has been viewed as an Instigator/ Propeller of Violence. There is a lot of mistrust to the positive role played by the Media in peace building especially when reporting on conflict in times of crisis. This is because they are always viewed as an Instigator/ Propeller of Violence. There are two reasons for this ‘apparent blindness’ (Howard *et al.*, 2003) to use media in peace building. The first is that politicians, the military and aid organizations often perceive the media as a threat (Adam and Holguin, 2003). Similar characteristics are portrayed in coverage of the Darfur conflict in Southern Sudan. Since 2003, local (Arab media) has passively dealt with atrocities committed in Sudan. The conflict in Darfur has been framed as an “Arab

war”, a line quickly adopted in by the local media. This kind of reporting is vague and only worsens the conflicts. Mcquail (2005) states that it seems that whenever the stability of society is disturbed by crime, war, economic malaise or some moral panic the mass media are given some of the responsibility. Media are a powerful communication tool that can be used for a lot of good but also can be used to cause a lot of harm.

In volatile political environments, the media are used as a communication tool. How it is used as a communication tool is sometimes left in the hands media houses. Unfortunately, not all roles the media plays in conflicts are positive. Depending on how volatile and/or fragile a community is at the time of conflict, media can fuel conflict (Mbeke, 2009). This is a *sin-qua-non* (without-which-not (necessity)) in any media discourse. A popular maxim has it that “he who pays the piper, dictates the tune”. So the Media organizations have to dance to the tunes of their owners and work according to their dictates. The motives of the owner of a media have to be reflected in news reportage, if a Media worker wants to stay in business. The ideals and views of the owner must not be tampered with and most times, truthful and accurate reportage is abandoned for the owner’s selfish ends. Objectivity and fairness in this case is sacrificed at the altar of biased reporting. On the other hand, the peace-building role is usually hampered by the media economy.

If the media institute is profit oriented, then, the journalists have to write stories that can be sold as a commodity and generate profit. It is common that conflict stories can get

better market and they have the value of their commodity, (Tumber, 2009). In addition to the media owners and the interest of the media, the external factors like advertisers' interests are becoming contributing factor in the story selection and production. The Challenge is due to that, the space and time that are allocated to cover conflict and peace are not equal. By its nature, peace process and peace building are not as dramatic as conflict, (Wolfsfeld, 2004).

It means, the drama part of the stories has great impact for the income of the business-oriented media. It is because the commercial media are profit oriented, and the peace process, does not likely produce profit. Most the media are totally dependent on the incomes from the advertisements and other related financial sources. In the case of conflict, it is becoming problematic to cover the issues in a fair and neutral ways, when the media is focusing only profit. The government should also be strict on issuance of license or veto media ownership. This will mitigate media ownership by the media by politicians who end up using the media for their political interest that harm the public.

Security itself is a main threat to Media roles in peace building. Journalist themselves are not sure of the protection of their lives and so are afraid to venture into places of crisis where they feel their life will be put to question. They therefore do not achieve in-depth reportage in situations that threaten peace and security (Nwolise, 2010). It is a pity that most security agents are still hostile to journalists in this democratic era. They still assault them at various instances; seize their practice equipment and even publications, close

media houses for no explainable reason. Many media workers have also been known to be incarcerated, beaten, and ultimately lost their lives on the coverage of crisis situations on at large. These are however the hazards of the profession.

Some of the challenges experience by the Media in peace building is their personal security while reporting a crisis. Africa's leadership has to be held to account when it comes to peace. Issues of harassment, hostility from authorities and governments in African states have aided in the disappearance of peace. Security, government interference and dictatorship may destabilize peace building by the Media.

Censorship, bad laws, poor leadership and lack of legislative framework directly backing peace and absence of proper policies all contribute to make the work of journalists doubly difficult (Nairobi Peace Initiative,2006). In a democratic electioneering process, rivaling politicians must enjoy their freedom of media campaign exposure as they try to lure voters. Failure to exercising this freedom then their ideologies will not be heard. In some cases, undemocratic the ruling political can inhibit directly or indirectly the avenues for this free expression by rival parties (Rutherford, 1994). Having noted the importance of exposure, politicians or government officials must appreciate and respect the media as they perform this function indiscriminately. So for a larger degree of satisfaction with the election process, the government/politicians and the media must have rules that govern them as well as measures in place to counter any attempts to bar their respective

freedoms. These rules must be availed to both the government and the media as well as respected and adhered to.

Regionally, history records occasions where the media has been used as a destructive weapon to fundamental human rights and violence. Rwanda's Radio Television Libre des Milles Collines (RTLM), urged listeners "to kill Tutsis" or what it called „the cockroaches“ (Des Forges, 1999). In the case of Rwanda, the Media was also used to guide the perpetrators of the genocide towards their victims. The media may also incite violence through manipulative, negative presentation of facts that create the impression that the situation is worsening. This type of reporting more often than not provides a justification for people or groups to take decisive action, including violence Frohardt & Temin, (2003).

By instigating a genocide campaign, the Media turned into a dangerous weapon. Its international counterpart failed to monitor escalating killings and rather pictured the crisis as a civil strife between the Tutsi and Hutus (Chaon, 2007). Also an example would be the use of local language radio stations during the 2007/8 Kenyan PEV. In Kenya situation, these stations targeted their local tribesmen and transmitted messages of hatred and disunity that propelled the PEV. These stations used dissociative terminologies such as foreigners and fishermen while referring to other referring to members of rival tribes. This resulted in the eliciting of feelings of animosity and hatred amongst Kenyans countrywide and thus fueled the PEV (Mbeke, 2009).

These examples highlight the precarious role of the media in vulnerable societies. In such circumstances the Media can be viewed as “a double edged sword”. They can be weapons of war and conflict or can uphold prospects for peace. In the hands of totalitarian interests, the media can be a dangerous device. It can be used to spread misinformation and manipulate public sentiments.

Researchers Mbeke (2008); Somerville (2010); Ismail & Deane (2008) endeavored to explain reasons behind the Kenya 2007/8 crisis. Their work highlights ethnic tensions and shortcomings in Media management, as reasons to why the Media in Kenya is losing its credibility. The challenges faced by the Kenyan Media in promoting and enhancing peace building is that, there has been criticism within Kenya of the way in which some parts of the International media covered the crisis.

These criticisms have centered on claims that international reports exaggerated the scale of the violence of the country (and thus prompted increased fear and tension); used inappropriate language in describing the violence (particularly “genocide”, “ethnic cleansing” and “tribalism”); and that the presence of International Media particularly camera crews became in themselves a catalyst for violence. However, Solomon Mugeru, Head of BBC Swahili, argues that their role was critical during the crisis: “When the government slapped a ban on live transmissions, many people called in to say that we were the most credible source of information available.” In common with other reporters both within and outside Kenya we spoke to, Mugeru highlighted just how difficult the

crisis was to report. “We deliberately avoided using tribal references, but when we broadcast items and interviews with people urging peace and calm, we were accused of being pro government (BBC 2008)

Mitch Odera of the Media Council of Kenya believes that the International Media provided an important reference point for Kenyans, not least because they were more explicit in their reporting. However, in Bratic’s words, “if the Media is often found to support forces that lead to violent conflicts, it should also have power to support forces to peace” (Bratic 2006). There is a great challenge normally experienced by the Media in peace building which can be described as external to the Media. These are how far the media are independent from the government control and other exterior interference. In most cases, Media are under the control of external body such as the governments, owners, political parties, advertisers and others. These groups are able to determine the media content, working situation and finance.

The smooth working environment of the media in most parts of the world is depending on the relationship between the Media and the State. The relationship of the two certainly has great impact not only the conflict issues but also other reporting specially in developing countries. One of the influence is the government has the chance to limit the information. Based on their relation (the media-state), there can be open access to the media without discrimination, and/or controlled access to the media with screening and selection of messages, (Nordenstreng, 2006). In a country that both the Media and the

Government feel they have authority to pass information, influence decisions, set agenda, it is almost unlikely to avoid conflict between these two powers. It was unfortunate that the Kenyan public was caught up in the middle of this fight. The government claimed the media was mostly responsible for spreading hate messages, lacked objectivity and took sides in coverage of political campaigns. To its defense, the government officials have continued to say that the only authoritative voice for announcing the results of the election was the government owned TV and radio station KBC. The Kenyan public that had been relying on the commercial media (supposedly perceived to be free from government control) for updates therefore found itself without diverse avenues of getting information. The state media as expected was highlighting the success of the incumbent president (Joinet, 2008).

On their defense media practitioners held that they are responsible for public information and that the public believes in the media than the government. The Kenyan media was conspicuous, at the live center stage, highlighting the developments of the electioneering process and irregular vote counting among other anomalies (Kobia, 2009).

During the 2007/8 Kenya PEV there was a lot of blame game with the government asserting that the Kenyan media played a big role in the conflict, while the Kenyan media practitioners continue to defend their position as the 4th estate that are empowered by the citizen to pass information. The Kenyans were therefore succumbed to getting their

information from the one media outlet that they neither supported nor viewed as free from government control. As witnessed, the violence suddenly escalated with the media insisting on broadcasting and the government warning of prosecuting them in the court of law for perpetuating violence in Kenya .

Shortly after Kibaki was proclaimed winner on December 30th, 2007, the Kenyan internal security minister John Michuki announced the ban of live broadcast. The ban had been ordered in the interest of public safety and tranquility (The Standard 2007). During the onset of the 2007/2008 election violence, the government imposed a media black-out where all broadcasting stations were shut down both the national and international community had no way of knowing what was happening in the country. From nowhere and unexpectedly, the commercial media stations ran announcements that the government had banned live broadcasting or coverage of the election. For a country struggling to achieve democracy banning of the media was indeed a set back to the many decades of fighting for press freedom (Joinet, 2008). Despite this inevitable friction strategic government officials must increase the power of the media as a tool that can be useful in executing commands as well as an avenue for relaying information.

There is need for a legislative framework governing the media while it still respects media freedom and autonomy. The legislative framework will perhaps entail details on when the government has the right to ban media coverage. In other words, the

government should harness the power of the media as a powerful tool and hedge against any public aggression. When governments deny media freedom by deciding what to be published or broadcast, arresting media practitioners or by outright revocation of media licenses, the absence of free expression of ideas and opinions harms the development of society. However, media freedom must go along with responsibility. Media practitioners must exercise high standards of objectivity, professionalism and refrain from undue personal attacks because of the resources at their disposal.

This thesis would not be complete without mentioning this trend as a bad apple in the apple basket of journalism practice. Fundamentally, the human process of collecting information, analyzing it, making decisions, and acting upon these decisions, based on media exposure, remains a dynamic complex subject of study and comprehension (Kiraitu, 1995). The 24/7 news live coverage has kept the public informed of events as they unfold (Livingstone & Steven 1997). Journalism itself as eulogized by Dariye (2007) is a noble profession. It is a profession for the finest product of academic discipline and character. It is a profession of great minds with wider vision. It is a profession of global competitiveness.

It is a profession that dictates the pace, sets the tune and charts the course for societal relationship and responsibilities. This is a profession we cannot toy with untrained media workers that are not guided by the ethics of the profession and so make little mistakes

with attendant serious negative consequences. The challenge of Unprofessionalism by the Media professions in peace building is a menace on its own, as there is no excuse for ethical misconduct of a proclaimed profession. In this paradigm, the journalist willingly or consciously commits certain errors that contravene Codes of Conduct.

Leman (2007) gave examples for ethical misconduct to include, misleading photographs which could be viewed as fraudulent, remarks made in confidence, obscene headlines, speculation, fabricated stories, reward and certification, and discrimination. These codes of conducts call for every Kenyan journalist to be responsible for the news they share. This means they have an obligation to their audiences. They also have the responsibility to protect their audiences, especially their sources of sensitive information or reputation of spreading hate messages (Amutabi, 2009). In addition, the media has a monumental responsibility in today's world and especially in the 20th century where it has emerged as the key channel for disseminating information during conflict in our neighborhoods as well as the distant lands.

Nyama (2003) point out that the media in Africa has failed to be critical and analytical on conflicts and shaping the peace agenda. In so far, reporting on conflicts in Kenya lacks concise explanation of root causes of problems and only mirrors simplistic causal effect features, which do not offer adequate answers to consumers. However, as much as media are an information provider, media houses must be careful on how they provide this information. The information should be unbiased whilst also reporting the true facts. Though the ideal would be for the media to be neutral and objective, the media are highly

influenced by private owners, political affiliations and selfish agendas (Braticic & Schirch, 2007). On the legal situation, media analysts point at gaps in legislation as reasons for the failure of journalists to be critical in their reporting. (Joinet, 2008) argues that strategic government officials must increase the power of the media as a tool that can be useful in executing commands as well as an avenue for relaying information.

There is need for a legislative framework governing the media while it still respects media freedom and autonomy. The legislative framework will perhaps entail details on when the government has the right to ban media coverage. During the Kenya 2007/8 PEV, they were concerned that Kenyan laws on freedom of expression and of the media are vague and leave loop holes for practitioners to abuse media freedom, especially in talk shows and commentaries. Musa Ouma of the Correspondents Association of Kenya (CAK) suggested that there are extensive limitations to freedom of expression where these rights are interpreted in the interest of defense, public safety, order, morality and health. His argument is based on the provisions in Article 35 of the Kenya constitutional Bill of Rights. The constitution gives citizens the right to access information provided it is in the pursuit and protection of other rights and fundamental freedoms. Like most journalists and editors, he argued that other laws which challenge the work of journalists are libel and defamation. Additionally, there are other inhibiting laws covered under the government's Information and Communication Act 45.

Ouma further elaborated that some government backed legislation proposed after the post-2007 crisis contains sections which if implemented will hamper "media freedom".

He fears that the laws could increase government control over the sector. In this regard, I established that media industry stakeholders are still fighting to get amendments done on the act. Secondly, legislation is often used as a weapon against media freedom. According to Ouma, laws implemented in 2002 introduced extremely high penalties for media houses and practitioners caught up in litigations. The laws require publishers to submit an expensive insurance bond in order to operate, something many small private newspapers cannot afford.

Ouma sees this as a challenge and suggests that: Liberalization reforms established in 1990's must be constantly reviewed and harmonized with international provisions of press freedom as hallmarks in the new constitution, which many see as source of hope in the preservation of Civil and Political Rights (Interview, 23.02.2011). Dariye (2007) states that journalism is a noble profession. It is a profession for the finest product of academic discipline and character. It is a profession of great minds with wider vision. It is a profession of global competitiveness. It is a profession that dictates the pace, sets the tune and charts the course for societal relationship and responsibilities. This is a profession we cannot toy with untrained media workers that are not guided by the ethics of the profession and so make little mistakes with attendant serious negative consequences. Susan (2009) who compares the fields of journalism and conflict management and notes how each profession should be making more use of the other's expertise. Conflict management experts need to "tell their story" to the media so that the stories of successful conflict management actually reach the public.

Lack of training and experience in conflict reporting was to blame for the initial poor reporting of post-election violence. Many Kenyan journalists were reporting on conflict for the first time in their careers as the country had been relatively peaceful though low level tribal clashes had occurred in 1992, 1997 and 2002. It has been noted that Most FM stations rely on DJs and presenters who lack journalism education and experience (Mbeke 2009). The greatest challenge here is that most so called journalists that report events of crisis do not receive the basic training required for journalism practice. Some of them have no background of studies in journalism related fields and the worst is that they are not willing to learn.

Although empirical evidence is thin, there is positive anecdotal evidence that media can contribute to peace-building by improving knowledge for conflict prevention and increasing contact and understanding between opposing groups (Oatley, 2011; Gagliardone et al.). The challenges of Media in peace building as Otunnu and Doyle, 1998; Miall et al., (2005) puts it is that this trend is also visible in policymaking: The Dayton Accords, which ended the Bosnian war, did not include any media intervention plan, and the Millennium Development Goals make no mention of the importance of independent local media.

2.3.2 Media Opportunities in Peace Building

As Gardner (2000) argues, media can promote peaceful conditions and counter hate media by offering more contexts and supplying alternative information. Particularly in

the context of reconciliation and rebuilding, Gardner (2000) continues to state that, media can serve empower groups that had previously been voiceless.

Galtung (2000), emphasizes that peace journalism representing the "high road" aims to transform conflict and change attitudes about the other side. This works against the "low road," in which media seek to apply the "DMA" formula, meaning "dichotomy, Manichaeism, and Armageddon." Peleg (2006) cites communication as an indispensable determinant in creating awareness of "the other" in conflict and post-conflict situations. He continues to assert that peace journalism is seen as poised to encourage constructive communication between conflict parties by empowering new voices, engendering empathy, increasing transparency, opening new space in which to consider the situation, focusing on the invisible effects of conflict.

Globally, the role of Media in general is a widely written and talked about topic. Numerous scholars have written on the role media have played in several economies, political situations and social environments. However, despite such wide coverage, very little focus has been on the role media have played in conflicts, even less on the media's role as a peace-building tool in conflict (Newbold, 1995). He states that role of media as a peace-building tool in conflict is an area which is under-explored and urges scholars to further study and explores this area in order to come up with multidisciplinary models and concepts that explain how media can be maximized on in order to promote peace and combat conflict. In a separate spectrum, the renowned Norwegian Peace researcher Johan

Galtung work on positive peace emphasizes that peace may be more than just the absence of overt violent conflict (negative peace). He says peace will likely include various relationships up to a state where nations or any groupings in conflict might have collaborative and supportive relationships or positive peace, Galtung (1964) avows.

The journalist plays an important role as an agent of change, depending on how he/she 'colors' the article with language, tone and choice of terms. The journalist should instead work towards promoting cross-community dialogue, with a view to building bridges across confrontation lines, identifying areas of agreement rather than discord to strengthen the peace-building process. Not giving people the possibility of political participation and not allowing them to express themselves freely is a significant cause of conflict. On the one hand free, independent and pluralistic media provide a platform for debate and different opinions. Lack of information can, at any stage of a conflict, make people desperate, restless and easy to manipulate.

Journalism can not only help to distribute information but also counter hate-speech and create an environment of balanced opinions, information equilibrium (Koven, 2004). An Antidote to Hate Speech: Journalism, Pure and Simple. Local media usually have a deeper understanding of the existing political structures, the participants of the conflict as well as the changes preceding the outbreak of violence. The media can therefore not only influence society before the conflict by recognizing and properly addressing the issue but

also afterwards. Unlike international media covering conflicts, local media are a recognized part of society with the ability to accelerate and magnify fears or reduce them. By supplying credible information and reaching a large audience, the media help in managing conflicts and promote democratic principles. In the aftermath of a conflict, reconciliation and societal development can be encouraged as well. Media and journalism can be a great assistance in conflict management and peace building.

However, the power they have is also limited, as they will never be able to eliminate armed conflicts altogether. The media can be a good tool in a healthy and functioning environment but more is needed than ethical and responsible reporting to ensure lasting peace and safety. The Media has perfected its role as a platform where the public can exchange diverse issues and foster productive debates in the society. Essentially, the media is regarded as a contemporary “Greek agora”, usually a city or square in which the population gathers to discuss affairs of the state (Watson, 1998). This involves peace journalism. Peace journalism that is a style of reporting which deliberately seeks to de-escalate a conflict through focusing on conflict transformation.

Peace journalists look at a conflict from a resolution point of view and ask questions such as “what are the deeper roots of the conflict?” and “what are the parties’ real goals?” Peace journalism is argued to provide an alternate professional paradigm for the journalists to enable them to view, interpret, source and narrate conflicts in ways that seek non-violent responses in society an approach that ultimately would help transform

conflict and lead it towards resolution. This way journalists can educate, inform, correct misperceptions, build confidence and can offer options for resolution. Participants in a 1998 conference on African media and conflict included journalists from 11 countries in Africa. Compiled by Onadipe and Lord (1998), four categories embody the opinions of the conference participants as they relate to journalism in a conflict situation (1) providing information that will enable people to make better decisions about how to respond to conflict.

This could include early warnings, sensitizing the public on conflict issues, investigating, understanding and interpreting the causes of conflicts. A good example of this was provided by a timely editorial in the Ghanaian Mirror (government newspaper). (2) Educating people about conflict resolution processes and options by encouraging debate on the issues, providing space for conflicting parties and even conflict resolution experts to present their views, or even offering alternative solutions for the resolution of the conflict. Useful analysis can help educate the government, public and conflicting parties. (3) Providing a channel through which different parties can be heard and can communicate with each other. This means the media must be adequately informed about the background and dynamics of the conflict to effectively identify the main players and their interests and be capable of accurately communicating different positions. (4) Protecting parties and the public against abuse: for instance, reporting events as they happen in an accurate, non-partisan manner, exposing human rights violations, showing the consequences of conflict. Respecting the confidentiality of sources is vital, especially

during conflict. Essentially, the media is regarded as a contemporary “*Greek agora*”, usually a city or square in which the population gathers to discuss affairs of the state (Watson, 1998). The principle of the public sphere shapes the way human rights processes are initiated within media and institutional frameworks. On its part, the media can be seen to contribute to public good by defending, protecting and promoting human rights.

A (2001) International Human Rights Policy (ICHRP) study on the media found that those in positions of influence usually employ public relations strategies or persuasive communication to manage conflicts and peace. More often than not, politicians manufacture statements which help to push their agendas forward. The challenge is for the media to stand above such influence even though it may not be an easy task. Media provides people with important information about political, economic and cultural issues in their surroundings and environment. Media also responds to impending problems in society such as natural catastrophes (Vladimir & Schirch, 2007). The role the media takes in provision of information in a particular conflict is based on various complex factors such as independence the media have from the government and political leaders and the relationship between the media and the actors involved in the conflict

Conflict has become an “accepted norm” of the world we live in today. What this means is that conflict has become part of our community (globally, regionally and locally) and our daily lives. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute

(SIPRI), there have been over 50 major armed conflicts around the world. SIPRI (2016) defines a major armed conflict as one that results in over 1000 battle-related deaths within a year. In 1993 alone, according to SIPRI, there were 34 major armed conflicts in 28 different locations in the world such as Afghanistan, Algeria, Angola, Bosnia, Colombia, Georgia, India, Peru, South Africa and Turkey to name a few SIPRI, 2016). Media also serves as an interpreter of events occurred. In most conflict situation, the common man is unable to fully grasp what is happening.

The media interprets events beyond out physical realm bringing about understanding and clarity in a time of chaos Vladimir & Schirch, (2007). An example would be the 1988 Otpor Movement created by Serbian students. This movement responded to new academic and media restrictions by developing a grassroots campaign that provided information and hope to those fighting the Milosevic government. According to Vladimir & Schirch (2007), media can promote positive relationships between groups of people in conflict over ethnic, national or religious identities by; a) sharing similar interests and positions ,for example, Heroes from Rwanda, a TV show shows people who risked their own lives to save the lives of others belonging to the rival ethnic group, b) showing the other in a similar light as self, the Iraqi media that broadcast the sufferings of the Sunni and Shia help evoke common empathy, c) Condemning violence. In 1998, the Unionists and Republicans in Omagh, Northern Ireland united and renounced violence in all media, and d) showcasing those with similar problems, for instance, Israeli and Palestinian

mothers broadcasted as being victims of conflict and suffering the loss of their children in an HBO documentary aired in 2007.

Peace journalists try to uncover the causes behind a conflict and true goals of all participants while making sure to humanize all victims of the conflict. Part of the ethical guidelines for this kind of reporting is to bring out people that use peaceful measures and speak out against war and violence and document the suffering and loss on all sides. A suggested framework used by peace-building media can employ different strategies such as (1) Conflict-sensitive and peace journalism; (2) Peace-promoting entertainment media; (3) Media regulation to prevent incitement of violence, but also (4) Peace-promoting citizen media, confirms, Himelfarb and Chabalowski (2008). According to Berry, (2008), Journalists do not shy away from difficult, sensitive or uncomfortable topics such as human rights abuses. Peace journalism that is a style of reporting which deliberately seeks to de-escalate a conflict through focusing on conflict transformation. Peace journalists look at a conflict from a resolution point of view and ask questions such as “what are the deeper roots of the conflict? Peace media introduces tolerance for differences and peaceful conflict resolution techniques by working them into popular entertainment on television and radio.

Media professionals clearly prefer practices that support peace and dampen conflict, without sacrificing essential truth-telling. As much as media are an information provider, media houses must be careful on how they provide this information. The information should be unbiased whilst also reporting the true facts. Though the ideal would be for the

media to be neutral and objective, the media are highly influenced by private owners, political affiliations and selfish agendas (Bratcic & Schirch, 2007).

An example would be in 2006, a Danish controversial cartoonist raised international havoc on his how he depicted Islam. Consequently, he provoked extensive analysis on the timing and to what extent the media should act as a gatekeeper thereby regulating what is broadcasted thus preventing misunderstandings, embarrassment and conflicts. Media sometimes acts as a third-party “watchdog” that monitors the events of a conflict and provides information to the public on local problems (Vladimir & Schirch, 2007).

According to Thussu & Freedman (2003), there are three key narratives concerning the role of mainstream media in communicating conflict namely; the publicist, the observer and the battleground. According to these scholars, the idea that journalists are independent watchdogs of military conduct is revered by media professionals and liberal commentators. This idea assumes that journalists are able to shrug off ideological and organizational restrictions in order to watch and report over military combatants. In addition, it also assumes that journalists are able to question the relevant authorities when it comes to matters pertaining to tactical and strategic decisions in time of a violent conflict. Thussu and Freedman (2003) dubbed this the adversarial conception.

They give an example of the media coverage of the Vietnam War where the raw and harsh portrayal of the American casualties demoralized the people and led to the loosing

of the war. They note that the major turning point of the war was a report broadcasted by the beloved news anchor Walter Cronkite of Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) following his visit to Vietnam stating that the war was at a stalemate and argued that military victory was impossible. The broadcast coverage of (United States) corpses and human suffering led to demoralization at the home front and the de-escalation of the entire war (Thussu & Freedman, 2003).

The adversarial model suggests that due to the diligence of journalists and increased media coverage, governments have been forced to more open and transparent in their justification of war and military resources which in turn has led to increased measures of resolving conflict without violence. The role of media in general is a widely written and talked about topic.

Numerous scholars have written on the role media have played in several economies, political situations and social environments. However, despite such wide coverage, very little focus has been on the role media have played in conflicts, even less on the media's role as a peace building tool in conflict (Newbold, 1995). He further states that role of media as a peace building tool in conflict is an area which is under-explored and urges scholars to further study and explore this area in order to come up with multidisciplinary models and concepts that explain how media can be maximized on in order to promote

peace and combat conflict. But before, the study zeros in on the media's role, it will first explore the roles media plays in conflict.

In Africa, the need for peace has been articulated in various forums and it is true that homes, institutions, organizations or communities where peace has lacked have suffered the painful consequences. Nairobi Peace Initiative Africa, (2006) points out that creating a culture of peace is a challenge for modern times. Media events can be used in conflict situations during negotiations to help facilitate the negotiations, build confidence and create a conducive environment for the negotiations. Moreover, media events can help promote and mobilize public support for peace agreements. Media events include press releases, concerts, radio programs or any other media-related event that helps promote and celebrate peace agreements in conflict situations (Vladimir & Schirch, 2007). Media can be used during conflict situations to send messages between the conflicting parties. In conflict situation, it is best to handle delicate matters through secret negotiations.

However, this is not always an option in some conflicts due to different factors such as volatile political situations, violent conflict and inaccessibility of leaders to one another. In this case, the media are called upon to bring the leaders of the conflicting parties through either TV or radio programs in an effort to reconcile (Vladimir & Schirch, 2007). Toward that end, ubuntu becomes a sensitized concept and possible bridge to a more inclusive sense of the public sphere where the Other is neither feared nor oppressed, but considered a gateway to new opportunity and unimagined beauty. It has been concluded that journalists and editors may select and transform the news opines, (Fowler, 1991).

Regionally, a good example would be Studio Ijambo in Burundi. In 1995, twenty Hutu and Tutsi journalists came together and created Studio Ijambo in order to promote peace, dialogue and reconciliation. With a production of 100 radio peace programs monthly, Studio Ijambo has successfully been promoting peace. Another example would be Kenya. There are several cases that were present in the Kenyan situation; first, famous Kenyan musicians from all tribes came together and released a peace song that was aired several times a day by the mainstream media houses (Shitemi, et. al, 2013). Secondly, there were peace caravans by the government in conjunction with private organizations that toured around the country preaching peace .Thirdly, the main mobile service providers began sending texts with peace messages through their Short Message Service (SMS) to all mobile users in an effort to help shun the violence and instead foster peace Munyua (2011).

Robertson (2000) and Livingstone (2007) research on the Mass Media effects shows how messages are shaped to address complex social political phenomenon. The research is associated with how different actors endeavor to influence policy decisions to arbitrate conflicts. Robertson (2000) suggests that only under certain and generally unlikely conditions might one expect Media coverage to force intervention decisions. In contrast, Livingstone (2007) observes that Media content can affect policies, since leaders today prefer to communicate through Media programs to accelerate political decisions rather than, using traditional diplomatic channels (Thompson,2007). Media is sensitive towards

the task of promoting tolerant and diverse viewpoints (and) can be both informative as well as entertaining and have a large potential audience” (Botes 1996). While peace operations do not entertain, those responsible for such operations do take into account the diverse viewpoints present in such a situation.

Mass Media in Kenya has played a key role in Kenya’s development from the time of its introduction to date. More specifically, mass media have been seen to influence the social, political and economic statuses with nation-wide issues such as health care workers’ strikes, underpayment of teachers and healthcare needs. Due to the influence of media in the Kenyan community, these nation-wide issues have unfortunately resulted in the outbreak of conflicts that were either propelled or cubed by media coverage (Ogola, 2011). Despite how the Kenyan media propelled the PEV, it is important to highlight the positive role it played during this time. Firstly, the media served as voice for those who could not be heard in the society.

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

Elections in Kenya have been associated with violence for about 20 years now; but in 2007, the escalation to eruption in violence was unexpected and therefore the country was unprepared to deal with it which led to slower responses by the government and therefore slower results (Munyua, 2011). The media has been a critical part of the Kenyan election process (Gathigi 2007). During the election process of 2013 elections, the media remained at the forefront of presenting different opinions leading newspapers, television and radio stations all presented different views, and carried opinions from political figures across the spectrum.

But one criticism that came through was that sections of radio, especially local language stations, were very often parochial. Some played extremely partisan politics that was more aligned to local audiences than to national interests. Another criticism expressed by many of the people I spoke to was that they felt the mainstream media had been lazy in its coverage of competing candidates. The largest media outlets constantly amplified the political binary represented by the two main coalitions, the National Super Alliance (NASA) and the Jubilee Party (JP).

In 2013 Kenya elections, there was limited coverage outside the two coalitions with other parties and candidates receiving little airtime. The Kenyan media has struggled with the burden of being accused of fueling post-election violence in 2007 and 2008. For example, it was accused of failing to moderate hate messages and of passing on messages that

incited violence. TV stations were accused of showing violent messages that led to retaliation between members of different communities. Given these experiences, this time round the media was at pains to emphasize messages of peace throughout the electioneering period. It also showed restraint and self-censorship in terms of the information and images it presented. (Munyua, 2011).

This was evident if you compared coverage provided by the international media with the Kenyan media. While international media has alluded to imminent violence and showed images of isolated instances before and after the polls closed the Kenyan media has been more careful. Compared with previous elections there was been an improvement in live coverage, immediacy, and updates on the campaigns, as well as the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission's preparations. Media houses also followed the various legal challenges relating to the 2017 elections very closely, (Gathigi 2007).

There were also genuine attempts to encourage issue-based debating platforms and to give different contestants opportunities to argue their positions and engage with the electorate. Media houses also deployed more resources than ever before to cover campaigns in various parts of the country. The rise of fact-checking was also a notable development (Munyua, 2011). In Kenya the Kenya Media played a positive role in peace building during Kenya PEV and after.

The Media Council of Kenya is an independent national institution established by the Media Act, 2007 as the leading institution in the regulation of media and in the conduct and discipline of journalists in Kenya. It is mandated amongst other to register and accredit journalists, register media establishments, handle complaints from the public and create and publish yearly media audit on the Media Freedom in Kenya.

During accreditation the journalists agree to adhere to the Code of Conduct and Practice of Journalism in Kenya, which was created by Media practitioners and stakeholders with the view of making Journalism in Kenya a more professional and respectable field. Council membership is drawn from media stakeholders in Kenya including the Media Owners Association, Kenya Union of Journalists, Kenya Correspondents Association, Kenya Editors Guild, Public Relations Society of Kenya, Kenya News Agency, Private and Public Universities, the Kenya Institute of Mass Communication and the Law Society of Kenya. In a bid to put 2007/08 firmly behind them, many donor and media organizations such as the Media Council of Kenya and Internews organized training sessions for the media across the country to enhance their skills to cover the election. Many of these initiatives focused on conflict-sensitive and ethical journalism, (Oriare, Ugangu, and Okello, 2009).

The Media Council of Kenya advocated for openness and information sharing. The council urged journalists to adhere to Media guidelines and precincts of press freedom.

Most journalists were of the view that the Media situation in Kenya has changed from what was experienced in the previous regimes.

The Media Council of Kenya should also embark on conducting a survey of the underlying vulnerabilities of media with aim of addressing each and every issue. The government should also have clear guidelines on monitoring media content. The hate speech law to prohibit politicians and media from airing hate messages should be strengthened. The Media Council of Kenya should also ensure that all vernacular stations have serious hands-on editorial policies and move with speed to identify and discipline errant community radio stations that encourage hate speech.

Priority actions to address the challenges identified must. Besides promoting and protecting freedom and independence of the media, the Council also works to promote ethical standards among journalists and in the Media. Code of Conduct has 25 Articles incorporating the “dos and don’ts” of the Media including fairness and accuracy, right of reply, using unnamed sources, misrepresentation, privacy, use of pictures and names, integrity, accountability, obscenity and bad taste, intrusion into grief and shock, protection of children and victims of sexual violence, acts of violence and hate speech. The Media Complaints Commission. The Media Council Act, 2013 under Section 27 establishes a Complaints Commission independent from the Council to enforce media standards set the by the Council, and whose mandate is to arbitrate in disputes between (a) Public and the Media (b) Government and media (c) Within the media (Intramedia), (MDI - Media Development Institute 2009).

The Media Council of Kenya (MCK) urged journalists to adhere to ethical standards. Several media personnel were given awards to honor their peace initiatives during the violence period, such as NTV's Julie Gichuru and KTN's Linus Kakai's Documentary on "Rift in the Valley". InterNews Network organized a series of workshops to build capacity of journalists and editors to respond to the unfolding conflict. InterNews Network, the International Media Support, Kenya Editors' Guild, the Kenya Union of Journalists, Media Council of Kenya and The Kenya Association of Photographers, Illustrators and Designers and the Kenya Correspondents Association have held workshops to build the capacity of journalists to responsibly address peace-building concerns. The Media houses should strictly be adhering to the rules set by the several regulating bodies such as the Communication Commission of Kenya, the government of Kenya constitution and the Ministry of Information and Communication set guidelines.

The responsibility of setting editorial policies should include all stakeholders in mind, for instance, the managerial team and the media owners. The media houses should stick to their mission and vision and should not be swayed during emotive issues. Policy formulation by policy makers such as the legislators in regard to media laws such that the laws that will not gag the media but bring about responsible journalism. There is need for capacity building on conflict reporting for journalists with an overall objective of achieving accurate and constructive news coverage and treatment of conflict stories in the region. The Media Council of Kenya (MCK) works closely with Media Houses in establishing Joint Editorial Board.

For example, a joint radio broadcast and joint headline had a significant impact among other Media events during the 2007/08 PEV in Kenya. (Oriare, Ugangu, and Okello, 2009).

This was done by a Joint Editorial Board. At a newspaper, the editorial board usually consists of the editorial page editor, and editorial writers. Editorial boards meet on a regular basis to discuss the latest news and opinion trends and discuss what the newspaper should say on a range of issues. They will then decide who will write what editorials and for what day. When such an editorial appears in a newspaper, it is considered the institutional opinion of that newspaper. The editorial board controls the endorsement process for the newspaper during campaigns. Candidates will come before the editorial board for a group interview which can last for several hours, depending on the office. During the meeting, the board asks the candidate a range of questions on various issues and uses the meeting as a way to judge which candidate to endorse.

Another stake holder working with the Kenya is the Communications Commission of Kenya (CCK). It's a state owned corporation established in 1998 that is responsible for ensuring fair play in the airwaves. It is the independent regulatory authority for the communications industry in Kenya. Its role is to license and regulate telecommunications, radio communication and postal/courier services in Kenya. It also issues licenses to ISP's Internet Service Providers as well as other communication devices that go beyond unlicensed frequencies. It is responsible for developing and

coordinating the policies and strategies with respect to development and operation of telecommunications services in Kenya.

It was established in February 1999, when the Kenya Post & Telecommunication Corporation (KP&TC), was split into CCK, the Postal Corporation of Kenya (CCK) and Telkom Kenya. In recognition of the rapid changes and developments in technology which have blurred the traditional distinctions between telecommunications, Information Technology (IT) and broadcasting, the Government in January 2009 enacted the Kenya Communications (Amendment) Act 2009. This statute enhanced the regulatory scope and jurisdiction of CCK, and effectively transformed it to a converged regulator (Kenya Information and Communications Act 2012). Another stake holder working with the Kenya is The Communications Commission of Kenya (CCK), and its purpose is to facilitate the development of the information and communications sectors (including broadcasting, multimedia, telecommunications and postal services) and electronic commerce through proper regulations. (Kenya Information and Communications Act 2012).

Kenya Media Partnership with Communications Commission of Kenya (CCK helps all the Media House have an equal playing ground on Media coverage on news, education and entertainment. This Provide a regulatory framework for the promotion of fair competition and equal treatment in the communications sector protecting against the

abuse of market power or other anti-competitive practices within the communications sector. Mikia (2013), singled out the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) act established through the National Reconciliation Act of 2008 to sensitize politicians and the media against the use of hate speech, as a step in the right direction. This is another stake holder working with the Kenya in peace building.

The mandate of the commission is to facilitate and promote equality of opportunity, good relations, harmony and peaceful coexistence between persons of different ethnic and racial backgrounds in Kenya and to advise the government. The Act, holds any newspaper, radio station or media enterprise which publishes hate related utterances liable to hate speech offence and enforces fines or prosecution for offenders (National Reconciliation Act of 2008). The outbreak of the 2007/08 Post Election Violence in Kenya after the disputed presidential votes tally was a major pointer to the existence of schisms that had been left unaddressed for long. These provided both the long -term and short -term causes of the violence which was a major drawback to Kenya's socio - economic and political development. Working with Kenyan Media in peace building is the PeaceNet a coalition of Kenyan NGOs, partnered with Oxfam GB to create a text messaging “nerve center” that served as a vital tool for conflict management and prevention by providing a hub for real-time information about actual and planned attacks between rival groups. The text messages were then relayed to local “peace committees” that deployed mediators and took other immediate action to stem the violence (UN Foundation, 2008).

Ushahidi has been used in a variety of conflict settings including the Democratic Republic of Congo, Gaza, and Afghanistan (Cullum (2011). With its focus on user-generated information, *Ushahidi* is designed to be adaptable to SMS, mobile phone usage, and internet posts. Whilst, traditional information management systems are typically closed and controlled, *Ushahidi* is open and decentralized. These technologies allow for empowerment and ownership at the local community level.

Unlike other more traditional systems, *Ushahidi* closes the feedback loop, such that information collected can be communicated directly to those who most need to use it (Enjolras, Steen-Johnsen, and Wollebæk 2012). As Patrick Meier, a consultant with *Ushahidi* said, it is about local communities getting more relevant information for their own immediate security and to be more empowered and not to have to depend as much on external players. When waves of political violence swept through Kenya after the December 2007 presidential election, human rights advocates in the country turned to cell phones to help stem the violence and hence peace building. They partnered with the Kenya Media I advocating of their work in peace building in Kenya. These NGOs and Human Rights bodies promote Peace journalism which aims to shed light on structural and cultural causes of violence, as they impact upon the lives of people in a conflict arena as part of the explanation for violence. An explicit aim of peace journalism is to promote peace initiatives explains, Howard (2010). The Media bears the responsibility to inform the public and politicians about national issues and suggest ways to promote and protect human rights situations in any country.

In their capacity as watchdogs, the media are the “eye s and ears” of the public. They are defenders against possible abuses of rights in the society. Platforms such as the UWIANO Platform, a multi-stakeholder strategy for peaceful elections set up by UNDP (UWIANO is a Swahili word that connotes “cohesion”), were created with just this purpose in mind.

The platform improved on information-sharing across agencies with regard to early warning and response; enhanced conflict-sensitive reporting by the media; increased mediation capacity among various actors including the political parties; and also led to the realization of a peaceful process. Thus, the media can be utilized to bridge the gap between violent conflicts and peace and in turn promote human rights. The media is not duty bound to preserve human rights, but the fact that it operates as a conveyor of information between the state and society, requires media practitioners to act responsibly. During 2007/08 PEV in Kenya, interventions through Early Warning Early Response (EWER): Programming falling under this sub-category focused on raising alarm about potential threats of violence and undertaking effective measures to address these threats before they escalate. This involved mechanisms operating at both the national and local level. The national *Uwiano* Platform for Peace, largely funded by UNDP recruited and trained more than 100 peace monitors and set up “Peace Tents” in about 20 counties to coordinate information sharing on emerging threats and response by state and non-state actors, including security alerts to police, conflict mediation by elders and peace committees.”

Another one was initiative of *Uchaguzi* platform which provided a crowd sourcing platform for Kenyans to report potential election - related violence via SMS that was linked to emergency responders. Safe Coast provided local level EWER in the Coast region. International Media organizations are also important national media players in Kenya. International broadcasters, and particularly Al Jazeera, CNN and the BBC World Service/BBC World are readily available in Kenya.

The international media have also done much to shape international perceptions of the political crisis in the country, and international reports in turn influence national public debate. Within the framework of the Kenya Media Sector Working Group, UNESCO Regional Office for Eastern Africa in partnership with the Political Journalists Association of Kenya (PJAK), supported the training of 33 political reporters with a view to building their capacity on elections coverage and promoting safety of journalists during the elections process of 2007.

This training is important because journalists face difficulties when dealing with stories of governance, ethics and integrity and in understanding the electoral process that require deep analytical skills and interpretation” says Jerry Rawlings, the Secretary General of the Political Journalists Association of Kenya, (Media Development Institute 2009). The capacity building focused on familiarizing the journalists with the Code of Ethics and Guidelines on Elections coverage established by the Media Council of Kenya. It also

focused on safety of journalists during elections, conflict sensitive reporting, investigative journalism, peace journalism and enhancing better working relationship between media and police among other topics. The Training also focused on reporting on politics and whose core values are objectivity, agility, excellence, impartiality and professionalism.

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

In summary, the influence of the media on society has attracted international agencies closely involved in peace-building since the early 1990's. The Media can contribute to peace, by engaging in credible reporting, representing balanced opinions in its editorial content, and opening up communication channels among parties in a conflict. It can also

identify and articulate without bias the underlying interests of warring factions. By doing so, the Media is capable of disseminating information that builds on the confidence of stakeholders in a conflict. The Media can help achieve goals in conflict prevention and peace-building when paired with approaches or strategies. Highly-sensitive negotiations, for example, are often best kept quiet without the pressure brought by media seeking to highlight areas of conflict (which helps them sell their media products) rather than serve to foster a focus on common ground, a problem-solving orientation, and hopefulness required for diplomacy.

2.4. Conceptual Framework

This section consists of conceptual framework of the study. Therefore, the section discussed the Media Coverage of Political Conflicts Influencing Peace Building In Selected Areas In Kenya Since 2007 Elections , with reference to the Libertarian Theory, Social Responsibility and Social Judgment Theory. The thrust of the study theory was in explaining the relevance of theories with an in-depth discussion into the study. The theories also helped in data triangulation.

2.4.1 Libertarian Theory

The Libertarian theory is one of the “Normative theories of press”. The theory came from the libertarian thoughts of Europe during the 16th century after the invention of printing press and after the press movement. It was advocated by many renowned personalities like Lao Tzu, John Locke, John Milton, John Stuart Mill, and Thomas Jefferson and is still famous in England and America. Libertarianism is free from any authority or any

control or censorship. The libertarianism is an idea of individualism and limited government which is not harmful to another, (Long, 1996). Shinar (2003), avers that there is a flow of all kinds of information. All of the people are subjected to interpret and decide which information they need and the authenticity of the information. Rationality of human beings makes them able to do so. The press should not restrict any information, even criticizing the policies. Though media has enormous power, abuse of power can be dealt legally.

Libertarian theory sees people are able to find and judge good ideas from bad. The theory says people are rational and their rational thoughts lead them to find out what are good and bad. The press should not restrict anything even a negative content may give knowledge and can make better decision whilst worst situation. The key tenets of Libertarian theory are: there is absolute freedom to media; media plays the role of a watchdog. The proponents of this theory also postulate that, there is freedom of thought and expression, and that; there is also freedom of information and individualism. They further moot that no censorship of any kind is to be done, there is high competition among alternative ideas and thoughts and the government does not own the media and media is a different body in the functioning of the state. Additionally, they reason that, media is accountable to the law of the country and that it must follow a code of conduct. Besides, they proffer that media encourages pluralist truths like both side of the same story. The media, therefore, accepts a *Laissez-faire* approach in which there are not many set rules that they have to follow. They can work as they want.

Libertarian theory of media reporting was developed to oppose the authoritarian theory. Under this theory, media are given more freedoms and involve the use of individuals in the quest to find the truth. Media under this government rule, the United States of America, play vital roles in the country's constitution and fundamental laws. There was freedom of public involvement and the government possessed little to no control. Instead, the media serve as a watchdog that monitors the actions of the government and provide information to the public on local problems.

This showcases that free and responsible media can guard against misuse of power via factual reporting, protection of individual rights, open debate promotion and representation of different viewpoints (Siebert et. al, 1972). Libertarian theory promotes the self-regulation of media in observance with the regulations set to ensure observation of ethics while exercising full professionalism. In Kenya, the government appointed the CCK which is made up of media personal and government leader in order to act as watchdogs against each other with the aim of ensuring that the freedom of self-regulation ins not abused (Munyua, 2011).

The libertarian theory, due to the freedoms it allows, is favorable for peace-building by the media. Libertarian theory advocates for media to serve as an information provider giving true and factual information (credible information) with little to no control from the government. As a result, powerful persons and organizations cannot influence the media to achieve their own interests. Media workers possess the freedom to work within the legal framework to carry out objective reporting therefore promoting peace/ peace

building. An exemplary example is media support for mediation of the two rival parties; PNU and ODM. The media was quick to highlight the decision to use mediation during the period of the Kenyan PEV and broadcasted the entire process of mediation. The fact that the political leaders met and deliberated quieted down the violence. The climax of this process was a photo that broadcasted immediately the negotiations were over of the two political leaders shaking hand while holding a signed agreement. This led to the immediate stop of violence countrywide (Mbeke, 2009).

The linkage of Libertarian theory to the study is that communicated messages by the Both Print and Broadcast Media can make people change an attitude towards others if there was animosity or conflict in the community. Judging from images and picture captions, people can make informed decisions on how to live together, work together and the best ways on conflicts/animosity reduction, Libertarian theory can be applied to change attitudes towards others through the print media, electronic media, social media in a way to foster much coveted peace. This is because one photograph is worth a thousand words. There are gaps which exist with Libertarian theory, just like any other theory, libertarian theory has its faults. Because media are not controlled by the government and is fact a separate entity entirely, there is room false advertising and false news (Mirsha, 2016). Furthermore, powerful persons can influence the media to fulfill their own interests as was the case in the Kenyan 2007 presidential elections. Mainstream media houses such as the Nation Media Group and Standard Group through focused on the ethnic differences highlighting the past elections-related conflicts thereby steering the conflict towards ethnic conflict. Local language radio stations and social media were even harder to

control at the time. Because there was no formal law in Kenya at the time regarding hate speech, little was done even to those who openly engaged in it. Thus, by promoting liberal operations of the media, the theory does not indicate how the same can be used to disseminate non-credible information and miss-reporting. This can lead to misunderstanding and therefore violence during electioneering periods.

Moreover, because these avenues of libertarian theory allow freedom of expression in local languages, it was difficult to monitor every single comment broadcasted over 100 radio stations in 42 different languages (Munyua, 2011). In Kenya, for example a photo with a good caption like " Save our Beloved Country Kenya, was not a 100% guaranteed it will stop the violence during 2007/8 PEV in Kenya but it was worth trying and the effects worked well in bringing the tension down.

Therefore this Theory fails because it only addresses one side of the media and its influence to audiences through the open debate promotion and representation of different viewpoints, which is not a guarantee that the audience will act on the presented viewpoints fully. And this leads us to the second Theory.

2.4.2 Social Judgment Theory (SJT)

Is a self-persuasion theory proposed by Carolyn Sherif, Muzafer Sherif, and Carl Hovland (1980), defined by Sherif and Sherif as the perception and evaluation of an idea by comparing it with current attitudes. According to this theory, an individual weighs every new idea, comparing it with the individual's present point of view to determine

where it should be placed on the attitude scale in an individual's mind. SJT is the subconscious sorting out of ideas that occurs at the instant of perception. Social judgment theory is a framework that studies human judgment. It is a meta-theory that directs research on cognitive perspective, which is how you perceive the situations. The psychophysical principle involved, for example, is when a stimulus is farther away from one's judgmental anchor, a contrast effect is highly possible; when the stimulus is close to the anchor, an assimilation effect can happen. Social judgment theory represents an attempt to generalize psychophysical judgmental principles and the findings to the social judgment. With the person's preferred position serving as the judgmental anchor, SJT is a theory that mainly focuses on the internal processes of a person's own judgment in regards to the relation within a communicated message. The concept was intended to be an explanatory method designed to detail when persuasive messages are most likely to succeed. Attitude change is the fundamental objective of persuasive communication.

SJT seeks to specify the conditions under which this change takes place and predict the direction and extent of the attitude change, while attempting to explain how likely a person might be to change his or her opinion, the probable direction of that change, their tolerance toward the opinion of others, and their level of commitment to their position. The SJT researchers claimed expectations regarding attitude change could be based on the message receiver's level of involvement, the structure of the stimulus (and how many alternatives it allows), and the value (credibility) of the source, (Carolyn, and Carl 1980).

This theory of attitude change, developed by Muzafer Sherif and Carl Hovland (and later by Carolyn Sherif), is different from other consistency theories for two reasons. As its name suggests, it is a model of judgment, which means that it declares that the audience interprets (judges) a message, (Carolyn, and Carl 1980).

Specifically, a listener judges how much the message agrees or disagrees with his or her own attitude. Second, Social Judgment/Involvement theory holds that a listener's involvement in the topic of the persuasive message that is, how important a topic is to a listener is an important factor in attitude change, (Schwartz, 2000). There are five basic principles in social judgment theory. The first asserts that people have categories of judgment with which they evaluate incoming information. When an individual encounters a situation in which he or she must make a judgment, a range of possible positions can be taken in response. For example, if an individual is asked to make a monetary contribution to a charity, the possible positions range from "absolutely not" to "most certainly."

Along this inclusive continuum, there are categories of positions that an individual may find acceptable or unacceptable, and also a range for which no significant opinion is held. These ranges are referred to as the latitude of acceptance, the latitude of rejection, and the

latitude of non-commitment, respectively. An individual's most preferred position, located within the latitude of acceptance, is referred to as the anchor. The second principle states that as people evaluate incoming information, they determine the category of judgment, or latitude, to which it belongs. In the foregoing example, individuals with a favorable view of the charitable cause would most likely place the request for a donation within the latitude of acceptance.

Conversely, those who hold an unfavorable view of the charitable cause locate their attitude within the latitude of rejection. Those with no significant opinion either way locate it in the latitude of non-commitment. The third principle asserts that the size of the latitudes is determined by the level of personal involvement, or ego-involvement, one has in the issue at hand. People may or may not have opinions regarding the communicated information, and this will affect whether or not the persuasive message is accepted or rejected. These same opinions (or their lack) also affect the size of latitudes. The higher the level of ego-involvement, the larger the latitude of rejection becomes.

For instance, an individual who is solicited for a donation to a cancer society will have smaller latitude of acceptance if his or her mother suffers from cancer, as compared to someone who has no personal connection to the malady. For that individual, contributing to the charity is imperative, and any other response is unacceptable.

Therefore, the latitude of acceptance and non-commitment will be small compared to the latitude of rejection. Principle four states that people distort incoming information to fit their categories of judgment. When presented with a persuasive message that falls within the latitude of acceptance, and is close to the individual's anchor, people will assimilate the new position. That is, they will perceive the new position to be closer to their attitude than it actually is. When the persuasive message is relatively far from the anchor, however, people tend to contrast the new position to their own, making it seem even more different than it actually is. In both cases, individuals distort incoming information relative to their anchor. These distortions influence the persuasiveness of the incoming message.

If the message is too close to the anchor, assimilation will occur and it will be construed to be no different than the original position. If contrast occurs, the message will be construed to be unacceptable and subsequently rejected. In both cases, social judgment theory would predict that attitude change is unlikely to occur. The fifth principle asserts that optimal persuasion occurs when the discrepancies between the anchor and the advocated position are small to moderate. In such cases, assimilation or contrasting will not occur, allowing for consideration of the communicated message. Under these conditions, attitude change is possible, (Darity, 2008).

A major implication of social judgment theory is that persuasion is difficult to accomplish. Successful persuasive messages are those that are targeted to the receiver's latitude of acceptance and discrepant from the anchor position, so that the incoming information cannot be assimilated or contrasted. The receiver's ego-involvement must also be taken into consideration. This suggests that even successful attempts at persuasion will yield small changes in attitude. SJT is a theory that focuses on the internal processes of an individual's judgment with relation to a communicated message. SJT attempts to explain how likely a person might change their opinion, the probable direction of that change, their tolerance toward the opinion of others, and their level of commitment to their position.

The linkage of SJT to the study is that communicated messages through the Media especially through the use of readily available Social Media platforms can make people change an attitude towards others if there was animosity or conflict in the community. Judging from commutated message, people can make informed decisions on how to live together, work together and the best ways on conflicts/animosity reduction.

A major gap which exist with the Social Judgment Theory proposes the idea that persuasion is a two-step process. The first step involves individuals hearing or reading a message and immediately evaluating where the message falls within their own position.

The second step involves individuals adjusting their particular attitude either toward or away from the message they heard. Another gap in Social Judgment theory states that you have a statement or message and you accept it or reject it based on your cognitive map. You accept or reject a message based on one's own ego-involvement and if it falls within their latitude of acceptance. Various Media interventions programs allowed people for self evaluation and judgment and accepted peace calls from the Media.

If the communicated message by the Media is rejected by the audience it therefore calls for a balance between the Media and audience to ensure that the Media are successful in delivering the intended message and on the other hand, the audience is able to receive the message with acceptance. This balance can only be brought by the third Theory.

In Kenya, as in the rest of Africa, SMS is the most widely used digital application. The leading Kenyan online community, Mashada, during the elections period became overwhelmed with divisive and hostile messages. By the end of January 2008, the moderators decided to shut down the site, recognizing that civil discourse was rapidly becoming impossible. However, a few days later Mashada's site administrator David Kobia launched 'I Have No Tribe', a site explicitly centered on constructive dialogue among Kenyans. The Mashada site was then redirected to the new site of which it rapidly filled with comments, (Goldstein and Rotich, 2007). This social media has a great impact on the psychological mobilization of individuals which can lead to peace or violence.

2.4.3 Social Responsibility Theory (SRT)

The underlying principle of the social responsibility theory of the press is that the press should be free to perform the functions which the libertarian theory granted it freedom to perform, but that this freedom should be exercised with responsibility (Okunna & Omenugha, 2012). If the media fail to meet their responsibilities to society, the social responsibility theory holds that the government should encourage the media to comply by way of controlling them. Bittner (1989) has it that the theory held that “a press has the right to criticize government and institutions but also has certain basic responsibilities to maintain the stability of society”.

In the same vein, but in a slightly different angle, Dominick (2009) writes that, this approach holds that the press has a right to criticize government and other institutions, but it also has a responsibility to preserve democracy by properly informing the public and by responding to society’s needs and interests. The press does not have the freedom to do as it pleases; it is obligated to respond to society’s requirements.

The Commission on Freedom of the Press which formulated the Social Responsibility theory while noting that the press does not fulfill her basic societal roles of providing information, enlightenment, serving as watchdog, advertising, entertainment, and self-sufficiency, called on the media. From the foregoing, it is palpable that the fundamental principles of the social responsibility theory could be summarized thus: “be self-

regulated, practice responsibly, or the government will control you”. In other words, freedom should be exercised with utmost responsibility to societal interest.

As Moemeka (1991) pointed out this theory places due emphasis on the moral and social responsibilities of persons who, and institutions which, operate the mass media”. Cited in Okunna & Omenugha (2012) gave a list of basic tenets guiding this theory and which further drive home this ethical dimension of the social responsibility principle, to include accepting and carrying out certain societal duties; setting high professional standards of truth, accuracy, objectivity, balance and informativeness; regulating itself in accordance with the law; having media pluralism multiplicity of voices to represent divergent viewpoints; accountability to society, their medium and others; and that people have the right to expect them to perform creditably.

The media have been entrusted to discharge certain public-interest functions essential to a democratic society and, by conferring this trust, society is entitled to judge whether it is being honored indeed, there is no other better way to then summarize this theory in relation to media ethics, as the argument has shown.

Yadav, (2011), affirms that “within the framework of open and free press criticism, codes of ethics or government regulation, and guidelines for responsible action on the part of members of the press, lies the Social Responsibility Theory”. Social responsibility theory allows media to broadcast and report anything provided the media are responsible for

what is broadcasted and can be held accountable. This theory also holds the audience accountable in their understanding of what is broadcasted (Mirsha, 2016).

Social responsibility theory assumes that the media have to take both moral and legal responsibilities in order to protect the society; the government usually cannot interfere in the information published but can step in and censor information if it feels the information will disrupt the social order and/or threaten democracy (Schudson, 2001).

Under this theory, there are guidelines and regulations that the media adhere to. More specifically, this theory insists on the truthfulness, accuracy and objectivity of information at all times. Credibility is the core of this theory which calls for transparency in reporting. However, this theory also considers the sources and insists on the respect of privacy, rights and dignity (Schudson, 2001). Media are perceived to be the voice of the voiceless and thus offers a vast variety of views (Mirsha, 2016). It brings to light social injustices within the community and educates the people on their civil rights. The problem with this theory is that with more enlightenment comes more zeal to fight for one's rights and more often than not, this leads to violence (Schudson, 2001).

Media persons are obligated to report objectivity and ensure transparency in what they publish under the social responsibility theory (Schudson, 2001). The linkage of this theory to this study is that since the theory advocates for Social-responsibility, the Media

should accept certain responsibilities by practicing accuracy, objectivity and balance in their reporting. In addition, they need to regulate themselves within the framework of the law and established institutions. The media acted as a peace-building tool when it compelled the international community to intervene during the 2007/8 PEV by highlighting the social injustices and crimes against humanity. In the same light, the Media Council of Kenya (MCK) in collaboration with big companies, organizations and corporations put out peace messages through advertisements and SMS (Mbeke, 2009). As can be derived from its name, social responsibility is rooted in Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). CSR refers to practices/ initiatives in business which adds value to the society. CSR can circumscribe a variety of strategies from charity endeavors to environmental friendly initiatives (Caramela, 2016).

Mainstream media houses promoted CSR in Kenya when they got involved in assisting in settling the victims of PEV; the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and facilitated the provision of clothing and food for them. The Social Responsibility theory binds the Media to report objectively, truthfully and transparently as an obligation. Thus the Mass Media has a responsibility not only to themselves and their media houses but also to their audiences, (Mcquail, 2005; Campbell, 1998).

Social responsibility and ethics are morally obligatory things. Any form of legal limitations should not be imposed if media is just working in the principle of

responsibility. Laws are authoritative and not democratic concepts. However, there are gaps which exist with SRT implementation wholly that hinder the successful influence by the Media, in peace process. Ethics are always vague, ambiguous and differ from case to case. It is difficult to determine who sets clear principles and standards. The immediate conflicting point however is that ‘who is the journalist responsible to?’ Is it the media-house owners, editors or people? (Patterson, & Wilkins, 2005). The researcher links The Social Responsibility with Mirror Analogy of the Media.

The mirror analogy or metaphor attempts to define the media’s role and function as the fourth estate to describe its relationship towards its audience. The metaphor suggests the media and its contents are merely a reflection of reality. The assumption is that this reflection serves society’s need to have an unbiased, objective and critical view of it.

Although this apparent pragmatic approach satisfies the most basic description of the media’s role as a mediator of reality, it fails to consider the factors that may influence the reflection that is presented and the manner in which it is received. Journalists hold up a mirror to society’. From society’s point of view it may, however, seem like an inept attempt to describe the way in which the media perceives itself as mediator of reality. Neither of these opinions can unequivocally be called true or false, but as McQuail (2005) states ‘the notion of mediation in the sense of media intervening between ourselves and ‘reality’ is no more than a metaphor, although it does point to several of the roles played by the media in connecting us to other experience, (McQuail, 2005).

About the media as a mirror McQuail (2005) says: As a mirror of events in society and the world, implying a faithful reflection (albeit with inversion and possible distortion of the image), although the angle and direction of the mirror are decided by others, and we are less free to see what we want. Fourie (2007) also highlights the tendency towards media concentration and shrinking diversity as propositions of the political economy of the media and a concern with regards to its impact on the public sphere. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) reiterates the need for a free and independent media unhindered by government, political and economic control and which is, most importantly, pluralistic. (UNESCO, 2005). The guiding principle is that the media should not be dominated by a few controlling interests and that citizens should have access as senders and receivers to media that reflect their ideas and meet their interests and needs. As such the media has five basic functions relating to information, correlation, continuity, entertainment and mobilization (Fourie, 2007). Each of these functions can be divided into a variety of tasks ranging from the provision of information about events and conditions in society (news) to campaigning for societal objectives, (McQuail, 2005).

In other words, the media are expected to serve a purpose in society. Tabane (2007) argues that only when journalists are educated to pay attention to social interest as inherent to all human beings and rid themselves of the notion that they are blessed with a superhuman sense of objectivity by virtue of their profession, will they be in a position to represent the diverse needs of society.

In his description of the metaphor in which the media fulfils its obligation to society as a mirror which reflects reality, McQuail (2005) warns that the reflection may be distorted. The influences that distort the image may be legion, but it is clear that commercial pressures and a concentration of ownership have a significant impact on the 'reality' that is reflected in the mirror.

As in real life, the metaphorical mirror should be used to examine and evaluate the reflection in order to affect change where it is needed. Knowledge of the factors that distort the image would place the beholder in a better position to make exact and pertinent changes or at least better evaluations. Its moral, ethical, political or emotional stance on a particular issue may suffice for one segment of society, but unless it has the ability to address the same issue from a different perspective in order to satisfy the needs of other citizens its job is only half done, (McQuail, 2005).

Dominick (2009) writes that, Media has a responsibility to preserve democracy by properly informing the public and by responding to society's needs and interests. The press does not have the freedom to do as it pleases; it is obligated to respond to society's requirements. Media are perceived to be the voice of the voiceless and thus offers a vast variety of views (Mirsha, 2016). Tabane (2007) argues that only when journalists are educated to pay attention to social interest as inherent to all human beings and rid themselves of the notion that they are blessed with a superhuman sense of objectivity by

virtue of their profession, will they be in a position to represent the diverse needs of society.

Independent Variable

Dependent variables

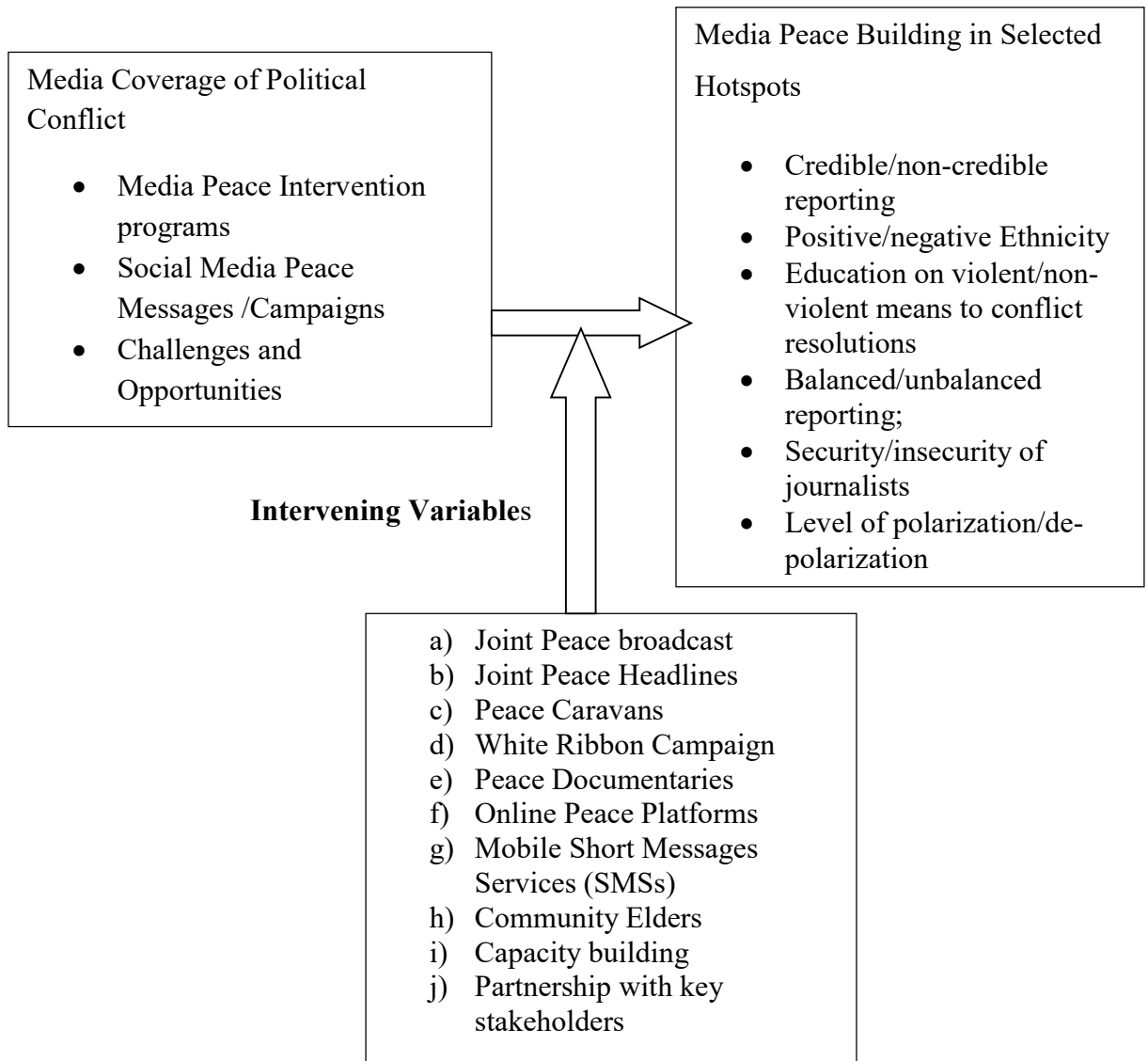


Figure 2.1: Conceptual Model

Source:

Researcher,

2017

The researcher concludes that the Social Responsibility Theory brings a balance both to the Media and audiences through the metaphorical mirror used to examine and evaluate the reflection in order to affect change where it is needed. This therefore means that it's a win-win situation whereby the Media communicate the intended message objectively to the audience, for example peace messages and the audiences are able to evaluate the messages responsibly and accept the messages and hence peace building process. Therefore both have Social Responsibility towards peace building. Kenyan media is self-regulatory as it is under the Media Council of Kenya. 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. Regional and international actors were quick to respond. The international community backed an African Union (AU) Panel of Eminent African Personalities mediation process, chaired by former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan. The theory weakness is when it does not recognize the fact that the government can muzzle the media in the name of social responsibility. This weakness is addressed by the libertarian theory. Thus, the three theories complement each other in this study.

2.5 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, the researcher delved deep into a review of unequivocal literature on the topic under investigation. From a thematic perspective and an informed premise, guided by theoretical basis on the questions of media coverage, political conflict and peace-building, theoretical underpinnings of political conflicts on peace-building were expounded as illustrated in the conceptual framework and model. While the media can play central role in promoting peace by using various techniques, the researcher endeavored to identify several challenges and gaps in this area. Media is facing some challenges for playing destructive roles in the peace building process. This is an indication that the news media are attracted to war and conflict. In addition to the hungry appetites of the journalists towards conflicts, the media people not only give lesser attention to the peace initiatives but also do not consider that peace building is as parts of their responsibilities.

Additionally the chapter reveals that, ethical misconduct include, misleading photographs which could be viewed as fraudulent, remarks made in confidence, obscene headlines, speculation, fabricated stories, reward and certification, and discrimination. On the legal situation, media analysts point at gaps in legislation as reasons for the failure of journalists to be critical in their reporting. Notwithstanding the identified gaps, the literature review has revealed that media coverage in a conflict situation, with the help of

technological advancement in media such as the advancements in internet and mobile services, led to the revolutionary media coverage during the Kenyan 2007/8 PEV.

The use of media as a peace-building tool is still controversial. The vast majority of the peace-building literature blatantly omits the role of the media.

In summary, the influence of the media on society has attracted international agencies closely involved in peace-building since the early 1990's. The Media can contribute to peace, by engaging in credible reporting, representing balanced opinions in its editorial content, and opening up communication channels among parties in a conflict. It can also identify and articulate without bias the underlying interests of warring factions. By doing so, the Media is capable of disseminating information that builds on the confidence of stakeholders in a conflict. Nonetheless, it was established that numerous works actually addressed the issue of media coverage on political conflicts but lacked a broader theoretical and solution-based discourse that this study sought to emphasize within the larger map of peace-building. Chapter three provides a methodological account of how the study was conducted, where the study was conducted and how the results would be analyzed and triangulated.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter looks at the methodology employed in the study, specifically, it focuses on the research design, Study area, study population, sample and sampling techniques, data collection methods and data analysis and presentation, Validity and Reliability of the Data, and Ethical Considerations while conducting the study.

3.1 Research Designs

The researcher envisaged a research design that is descriptive in nature. Ogula (2005) describes a research design as a plan, structure and strategy of investigation to obtain answers to research questions and control variance. Additionally, a study design is the plan of action the researcher adopts for answering the research questions and it sets up the framework for study or is the blueprint of the researcher. This study will adopt a survey research design. This design as defined by Orodho (2003) is a method of collecting information by interviewing or administering a questionnaire to a sample of individuals. The main feature of survey research design is to describe specific characteristics of a large group of persons, objects or institutions, through questionnaires. Besides, the design was used because of its descriptive nature in order to assist the researcher in collecting data from members of the sample for the purpose of estimating

the population parameters. This design therefore utilized mainly a qualitative approach as well as quantitative.

Descriptive discourses of the survey nature could be employed not only for the purpose of description but also for determination of relationships between variables at the time of study.

According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) the purpose of descriptive research is to determine and report the way things are and it helps in establishing the current status of the population under study. The design was chosen for this study due to its ability to ensure minimization of bias and maximization of reliability of evidence collected. Descriptive research is preplanned and structured in design so the information collected can be statistically inferred on a population. The main idea behind using this type of research is to better define an opinion, attitude, or behavior held by a group of people on a given subject. Consider your everyday multiple choice questions. Since there are predefined categories a respondent must choose from, it is considered descriptive research. These questions will not give the unique insights on the issues like exploratory research would. Instead, grouping the responses into predetermined choices will provide statistically inferable data. This allows you to measure the significance of your results on the overall population you are studying, as well as the changes of your respondent's opinions, attitudes, and behaviors' over time.

The study adopted a descriptive survey design which according to Churchill (1991) is appropriate where the study seeks to describe the characteristics of certain groups, estimate the proportion of people who have certain characteristics and make predictions.

The study aimed at collecting information from respondents on "Media Coverage of Political Conflicts Influencing Peace Building in selected Hotspots in Kenya Since 2007 Elections". Khan, (1993) recommends descriptive survey design for its ability to produce statistical information about aspects of education that interest policy makers and researchers.

The study adopted descriptive Research design in describing the objectives of the study. These were; to examine Media Peace Intervention programs employed by Media Houses in peace building since 2007 Elections in Kenya; to examine how Social Media Peace Messages Campaigns can be used in peace building since 2007 Elections; to explore Challenges and Opportunities of the Media in promoting and enhancing peace-building. In this study the author attempted to look into correlation between Media Coverage and Peace building. Descriptive research is used to describe characteristics of a population or phenomenon being studied. It does not answer questions about how/when/why the characteristics occurred. Rather it addresses the "what" question (what are the characteristics of the population or situation being studied?), (Shields, and Rangarajan, 2013).

3.2 Study Area

The research was carried out generally in selected areas where 2007/2008 PEV in Kenya was more prevalent. These are Kibera in Nairobi County, Kibuye in Kisumu County, Flower Farms in Naivasha in Nakuru County, Likoni Town in Kwale County and Kiamba Rural Village Church, in Uasin Gishu County.

The researcher chose to carry out my study in these selected areas because they were considered as “hotspots” in Kenya during the PEV, that is, areas most afflicted by the PEV (Lafargue, 2009). The researcher collected most of the data from Media Houses in Nairobi County. The researcher chose Nairobi County because it is where most of the key media houses have their offices and therefore would be the most appropriate to collect data from.

Nairobi is the capital and largest city of Kenya. It is famous for having the Nairobi National Park, the world's only game reserve found within a major city. With a population of 3.36 million in 2011, Nairobi is the second-largest city by population in the African Great Lakes region after Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. According to the 2009 census, in the administrative area of Nairobi, 3,138,295 inhabitants lived within 696 km² (269 sq mi). Nairobi is the 14th-largest city in Africa, including the population of its suburbs.

Kisumu is a port city in Kisumu County, Kenya 1,131 m (3,711ft), with a population of 409,928 (2009 census). It is the third largest city in Kenya, the principal city of western Kenya, the immediate former capital of Nyanza Province and the headquarters of Kisumu County. It has a municipal charter but no city charter. It is the largest city in Nyanza region and second most important city after Kampala in the greater Lake Victoria basin. Currently, Kisumu is one of the fastest growing cities in Kenya. It is thriving with rich sugar and rice irrigation industries, whose contribution to the National economy is immense due to its natural resources and as the epicentre for business in East Africa (Human Rights Watch Report 2008)

Naivasha is a market town in Nakuru County, Kenya, lying north west of Nairobi The town has a total population of 181,966 (2009 census). The main industry is agriculture, especially floriculture. Naivasha is also a popular tourist destination. The researcher also chose to vary out the study in Naivasha and especially in the vast flower farms because it was considered as one of the “hotspots” in Kenya during the PEV. In one of the dailies in Kenya, the writer claims that the Naivasha Killing during 2007/8 PEV were well planned. (Sunday Standard, 2008)

Likoni is a Sub County Town of Mombasa County, Kenya, and is located to the southwest of Mombasa Island. The PEV of 2007/2007 in Kenya affected Town of Likoni as a way of History repeating itself during Likoni massacre. In the autumn of 1997, six

policemen were killed when local raiders armed with traditional weapons and guns rampaged through the area. A police station and outpost were destroyed, along with countless market stalls and offices. Many non-local Kenyans were either killed or maimed, as the raiders targeted Luo, Luhya, Kamba and Kikuyu communities. It was estimated that ten police officers and thirty-seven raiders were killed in the clashes based on testimony to the Akiwumi Commission of Inquiry. The remainder of fatalities were in the local community (GOK 2008).

Nzau (2016) opine that the Rift Valley region was an epicenter of the 2007/2008 post-election violence. Therefore, the focal point and the *raison d'etat* of Kiambaa Rural Village Church (Kenya Assemblies of God Church), in Uasin Gishu County. Uasin Gishu County is one of the 47 counties of Kenya, located in the former Rift Valley Province. Uasin Gishu is located on a plateau and has a cool and temperate climate. It borders Trans-Nzoia County, Kenya. This is where we find Kenya assemblies of God Church in Kiambaa, Uasin Gishu County where Kalenjin youth allegedly attacked Kikuyu sheltering there on 1st January 2008 during the violence after the much disputed 2007 Kenya General Election. Over 35 people died having been burned beyond recognition in the torched Church (KNCHR 2008).

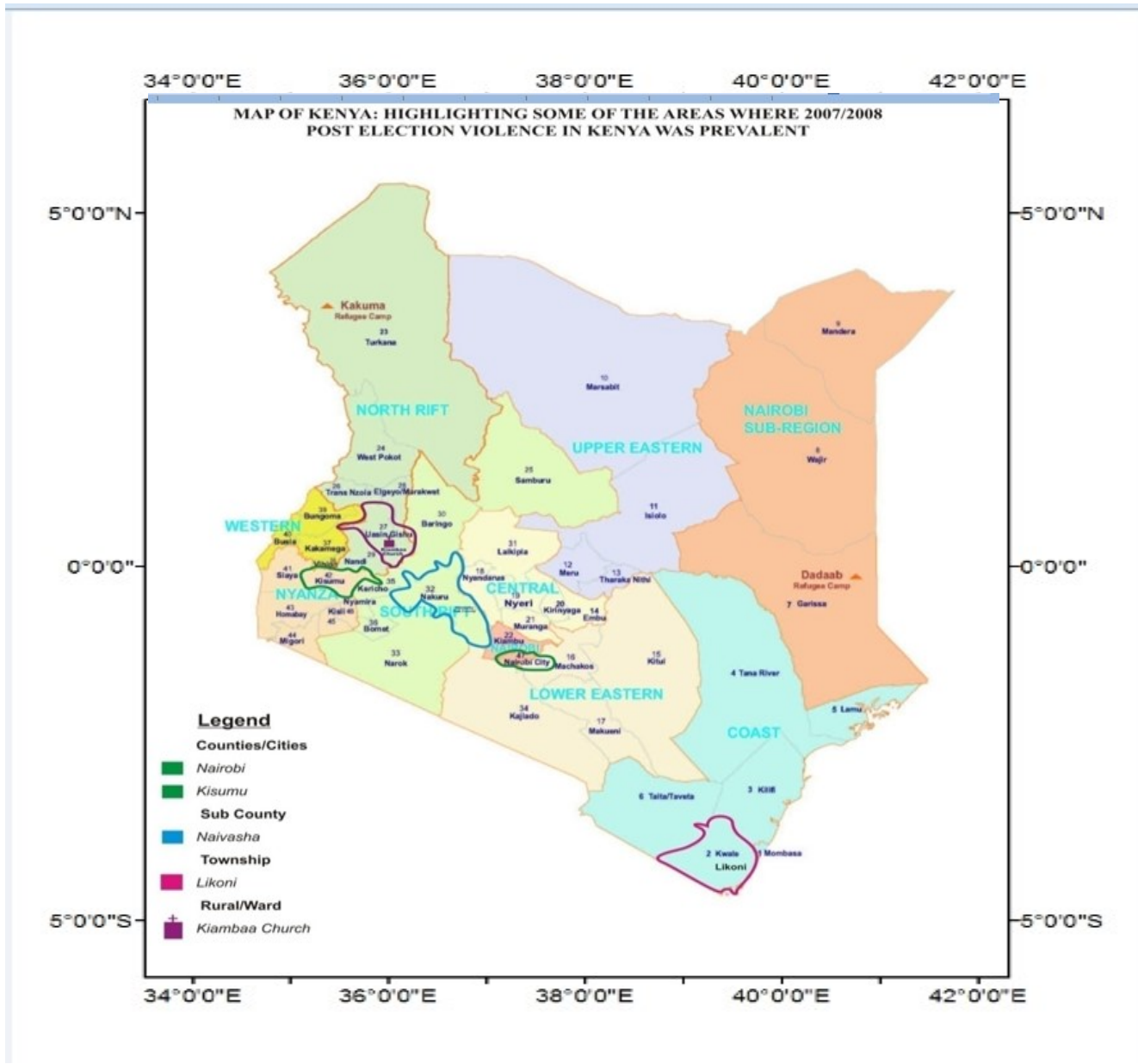


Figure 3.1. Geo-referenced Map showing selected hotspots of Post-Election Violence 2007/2008

Source, GIS Expert, 2018

3.3 Study Population

The target population refers to the specific group relevant to a particular study. Mugenda and Mugena (2003) explain that population is a group of individuals or objects that have the same form of characteristics. They are the totality of cases that conform to certain specifications, which defines the elements that are included or excluded in the target group. The target population of this study was (200) of the Middle Management staff of the Media Houses in Kenya, Print and Broadcast Media under study. These are Daily Nation; The East African Standard and The People Daily; KBC TV, Pamoja FM; and Ghetto.

The study also targeted population from (200) of Social Media users under study from online bloggers, websites administrators and population from the members of the public who are daily users of these online platforms. These are *Ushahidi*, *Sisi ni Amani* other Social Media platforms such as Face book; Blogs; Twitter and Youtube,. The population targeted Members of the Public from the epicenters of Kenya 2007/8 PEV.

Lastly the study targeted (100) of Senior Management staff of the Media Houses in Kenya. These are Daily Nation; The East African Standard and The People Daily; KBC TV, Pamoja FM; and Ghetto. This makes the total population of the study to 500 who are able to read and interpret the data collection tool.

3.4 Sampling Method and Sample Size

The researcher adopted purposive Sampling to identify Media Peace Intervention programs employed by Media Houses in peace building during and after 2007/8 PEV in Kenya. This method is also known as judgmental sampling. In this method the researcher purposely chooses persons who in his judgment about some appropriate characteristics required of the sample members are thought to be relevant to the research topic and are easily available. The researcher used Purposive Sampling here to get information from the respondents from Print and Broadcast Media. These are Managers, Directors, editors, producers, presenter, reporters, correspondents, media analysts and investigators.

The researcher adopted Convenience Sampling to examine how Social Media Peace Messages Campaigns can be used as a powerful weapon in peace building during and after Kenya 2007/8 PEV. This method is also called accidental or haphazard sampling. In this method the researcher uses elements which are conveniently available or accidentally falls his way as the samples. In many research contexts, the researcher gets the sample by simply asking for volunteers. It is mostly used by journalists on the streets seeking views, researcher in closed quarters such as classrooms where the views of the volunteers in the class represents those of entire students.

The researcher adopted Convenience Sampling to get information from the respondents from online bloggers, websites administrators and on various Social Media platforms

hosts under study and also from the members of the public. The researcher then did convenient sampling where by the selection of the informants was on the first come first served basis. In other words, the volunteers/ first top names given to the researcher were the chosen informants hence cutting off others who wanted to share their views

The researcher further adopted Purposive Sampling to establish Challenges faced by Kenyan Media in promoting and enhancing peace-building in Kenya. The researcher used Purposive Sampling here to get information Senior Directors, Senior Editors Senior Producers, Senior Investigators and Senior Analyst from the respondents from Print and Broadcast Media

3.4.1 Sample Size

A sample is a smaller group or sub-group obtained from the accessible population (Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999). This subgroup is carefully selected so as to be representative of the whole population with the relevant characteristics. Each member or case in the sample is referred to as subject, respondent or interviewees. Sampling is a procedure, process or technique of choosing a sub-group from a population to participate in the study (Ogula, 2005). It is the process of selecting a number of individuals for a study in such a way that the individuals selected represent the large group from which they were selected.

The sample frame of the study includes a representative sample of the Middle Management staff of the Print and Broadcast Media Houses, Social Media users from the members of the public and Senior Management staff of the Print and Broadcast Media Houses. At least 30% of the total population is representative (Borg and Gall, 2003). Thus, 30% of the accessible population is enough for the sample size. Therefore, 60 Middle Management staff of the Print and Broadcast Media Houses (200×0.3), 60 Social Media users (200×0.3) and 30 Senior Management staff of the Print and Broadcast Media Houses (100×0.3) was considered making a larger population of 150 respondents.

The first category consisted of 60 Middle Management staff of the Print and Broadcast Media Houses who were given questionnaires to fill in. Questionnaires were given to Managers, Directors, editors, producers, presenter, reporters, correspondents, media analysts, investigators from each of the Print and Broadcast Media Houses Sampled.

Once the respondents had filled in the questionnaires, the researcher analyzed the questionnaires and determined from the responses given whether there were any corrections or adjustments to be made in the questionnaires, such spelling mistakes, and unfinished sentences, also, this was to help the researcher in knowing whether the respondents understood the concepts given in the questionnaires.

Once the corrections and adjustments were made, the researcher repeated the exercise with same respondents used in the initial testing process after one week. This was to help the researcher to know whether the respondents had stood the concepts in the questionnaires by cross checking the responses.

The second category consisted of the Focus Discussion Groups. A sample size of 10 participants was administered online questionnaires to bloggers, websites administrators, and NGOs online platforms. A further sample size of 50 participants were divided into 5 Focus Discussion Groups consisting of 10-12 members from the members of the public from the selected epicenters of Kenya 2007/8 PEV. This consisted of young adults both men and women who are vibrant in the use of various social media platforms available.

The total number of the participants in this category was 60 participants. The third category consisted of 30 Senior Management staff of the Print and Broadcast Media Houses who were interviewed. These are Senior Directors, Senior Producers, Senior Investigators, Senior Editors and Senior Media and Senior Analysts from each of the Print and Broadcast Media Sampled.

However, since their views cannot represent a satisfactory picture of the real situation on the ground, data was analyzed alongside other materials on 2007/8 PEV in Kenya, found in Media Houses, Kenya National Library Services, Kenya National Archives and

Documentation Services, University Libraries, Kenya News Agency, Media Council of Kenya, Communication Commission of Kenya, Kenya Commission of Human Rights, National Commission Churches of Kenya, National Cohesion and Integration of Kenya and from various relevant online platforms.

Table 3.1 Target Population

Target	Total Number	Percentage	Sample size
Middle Management staff of the Media Houses.	200	30%	60
Social Media users from the members of the public.			50
PEV Survivors from 5 selected hotspots and Blogger from online platforms	30	30%	10
Senior Management staff of the Media Houses.	100	30%	30

Total	500	30%	150
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Source: Researcher (2017)

Table 3.2. Summary of Sampling Strategies

Population	Size	Sampling	Size	Data Collection
Middle Management staff of the Print and Broadcast Media Houses	200	Purposive Sampling	60	Questionnaires Focus Group Discussion, Interviews
Social Media users from the members of the public		Convenience Sampling	50	Focus Groups Discussion, Questionnaires
PEV Survivors from 5 selected hotspots and Blogger from online platforms			10	
Senior Management staff of the Print and Broadcast Media Houses	100	Purposive Sampling	30	Interviews, Questionnaires Focus Group Discussion

Source: Researcher (2017)

3.5 Data Collection Methods and Instruments

Data collection is the process of gathering and measuring information on targeted variables in a calculated fashion (Bryman, 2012). There are two main ways to carry out data collection in qualitative research; interviews and focus discussion groups. Bryman says that interviews can be either individual or group where you have a one-on-one session with a person or have a question-and-answer session (allowing discussion) with a particular selected group of people (Bryman, 2012). Moreover, McLeod argues that in qualitative research methodology, a researcher gathers information that is not numeric ,that is, open-ended questionnaires, unstructured interviews and unstructured observations (McLeod, 2008).

Therefore, for this research, due to time and availability of the informants, open-ended questionnaires and unstructured interviews were used as the data collection techniques. And so there were validated according to the qualitative research methodology techniques. Primary and secondary data was used to investigate the Media Coverage Of Political Conflicts Influencing Peace Building in Selected Hotspots In Kenya Since 2007Elections, which now forms a basis for analysis. Primary data was derived from telephone interviews, while texts from documents formed secondary sources. Data was collected between the months of January and February 2011. The interviews provided me with an extended range of opinions to interpret such data and the overall social discourse they form a part of.

3.5.1 Primary Data

The researcher collected primary data from different study population units with the help of Questionnaires, Interview guides, and Focus Discussion Groups.

The researcher systematically prepared a form or document with a set of questions deliberately designed to elicit responses from respondents for the purpose of collecting data.

a) Open-Ended Questionnaires

One can ask what open-ended questions mean and what could be their purposes in the research endeavors. An open-ended question is designed to encourage a full, meaningful answer using the subject's own knowledge and/or feelings. This study utilized the use of open-ended questionnaires. Open-ended questionnaires are questionnaires that use open-ended questions. What this means, is that, the questions used allow the respondents to express themselves in their own words.

In addition, they allow the respondents to answer in as much detail as they like McLeod (2014). Foddy argues that open-ended questions allow the respondent to express an opinion without being influenced by the researcher (Foddy, 1993). Lazarsfeld (1944), opines that the use of open-ended questions in a qualitative research methodology helps the research come up with questionnaire design that identifies adequate answer categories. Moreover, Ferligoj and Mrvar (2003: 161) argue that open-ended questions enable the researcher to discover “the responses that individuals give spontaneously, and

thus avoiding the bias that may result from suggesting responses to individuals”. It is essential to note that in open-ended questions setting, questionnaires can be thought of as a kind of interview.

They can be carried out face-to-face or at the convenience of the respondents, that is, through telephone, post and online. McLeod argues that in open-ended question, questionnaire designs provide a relatively cheap and quick way of obtaining large amounts of information from large group of people (McLeod, 2014). Hence, the use of the open-ended questions helped reach a wide population at the grassroots level that proffered enough information that made it possible to understand the role and effects of media before, during, and after the PEV. This method also helped localize the significant role media played in building peace after the PEV in Kenya. The collected information was informed by the fact that I am from Kenya, had witnessed the 200-2008 general elections and all the events that led to the eruption of the electoral violence.

Furthermore, the collection of the data was similarly informed by the fact that had worked with the people in the PEV in Kenya and had a rapport with the locals. Thus, the open-ended questions method was useful in this research in that it helped collect genuine information that helped answer the research question of this paper. Moreover, the use of this open-ended method allowed me to ask questions that probed a little more detail and discussion thereby facilitating in-depth answers from the respondents. Besides, because

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

In this study, the use of the physical questionnaires and an online platform was inevitable. The physical questionnaires were printed out and distributed to key persons at the grass-root level while the online platform used Survey Monkey to collect information. Survey Monkey is a research-based website that enables a researcher to formulate a questionnaire and upload it. Thereafter, respondents can answer the questionnaires anonymously at their leisure (Survey Monkey, 2016).

The targeted respondents for this method were media professions in the urban areas. The physical questionnaires were distributed to the respondents to extract information on the field under the study. Also the researcher administered online questionnaire to some Stations to get the required information. As noted by McLeod (2014), questionnaires can

be tedious and time consuming. The online platform provided a quicker alternative. Many if the respondents were able to fill out the online questionnaires within two weeks. It is important to note that some of the targeted respondents declined to fill in the questionnaires due to fear of jeopardizing their careers.

The questionnaires were administered to Media Houses after explaining to them the objective of the survey, the importance of their respective opinion on the accuracy and validity of the survey results, the simplicity of the questionnaires, and the confidentiality of the information provided. The respondents were all given 30 minutes to fill them out and hand in. Due to its physical nature, the data collection process took a month because the trainings the groups underwent were schedule monthly.

b) Interview Guides

Interviews and conversations on a personal level provide a glimpse into every day human experiences. They also give clues to the feelings and attitudes of people who help shape the social reality. Gabriium & Holstein (2003); Rubin (2005) view interviews as the most flexible and unpredictable form of social research, but an effective way of making meaning out of personal experiences. With limited access to the field the researcher adapted new media techniques for the practical aspect of interviewing respondents. These techniques are essential for online messaging and communication. They included Skype and Audacity softwares.

The choice of this medium was based on Stewart & Mann (2003) suggestions that Computer Mediated Communication (CMC) represent a new format where researchers can interact online and gather data for analysis, without having to go to the field. There were both advantages and limitations in using this medium.

For example, as Seale (2004) has indicated, the researcher found out sources to be forthright with their responses compared to face to face interviews. Where the interview appeared to be more informal, the researcher incorporated approaches used in ethnographic qualitative research like follow up questions and probes to get the right responses to questions. This approach helped in emphasizing on areas or pointers missed in the conversation. The researcher opened the interviews with an initial pre-chat to establish rapport. Appropriate time slots were made in consideration of work pressures and differences in geographical time zones.

Charmaz (2002) advises on constant reflections and critical review of questions, to obtain better results and to see where questions do not fit within data being analyzed. This meant that each respondent's level in the profession or representation in the media house, determined the nature of questions asked. Some questions were omitted while new ones emerged in the course of the interview. The structure of the data findings and analysis flows from narratives of respondents.

The researcher administered thirty (30) interview guides containing which were administered verbally to Media Houses Managers, Directors, editors, producers, presenter, reporters, correspondents, Media analysts, investigators. The researcher booked an appointment with the intended respondents for interviews and conversations on a personal level provide a glimpse into every day human experiences, Gabrium & Holstein (2003); Rubin (2005).

Face-to-face interview and also interviews over the phone were conducted. Face-to-face interviews facilitated probing of responses to investigate and ensure that each participant gave full answers. Attitudes, passions, perceptions were also easy to gauge following the face to face interviews. The endeavor of the study was to congregate multiple sources of proof that would validate the broad findings and omit any prejudiced that might arise from differences. It was therefore indispensable to take on concepts and research techniques that were understood by the respondents.

c) Focus Group Discussion

According to Boddy (2005) a focus group discussion is defined as a group of people brought together to participate in the discussion of an area of interest. In other literature, focus group discussions are also defined as organised discussions (Kitzinger, 1994), collective activity (Powell *et al.*, 1996) social events (Goss & Leinbach, 1996) and interaction (Kitzinger, 1995). According to Morgan & Kreuger (1993), the main purpose of focus group research is to draw upon respondents' attitudes, feelings, beliefs,

experiences and reactions in a way that would not be feasible using other methods, for example observation, one-to-one interviewing, or questionnaire surveys. These attitudes, feelings and beliefs may be partially independent of a group or its social setting, but are more likely to be revealed via the social gathering and the interaction that being in a focus group entails (Morgan & Kreuger, 1993). The focus group discussion aims to provide an environment in which all members of the group can discuss the area of investigation with each other (Boddy, 2005).

A successful focus group discussion has the group members involved as participants in discussing the area of interest. They may argue with each other, try to persuade each other of their point of view, agree or disagree, ask each other questions and generally discuss the topic in an open, and, usually, friendly manner (Boddy, 2005). The moderator, acting as first among equals, intervenes, thus moderating, only to keep the topic of discussion on the area of interest. The moderator introduces new elements of the area of interest, probes for a deeper understanding of statements made by group members and gains explanation for the differences of opinion held. Participatory discussion is maximised (Boddy, 2005). The moderator in a focus group discussion mediates between group participants and settles disputes in terms of trying to explore and understand different points of view or to explain differences in opinions (Boddy, 2005).

The benefit to participants of focus group research should not be underestimated. The opportunity to be involved in decision making processes (Race *et al.*, 1994), to be valued as experts, and to be given the chance to work collaboratively with researchers (Goss & Leinbach, 1996) can be empowering for many participants. If a group works well, trust develops and the group may explore solutions to a particular problem as a unit (Kitzinger, 1995), rather than as individuals. Another advantage of focus groups to clients, users, participants or consumers is that they can become a forum for change (Race *et al.*, 1994), both during the focus group meeting itself and afterwards. For example, in research conducted by Smith *et al.* (1995), patients in a hospital were invited to give their views about services and provide ideas about improvements. In this instance change occurred at the management level as a direct result of patients' input.

A structured focus group discussion was conducted to identify the strategies on subject matters. The focus group was facilitated by the researcher as the moderator. This group had active participation from the members who attended the focus group discussion. The collection of data from the focus group discussion was performed according to the following schedule: There were a total of 60 people participating in the focus group discussion comprising between 10 - 15 participants. The research was carried out generally in selected areas where 2007/2008 PEV in Kenya was more prevalent. These are Kibera in Nairobi County, Kibuye in Kisumu County, Flower Farms in Naivasha in Nakuru County, Likoni Town in Kwale County and Kiamba Rural Village Church, in Uasin Gishu County. I chose to carry out my study in these selected areas because they

were considered as “hotspots” in Kenya during the PEV, that is, areas most afflicted by the PEV (Lafargue, 2009).

The researcher was able to manage the entire focus group discussion in a much focused direction. The objectives, aim and output were clearly explained to the participants. All the participants who attended the focus group discussion were initially passive, however, along the way the researcher was able to encourage the participants to be more active and to make sure all the participants get equal talk time. All the participants offered their ideas and suggestions generously with no one holding back with none being considered less creative or innovative.

3.5.2 Secondary Data

The researcher visited some relevant Government institutions such as Kenya National Library Service, Kenya National Archives and Documentation Services and the famous Kenya Assemblies of God, Kiamba Church in Uan Sigishu County to access information under the study. The researcher incorporated Audio-visual recordings, Video recordings on mediums like CD's, DVD's, Flash disks, Smart phones, Ipad, Laptop during data collection. Other sources included you-tubes. The researcher also conducted online search via internet to collect data by use of modern search engines available.

Table 3.3. Study Population and Corresponding Data Collection Instrument(s)

Population Unit	Sampling Method	Sample Size	Data Instruments	Appendix Number	
Middle Management staff of the Print and Broadcast Media Houses ; Managers, Directors, editors, producers, presenters, reporters, correspondents, media analysts and investigators	Purposive Sampling	60	Questionnaires FGDs Interviews and Interview Guides	II III	
Social Media users from the public	PEV Survivors from 5 selected hotspots	Convenience Sampling	50	Focus Group Discussion (FGDs) Questionnaires and Interviews	IV
	Blogger from online platforms		10		
Senior Directors, Senior Senior Management staff of the Print and Broadcast Media Houses; Producers, Senior Investigators, Senior Editors and Media Analysts.	Purposive Sampling	30	Questionnaires FGDs Interviews and Interview Guides	II III	

Source: Researcher (2017)

3.6 Data Processing, Analysis and Presentation

The purpose of data processing, analysis and presentation of the data, is to summarize the collected data and organize the same in such a way that they answer the research questions. Methods of data analysis depended on the type of data collected for each of the objective.

This involved analyzing both qualitative and quantitative data. The researcher commenced data analysis as soon as collection of data kicks off. The researcher held analytic meetings with research assistants to capture the initial thinking and tentative ideas about the data. The initial themes and categories seen in the data was also to inform codes that the researcher used for a systematic analysis of the collected data.

The Key Informants Interviews data were checked for consistency of the notes with the recordings and later transcribed before data analyses were done. The qualitative data was analyzed manually to come up with clear understanding of how some of the variables describe the factors that determine Media Coverage of Political Conflicts Influencing Peace Building in Selected Areas in Kenya Since 2007 Elections.

The information gathered through interviews was interpreted to extract themes relevant to the research questions (Shaw2001; Lavie & Willig 2005 :) by reading and rereading the transcripts of the interviews and getting familiarized with the data. Interesting and significant information was marked according to emerging themes or categories.

The data was then grouped in themes to help the researcher to come up with important information regarding the respondent's knowledge, attitudes, motivations, decisions and practices regarding their involvement in the conflict. The researcher then made a list of master themes and sub-titles become sub-themes which we clustered under several headings (Shaw 2001). Although the data analysis stage was conducted after the fieldwork data collection stage, the data analysis stage was in progress during the data collection phase rather than as a final stage in a linear model (Lavie & Willig, 2005).

In addition, the author was also able to trace connections and thoughts; explore recurring patterns and phenomena's during whole process of data analysis .Preliminary and subsequent notions and thoughts were recorded in detail, thus highlighting the organic nature of this method for data analysis During data analysis, more details emerged and called for further analysis. Since the researcher had already created some theoretical categories in the course of theoretical reflections, and used these for the first coding purposes, enlightening and enlarging the categories became an ongoing process during analysis (Shaw, 2001).

Subsequent to the creation of categories, was the narrative presentation of the data that was supported by confirmations from the statements recorded while conducting the interview as well as making theoretical references as applicable (Shaw, 2001). In order to ensure that the objective of the research was fulfilled, the researcher looked at each objective and inserted the significant interview extracts. The analysis continued until data had been synthesized thoroughly to permit conclusions to be drawn from the collected

data. The findings are presented in the following chapter, where fitting descriptive quotations drawn from the transcribed interview records have been used to put across respondent's outlook.

3.7 Validity and Reliability of Data

Morse and associates (2002) note that all research must have the truth value, applicability, neutrality and consistency. They proposed that they criteria in qualitative research to ensure trustworthiness are credibility, transferability, conformability and dependability.

They recommend the use of negative cases, peer debriefing, prolonged engagement persistent observation, audit trials and member checks to attain trustworthiness (Morse et. al, 2002). Key indicators of the quality of a measuring instrument are the reliability and validity of the measures. Prior to using the data collection instruments, the researcher first piloted them.

3.7.1. Validity of Data

According to Mugenda and Mugenda (1999), validity is the accuracy and meaningfulness of inferences, which are based on the research results. It is the degree to which results obtained from the analysis of the data actually represent the variables of the study. The researcher looked into the content and construct validity of the research instrument. The researcher assessed the content and construct validity of the research instruments. Content validity showed whether the questions and statements fully represented every

element of the research questions and objectives of the study. Construct validity on the other hand ensured that the questions and statements were correctly and clearly stated.

To further ensure validity, the researcher shared the details and structure of the research instruments with the supervisor for analysis, for the supervisor to cross-check and affirms that indeed the research instruments capture the full concept of the study. Thereafter, the researcher made the necessary changes needed. Validity is often defined as the extent to which an instrument measures what it purports to measure. The process of developing and validating an instrument is in large part focused on reducing error in the measurement process.

Kothari (2003) the process of developing and validating an instrument is in large part focused on reducing error in the measurement process. Ambiguous or too wordy questions can affect the validity (accuracy) of information gathered in survey. Valid instrument is reliable too. Validity in qualitative research asks the question: How congruent are a researcher's findings with reality? To answer this question, we must understand and define what reality is.

3.7.2. Reliability of Data

Reliability is defined as the measure of the degree to which a research instrument yields consistent and coefficient results on data in another given similar situation. Reliability of instrument is done to ensure that there is consistence across all given variables (Mugenda

and Mugenda, 1999). Internal consistency reliability was used to measure the instrument's reliability.

Reliability estimates are used to evaluate (1) the stability of measures administered at different times to the same individuals or using the same standard (test–retest reliability) or (2) the equivalence of sets of items from the same test (internal consistency) or of different observers scoring a behavior or event using the same instrument. Reliability coefficients range from 0.00 to 1.00, with higher coefficients indicating higher levels of reliability. Ambiguous or too wordy questions can affect the reliability (consistency) of information gathered in survey.

Reliability is concerned with to what extents one's research will be found again. What this means is that can the study be replicated? And if so, will the findings be same (Merriam, 1995). Usually, a researcher distances themselves from the research using objective measures to ensure the authenticity of the data. The more times findings can be replicated, the more reliable the data is thought to be .Qualitative researchers do not seek to establish laws of reliability in research. Instead, they seek to understand the world from the perspectives of those in it . Lincoln and Guba (1985), discredit this notion stating that data collected from different samples could never be the same. Instead, they propose the use of credibility and consistency as alternatives.

They also recommend that the researcher be responsive, holistic, sensitive, and adaptable to changing circumstances, have professional immediacy and be able to clarify and summarize information (Lincoln & Guba, 1981).

3.8 Limitation of the Study

The research was carried out in a timely manner and the aims of the research were achieved. However, just like any research carried out, the researcher experienced some challenges. Firstly, although the researcher was aware of the changes the presence of a researcher can have on the participants, it was not easy for me to work with it during Focus Group Discussions.

Unexpected negative response from respondents due to the fact that they were unwilling to give out sensitive organizational information, was a challenge. However, this was delimited by assurance that it was for academic purpose only and through counter-checking on secondary literature.

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

in different corners of the country in order to get a more holistic view of effects on the entire country.

3.8.1 Confidentiality

One of the factors included the issue of confidentiality in that the researcher felt that some respondents were afraid to give information due to fear that the information may not be treated with confidentiality or end up being misused hence cost them their jobs. To overcome this, researcher ensured research ethics are fully observed thus convinced them that the information was treated with utmost confidentiality.

3.8.2 Mistrust

On the other hand, the researcher felt that the study was limited by fear from the respondents that the study was carried out for the benefit of influential individuals or a competitor who wants to strategize better for competing denominations. The researcher tried to overcome all these through convincing them that it was for academic purpose.

3.8.3 Communication Barrier

Also the researcher felt that the study was limited by communication barrier, this happened where by the respondents gave brief/vague information on the questionnaires which was not understood by the researcher hence jeopardizing the interpretation process. For these reasons the researcher tried to compare the two methods of interviews, and that of questionnaires to see if the researcher can overcome the limitation.

Other limitations were:

3.8.4 Accessibility of Sensitive Organizational Information

Dealing with emotive as well as sensitive information is critical. Few negative responses occurred because the researcher visited Kenya National Archives and Documentation Centre (KNAD) and also Kenya National Library Service (KNLS) meaning that most of the information required was in the public domain. Also a thorough counter-checking on secondary literature was done as well as desk-reviews and online sources. The information was also sourced through brief discussions by KNA&DS and KNLS librarians and workers. A careful balance of what was in public domain and the archive was emphasized by the researcher. This included divulging sensitive information and documentaries with caution as well as discretion.

3.8.5 Revisiting PEV Wounds

Due to the sensitivity of the study, members of the public through FGDs were a bit hesitant to go back down the memory lane because of the psychological trauma experienced either directly or indirectly during PEV in Kenya. However, the researcher went extra mile to encourage the interviewees that the study it's for a worthy course because it will be used as a blueprint upcoming Kenya Elections.

Despite these limitations, it should be noted that a research study of this nature would hopefully contribute to the generation of new ideas and perspectives about Media conflict representation towards peace fostering

3.8.6.1 Assumptions of the Study

This study was guided by the following assumptions: Meeting research objectives or answering research questions was one of important aspect of research findings. To answer research questions stated herein, the following assumptions were made:

- i. Availability of adequate funds for study completion.
- ii. The Media houses and professionals in Kenya have adopted acceptable practices in relation to peace-fostering reporting in their operations.
- iii. The target audience from the population selected gave a fair representation of the whole population under study.
- iv. The person answering the questionnaire understood the questions in the same way.
- v. The response rate was high to avoid biasness.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations are of utmost when carrying out research. The researcher must ensure that the information retrieved is safely stored and that the respondents' identities be kept anonymous (Bryman, 2012). Fortunately, the open-ended questionnaires was used to keep the respondents identities secret. Bryman (2012) outlines the following ethical considerations as; no harm to participants, lack of consent, invasion of privacy, and deception. Therefore, before administering any questionnaires, the researcher outlined her intentions for the research study and ensured that she would protect the respondents' information and identities. This is in line with (Grinyer, 2002). The respondents were given the freedom to answer at will. All questions and terminologies

used were clarified in the questionnaires and respondents allowed to fill them in (Bryman, 2012).

Ethical considerations in research are critical. Ethics are the norms or standards for conduct that distinguish between right and wrong. They help to determine the difference between acceptable and unacceptable behaviors. Okoth (2012) opine that, ethical standards prevent against the fabrication or falsifying of data and therefore, promote the pursuit of knowledge and truth which is the primary goal of research. Ethical behavior is also critical for collaborative work because it encourages an environment of trust, accountability, and mutual respect among researchers. This is especially important when considering issues related to data sharing, co-authorship, copyright guidelines, confidentiality, and many other issues.

Ethical principles vary from person to person due to the differences in beliefs, customs and background Bryman, (2012). However, there are certain guidelines that every researcher or interviewer must uphold in order to acquire the desired results and to ensure that the interviews are not compromised especially on sensitive matters. According to Bryman (2012), these considerations include; no harm to participants, lack of consent, invasion of privacy and deception are of priority to the interviewer. For this reason, the researcher allowed the urban population the freedom to decline participation in the study and/or answer the questions they were comfortable answering. The researcher did put

into consideration ethical issues as provided in research procedures and guidelines. Respondents appropriately acknowledged and identified for the credibility and validity of data. All the information collected during research, was treated in confidence and used only for Academic purposes. The methodological choices in the research are informed by the type of questions under investigation and the data collected to explain them.

CHAPTER FOUR

MEDIA PEACE INTERVENTION PROGRAMS INFLUENCING PEACE BUILDING SINCE KENYA 2007 ELECTIONS

Introduction

This chapter represents the focal point of the research study. It also explicates the findings produced by the original quantitative as well as qualitative analysis conducted as a part of this study. This chapter links the first research objective and the question in presenting the research findings on Media Peace Intervention programs employed by Media Houses in peace building since 2007 Elections in Kenya in relation to the study. It entails an analysis of data collected from media houses personnel under study which includes: The Nation Media Group; The East African Standard; The People Daily; KBC TV, Ghetto FM and Pamoja FM Media Personnel.

This chapter discusses the results of open ended questionnaires conducted by the researcher from the Media Houses Professionals under study. Before the inception of data collection, the purpose, rationale, and significance of the study were explained in detail to the respondents. The respondents were assured total confidentiality and the utmost care and caution of the data collected and its purpose.

Secondary literature was also used in comparison with the data collected here. It is pertinent to note that the intention in this chapter is to analyze the data collected from the

field visits through various themes that found significant to the research in line with the aim and the research question. The emerged themes are understood and explained according to the objectives of the study. These themes are systematically analyzed as follows:

4.1 Media Peace Intervention Programs in Peace Building since Kenya 2007 Elections

This section sought to underscore media peace intervention programs in peace-building. From the findings 30% (200) of the Middle Level Management staff (Directors, Managers, Producers, Investigators, Editors and Media Analysis's), indicated that some national television and radio stations tried to dilute their message (make it sound less biased). The tonal variations and facial expression of the news casters or anchors would clearly reflect the stations feelings and attitude.

Consequently, the participants felt that de-escalation of the violence through the media was mostly the vocal and facial expressions of the media. As a result, the media played vigilant attention to the vocal and facial aspects of their delivery, which may comprise 93 % of the passing their message during the conflict. They also acknowledged the power that the media had over the government to influence the public.

The response rate to the questionnaires was very encouraging. 30% (200) of the Middle Level Management respondents from the Media Houses under study believed that the

media played a big role in shaping Kenyan history during the 2007 elections. These ,they said was a praise to the media for reporting from all the parts of the country, reporting in a timely manner, interviewing different politicians on their views, and investigating the politicians.

They also believe that the proper utilization of mass media is a great tool that can be used to a robust level for the good of the citizens of Kenya. And as Mehrabian (1998), notes after his work on the influence of non-verbal and verbal communication, the overall message influence on the listener is 38% vocal, 7% verbal, and 55% facial expression,).

Most of the scholars agree that conflict is common, inevitable and a fact that exists at all level of the societies (Lynch 2007, Reuben 2009, Abozaglo 2008, Tahir 2009, and Blackman 2003). The problem is that, outcomes of conflicts are unpredictable. The conflicts might escalate and lead to non-productive results or bring some intended solutions to the large community. In these cases, it has become essential to look at how the media play their role in bringing peace, which is the center of this study. In most cases, whatever the words used by various scholars, like peace journalism, conflict sensitive reporting, and peace building media, the center of the issues is how ‘stories of conflict are presented’ and how salient issues are reported by the media (Entman,1993).

In addition to framing the story, showing the real situation of the others can have an advantage in bring them very close and bring some sort of peace. This leads to have a forum for public discussion, and eventually report underlying and explanatory facts and issues, that are what the conflict-transforming media work, (Melone, Terzis, & Beleli, 2002). All the Media Houses respondents supported media coverage during the violence.

This position was informed by the view that government was against the media. One of the Media Practitioner, argued that,

The government wanted the leading media houses to support them while forgetting that the media should be non-partisan. The politicians and Kenyan Government officials should be in fact be grateful to the media. The media practiced self-censorships. Were it not for this censorship the voters would have known the government for who they are; selfish persons who wanted to use the media to spread their interest. But the government failed terribly since the media maintained its objectivity, (Interview with Media Practioner on 15.01.2017, Kibera Nairobi County).

The researcher noted that all the respondents praised the government's decision to lift the ban on the media. They also agreed that calm was restored when the ban was lifted.

The media was very instrumental after the violence had ended. The media also rallied conflicting politicians and starting a peace campaign later one when there was order was restored. I believe this brought normalcy to the country. (Interview with Media Practioner, 15.01.2017, Kibera ,County Nairobi).

The results of the media initiative found from the questionnaire were corroborated by the results from the interviews conducted with media analysts, NGOs and KNCHR. When

asked to state whether or not the media in Kenya reflects the power to create and influence public awareness and concern of salient issues, most of the respondents agreed. This was preponderant in determining media peace interventions.

4.1.1 Kenyan Print Media in Peace building Programs

The findings in this study regarding print media in peace building programs were consistent with findings by others. According to Mahatma Gandhi (*World Development Report, 2002*), the newspaper as media source has a role to understand the popular feeling and give expression to it as well as arouse among the people desirable sentiments and to fearlessly expose popular defects. Wolfsfeld (2004), on the other hand, notes that an influential role of the media is that of being a bridge between the government and people. The finding regarding the media's role in promoting peace building supports finding by Reddy (2002), that the media has an obligation not to jeopardize or harm the welfare of the society.

The finding from the interviews indicating that ethnic media was likely to fuel conflicts lends support to findings by Wolfsfeld (2004) that the media can either report negatively political opponents, or raise legitimacy of those supporting peaceful negotiations.

With the ban on the other forms of media, the print media through anonymous leaflets, flyer and newspapers flourished and countered the lack of information flow. One participant as a media practitioner noted that;

The ban was counterproductive because the print media was consistent in criticizing the government over the decision to ban their counterparts in broadcast media. Newspapers took center stage in fighting the ban with some printing three copies of their papers per day. (Interview with a worker in flower firm, 17.01.2017, Naivasha, Nakuru County).

On 30th of December the Kenyan government officially banned live broadcasts or any anti-government coverage. This meant news would only be reported once it was a past tense. With lack of radio and TV updates, the cell phones came in handy as information or rumors of war were being spread all over the country. The newspapers also took advantage on the live broadcast and started printing newspaper in almost two hours' intervals. During the 2007 elections in Kenya, the Print Media played a positive role in disseminating information on the electoral process to the electorates. In Print Media, the newspaper frames the news within a particular viewpoint. This can change the perception of the issue among the readers.

The underlying rationale motivating the study of political conflict imagery is that news photographs set a visual agenda that affects the recall of political events. Images draw reader attention to written articles and are in and of themselves the subject of focused attention, Griffin (2010:15).

4.1.2 The Three Leading Dailies in Kenya

Studying parts of the statistics related to the key respondents from the 3 Print Media dailies, that is, The Daily Nation, People daily and The East African Standard, these were the Managers, Editors, Correspondents Reporters, Investigators, Media analysts. Findings revealed that the 3 Newspapers dailies sampled have the most circulation in most of major towns in Kenya and therefore news about what was happening Kenya, Regionally and internationally was readily accessible. Figure 4.1 represent the summary of the findings from the three dailies under study.

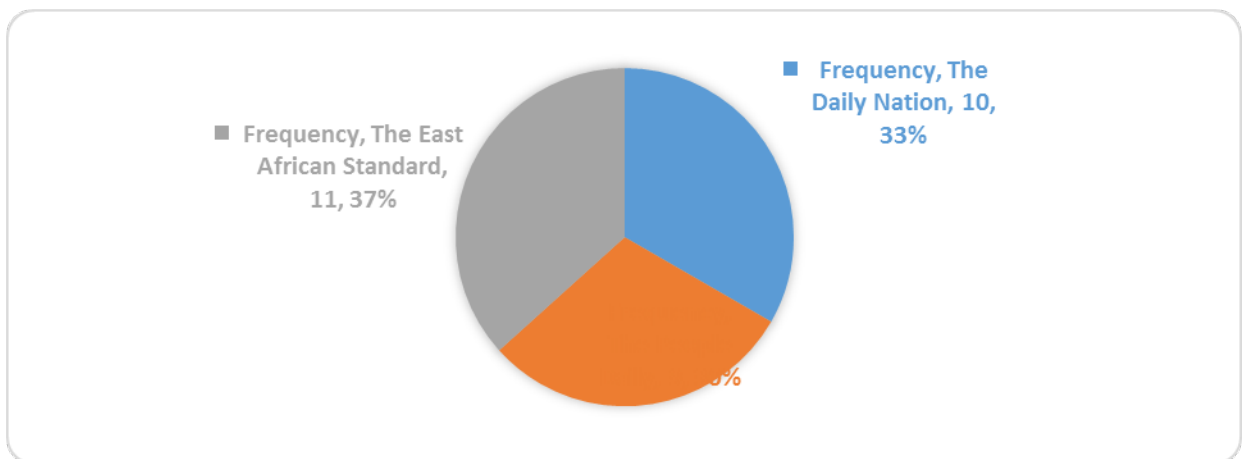


Figure 4.1: Three Leading Dailies in Kenya

Source: Field Data, 2017

4.1.3 The Three Leading Dailies in Kenya - Period of Circulation

In relation to the previous data, the respondents were asked to indicate the period of circulation. For The Daily Nation, it has been in existence for 58 years, The East African Standard has been in existence for 115 years while People daily have been in existence

for 14 years. This implied that Kenya Print Media has been existence in quite good number of and their influence has been realized in Kenya vis-à-vis their influence in fostering Peace in Kenya and especially when they did a co-operate Editorial and Joined Headlines as was the case during Kenya PEV of 2007/8. Table 4.2 shows the summary of the leading dailies in Kenya, their year of inception and the period of circulation. This is important data to determine their level of authority in the Print Media industry as well to determine the reliability and validity of the information provided therefore.

Table: 4.1 Three Leading Dailies in Kenya - Period of Circulation

Name of the Broadcasting	Duration (Years)	Year of Inception
The Daily Nation	Over 10 years	1959
The East African Standard	Over 10 years	1902
People Daily	Over 10 years	2003

Source: Field Data, 2017

4.1.4 Core Publication Contents

From the foregoing we can see that when respondents were asked to indicate the core publication content, 30%(60) indicated news, 20%(40) indicated music and entertainment, 13%(26) indicated education as the core content, 14%(28) said health issues and HIV Aids, 3%(6) indicated security, 7%(14) indicated women, while agriculture/business news, religious issues and politics were represented by 14%(28) as indicated in Figure 4.3.

This means that news rated highly as core publication content but news and information has to be geared toward reaching the audiences in rural areas of Kenya. Respondents also indicated that various element of Publishing Content is able to influence in fostering Peace and Conflict Management because they are packaged based on current issues affecting various Communities and also information can be relayed quickly in times of crisis for example during the Kenya 2007/2008 PEV period.

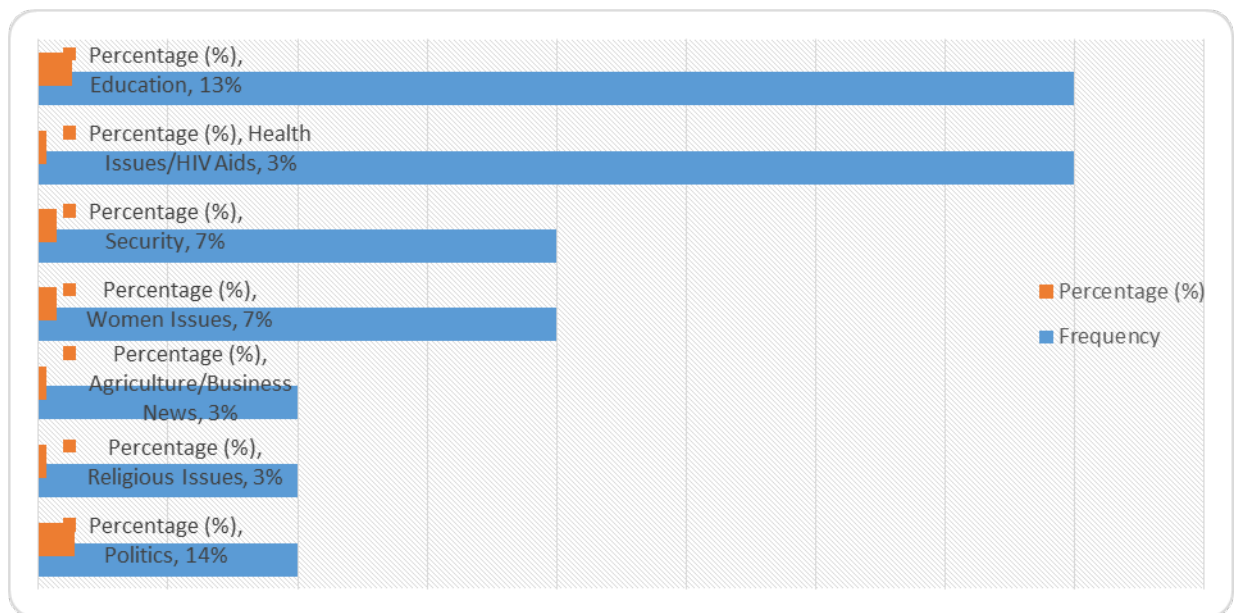


Figure 4.2 Three Dailies Core Publication Content

Source: Field Data, 2017

4.1.5 People Who Influences on Publication Content

In relation to the previous data, the respondents were asked about who influences the publication content and they indicated that 40% is influenced by the newspaper readers,

followed by 27% by reporters/correspondents, 23% by the editors and media analysts at 10%. From the findings we learnt that readers have an upper hand in influencing publication content because they will always react positively or negatively to the published content.

The foregoing resonates with Journal of Social and Political Psychology (2013), with media play a central role in informing the public about what happens in the world, particularly in those areas in which audiences do not possess direct knowledge or experience. Findings across these areas, show the way in which the media shape public debate in terms of setting agendas and focusing public interest on particular subjects.

For example, in our work on disability we showed the relationship between negative media coverage of people on disability benefit and a hardening of attitudes towards them. Further, the media also severely limit the information with which audiences understand these issues and that alternative solutions to political problems are effectively removed from public debate. The media has the biggest influence on public opinion, especially on topics that the public has insufficient information. Reporter in the media industry, they are mostly diligent people who go an extra mile to get the true story. Their main goal is to inform the public so that people can make their own decision.

Media is the most powerful tool for the formation of public opinion in contemporary times. It is the Television, the press, the radio and the Internet. (Films, magazines, posters, studies, reports, theater, art, dance, public speeches, hearings) Talking about the media is like talking about a mission. A source of information and education that would shape the daily choices in people’s life. The researcher therefore, concludes that after media sets the agenda to the public, the public reacts to the information given and so they readers have an upper hand of what information they desire to receive from the Media.

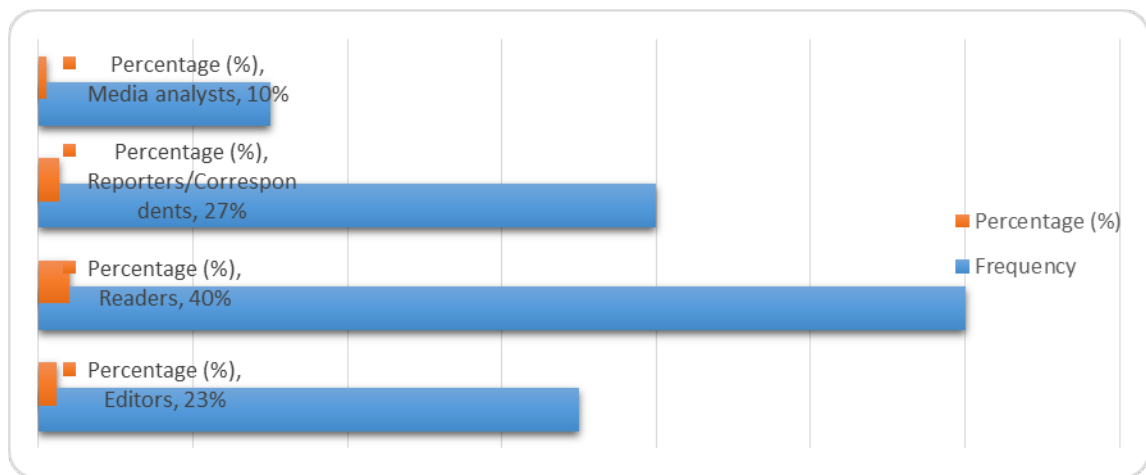


Figure: 4.3 People Who Influences on Publication Content

Source: Researcher (2017)

4.1.6 Influence of the Three Dailies

In one of the first calls for reconciliation and negotiation, an editor asked Kibaki and Raila: ‘How many more must die how much more must be destroyed before you come to your senses?’ (*Daily Nation*, January 3, 2008). This portrayed a media that demonstrated social responsibility by directly questioning the moral probity of the leading antagonists.

It followed the realization that the media could not simply remain objective and highlight the conflict without contributing to attempts at resolving it. Consequently, media owners, in conjunction with the Concerned Citizens for Peace, changed tack and began a programme of peace education. This demonstrated a humane and patriotic, as opposed to an objective but aloof, media. They realized that focusing on the blame game in the face of a humanitarian catastrophe could only promote hatred and vengeance and prolong the conflict.

As the KNDRT team got to work, the press portrayed the peace and reconciliation process as very delicate by propagating phrases like ‘the stakes are high’, ‘the world is watching’, and that it was ‘a race against time’ (*Sunday Standard*, February 3, 2008).

As the respondent said;

The government must have found itself between a rock and a hard place. Besides, over the years, successive opinion polls have proved that Kenyans esteem the media as the most reliable institution. It was therefore no surprise when the public took sides and support the media in this government and media row (Kisumu Respondent).

Such phrases put all observers on tenterhooks, besides putting pressure on the negotiators to find a quick fix to peace. Such ultimatums could have led to the subsequent shaky peace deal that later spawned new conflicts over power sharing. The gesture of peace and reconciliation imminent in the handshake by Kibaki and Raila on February 1, 2008 was expected to neutralize the preceding period of fierce media and public outrage over how

the government had failed to manage the conflict. It is in this second phase of media coverage of the post-election violence that we see the media tone down its language that seemed to escalate the violence, and focus more on communicating messages that sought to promote reconciliation and peace.

Of interest is how the media articulated their role in the post-conflict setting. A report in the *Sunday Standard* highlighted the fact that the media were required to show leadership in areas of dialogue, national cohesion and reconciliation (Okello 2009). Bratic (2005) argues that in order to work for the public good, the media should convey messages in forms that contribute to the formation of positive attitudes and opinions and to the increase of knowledge and awareness. He concludes that the journalistic agenda of social responsibility could facilitate the agenda of peace building. The media in Kenya has on various occasions indulged directly in national crises by creating public sentiment.

For instance, the Daily Nation of January 3, 2008 addressed Kibaki and Raila in an editorial and told them that: ‘the earnest cry of all Kenyans is: step back from the brink’. In another report, The Standard incited the public sentiment by telling Kenyans to shun politicians who would flee the country by plane if a full-scale war broke out. Therefore, in times of public repression, the media reflects public sentiment by being the mouthpiece of the masses. However, in times of normalcy, the media can whip up emotions by their reports of investigative journalists. Bratic (2005) opines that, since the need for

information is increased by uncertainty in conflict situations, the power of the media as the main agenda setter increases, in part due to its power to summarize overarching developments in the conflict. The media should be arbiters in conflict rather than catalysts.

Tehrani (1993) envisages that new cultural forces, including responsible mass media, peace discourse and peace journalism, are essential for achieving a transition to a peace culture. Similarly, Bratic (2005) suggests that the media should represent all sides and opinions in a conflict and post-conflict situation since this promotes the potential for reconciliation and acceptance of a diversity of ideas.

Table 4.4 shows the summary of the leading dailies in Kenya and their level of influence to the public depending on their level of circulation and the confidence they portly to the public in terms of giving authoritative information.

Table: 4.2 Influence of the Three Dailies

Print Media	Frequency	Percentage%
The Daily Nation	14	46%
People Daily	3	10%
The East African Standard	13	44%
Total	30	100%

Source: Field Data, 2017.

4.1.7 Influence of Newspapers Pictorial Peace Messages

This study analyzed the content of three leading Nairobi dailies during the Kenya 2007/2008 PEV. The analysis intended to track how each daily newspaper reported Kenya 2007/2008 PEV using Pictorial Peace Messages and whether they showed credible interest in the principles of Peace Journalism. "A picture is worth a thousand words" It refers to the notion that a complex idea can be conveyed with just a single still image or that an image of a subject conveys its meaning or essence more effectively than a description does.

Respondents from the 3 dailies agreed that the use of Peace photos in cooperation with a Newspaper joint-headline " Save Our Beloved Country" by the Print Media was a great breakthrough for much coveted peace during the Kenya 2007/2008 PEV, (Interview with respondents on 15.01.2017,Nairobi County).

This is illustrated in plate 4.1. and plate 4.2. Following live broadcast of the photograph of the two rival political leaders shaking hands in agreement following mediation, violence halted. The media showcased this photograph on all television stations in real time in an effort to stop the violence; and it worked (Mbeke, 2009).

Plate 4.1 Photo of Newspaper Joint-Headline "Save Our Beloved Country"



Source: <https://www.theguardian.com/journalismcompetition/making-peace-not-war>

Plate 4.2 This man holding a newspaper urges Kenyans to "Save our beloved country".



Source: <https://www.theguardian.com/journalismcompetition/making-peace-not-war>

4.2 Broadcast Media Peace Interventions Programs

Literature review and findings from interviews revealed that, the media and especially Broadcast Media, have a moral responsibility to report in a manner that does not champion warfare, but promotes peace. The Kenyan public trusts the media as custodians of truth and sincere advocates of positive change. Media is still looked upon as a credible source of information. The findings are consistent with Galadima (2010), who inputs that the television media have important roles to play in braking down the stereotypes, misconceptions and misinterpretations that lead to community conflicts.

Broadcasters who report on conflict situation must see themselves first and foremost as conflict interveners, they must cultivate the attitude of reporting what can unite rather than divide the people. Today, many people wake up to clock radios, drive to their work listening to car radios, and also spend some of their leisure time hearing their favorite radio programs. Tett (2010) avers that Community radio plays a vital role in building vibrant communities, in mobilizing groups to action by informing and empowering citizens, in giving voice to the marginalized groups of Society, and in bringing community needs to the attention of local and even national governments.

4.2.1 Broadcast Media Audience

The 30% (200) of the Middle Level Management staff (Directors, Managers, Producers, Investigators, Editors and Media Analysists), interviewed had this to say;

The Kenyan media has evolved over years. In the 1930's till the mid 1990's (which saw the rise of multiparty system) the ruling political party KANU suppressed the media. The era after this, that gave room for saw the rise and sudden expansion and suppression of the media especially through torture, imprisonments, and threats to the media that aimed to suppress it. Self-censorship was therefore entrenched into the media fraternity for fear of falling on the wrong books of the state ,(Interview with middle level management staff on 15.01.2017,Nairobi County).

When the Kenya became a democratic state and the ruling party since independence was defeated in the 2002 election. Press freedom was full actualized in 2002 when NARCK party took power and preached press freedom which gave way to cropping up of new radio and TV stations, issuance of more licenses, and expansion of frequencies. This move was a positive one but also had a negative move whose fruits were reaped in after the 2007 elections, (Interview with middle level management staff on 15.01.2017,Nairobi County).

Table 4.3 Broadcast Media Audience

Response rate	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Ghetto FM	12	40%
Pamoja FM	15	50%
KBC Tv	3	10%
Totals	30	100%

Source: Field Data 2017

4.2.2 Period of Broadcasting

Period of broadcasting is key in knowing how far Kenyan media has evolved .As noted in one of the interviews, Kenya's Media has come over age.

Ghetto FM has been in existence for 10 years, Pamoja FM has been in existence for 10 years while KBC TV has been in existence since independence. In 1964, when Kenya became an independent country, the corporation's name was changed to Voice of Kenya. In 1989, the Kenyan parliament reverted the corporation's name from Voice of Kenya to Kenya Broadcasting Corporation,(Interview with broadcast media audience,15.01.2017,Nairobi County).

These findings corresponds to Forges who implies that Community Radio FMs have been existence in quite good number of years but their influence has not been realized in Kenya vis-à-vis their influence in fostering Peace and Conflict Management in Kenya.

Also from the findings it's clear that the 2 FM Radio stations existed before and after PEV.

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. Figure 4.2 represents in summary the period of broadcasting of the three Broadcast Media under study.

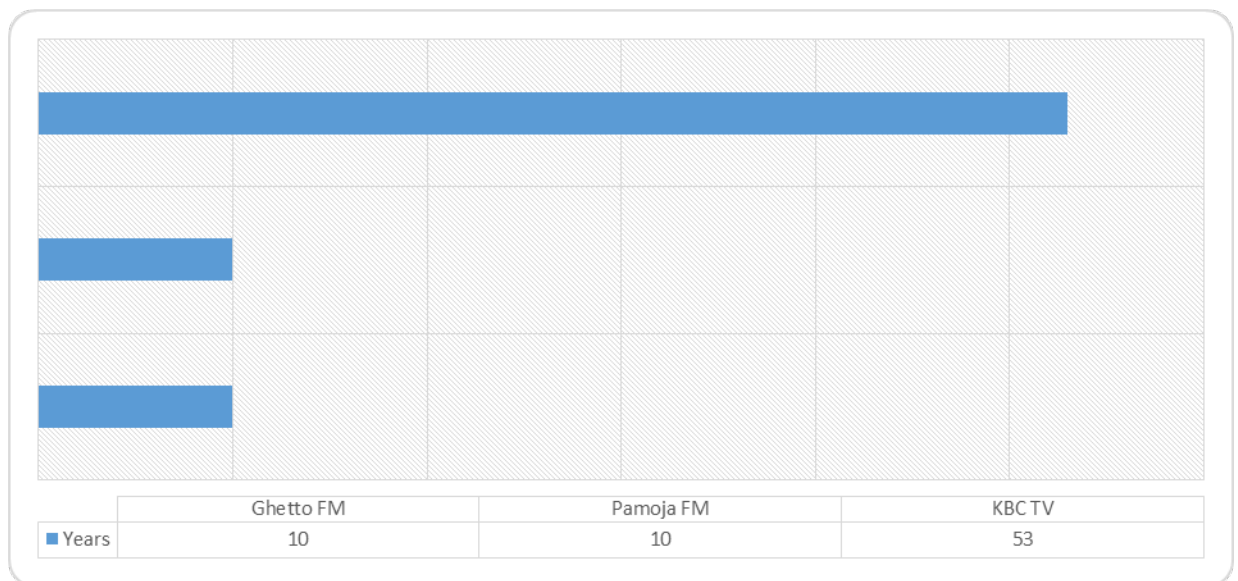


Figure 4.4 Period of Broadcasting

Source: Field Data,2017

From the data findings from the 30% (200) of the Middle Level Management staff (Directors, Managers, Producers, Investigators, Editors and Media Analysts), revealed the following about the core programming content. 30% indicated news, 20% indicated music and entertainment, 13% indicated education as the core content, 14% said health issues and HIV Aids, 7% indicated security, 7% indicated women, while agriculture, religious issues and politics were represented by 3 % as indicated in Figure 4.4.

Various element of programming content is able to influence in fostering Peace and Conflict Management through objective reporting because they are packaged based on current issues of community and also information can be relayed quickly in times of crisis for example during the Kenya PEV period, (Interview with media respondent ,15.01.2017,Likoni,Mombasa County).

The foregoing is consistent with Spitulnik (1996), who argues that radio today achieves what newspapers did in the colonial world. Drawing on Benedict Anderson's (1983) concept of "imagined communities", she writes that it creates a shared cognitive space, a community of listeners who incorporate its linguistic elements into their everyday lives in both the conscious and unconscious ways. Radio in Kenya is the simplest yet, significant medium among audiences, its casual approach and conversational style has created "celebrity status" for announcers. The news writer frames ideas and opinions by means of information selection and dissemination to audiences. News reports can therefore offer a broad picture of social reality and promote social solidarity by reinforcing national identity and shared beliefs through language choices.

Today, many people wake up to clock radios, drive to their work listening to car radios especially to listen to the news and also spend some of their leisure time hearing their favorite radio programs. Without the Community Radio and also TV sets, most people would know little of events beyond their immediate neighborhood, (Dunaway, (2002). Alumuku (2006) adds that, radio broadcasting is a voice, a resource and a tool for communities to work together towards development. Dunaway, (2002) stresses on the idea that, community radio aims to serve particular community with information, education and entertainment.

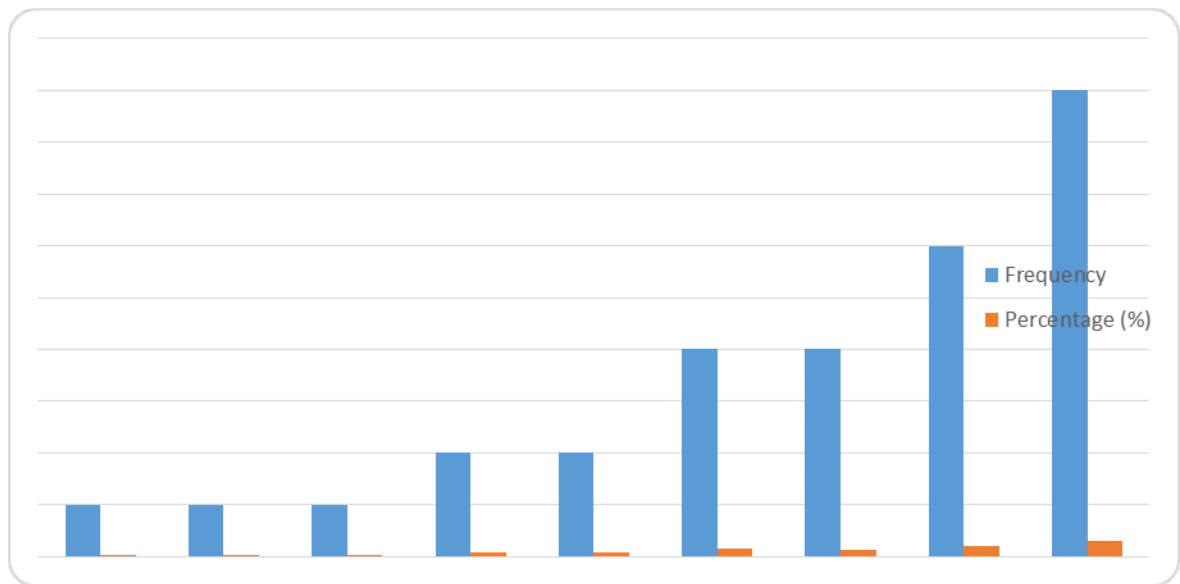


Figure 4.5 Core Programming Content

Source: Field Data,2017.

4.2.3 People Who Influence on Programming Content

Studying parts of the statistics related to who influences the programming content and they indicated that 40% (80) is influenced by the listeners, 27%(54) by the presenters, 23% (46) by the producers and volunteers 10%(20). These were findings from 30% (200) of the Middle Level Management staff (Directors, Managers, Producers, Investigators, Editors and Media Analysts) who were interviewed as indicated in Table 4.4.

A Media Producer affirms that listeners have an upper hand in influencing programming content because they are able to give feedback what they were to be aired through Radio/TV Talk shows/In-call Programs and music entertainment requests,(Interview,15.01.2017,Nairobi County).

In situations of political uncertainty, the mass media are said to play a crucial role in the construction, articulation and reflection of reality where public opinion tends to become more media dependent (De Fleur and Ball- Rokeach, 1989). In the Kenyan case, the media determined the mood of the nation by running headlines that held readers on tenterhooks. The literature review here corresponds with the finding in that, listeners have an upper hand in influencing programming content of the Broadcast Media as indicated in Table 4.5.

Table: 4.4 People Who Influence on Programming Content

Response rate	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Producers	7	23%
Listeners	12	40%
Presenters	8	27%
Volunteers	3	10%
Totals	30	100%

Source: Field Data,2017

4.2.4 Broadcast Media Peace Intervention Projects

The question sought to know whether Media stations organize community peace projects that influence your audience in living together, working together, conflicts/animosity reduction, sharing of information, during and after Kenya 2007/2008 PEV of which 80% indicated yes while the remaining 20% indicated No as indicated by Table 4.6, information derived from questionnaires given to the 30% (200) of the Middle Level Management staff (Directors, Managers, Producers, Investigators, Editors and Media Analysts).

The findings indicate that, in last six decades, the influence of the Media in the global arena has increasingly been recognized, especially its power to either exacerbate or contain potential conflicts. The number of conflicts, however, that gets international attention is small. U.N (2005). According to Westphal (2004), the Media have the power

to defuse tensions before they even reach a critical point. By supplying credible information and reaching a large audience, the media help in managing conflicts and promote democratic principles. The findings are consistent with various scholars who have written widely on various Media intervention initiatives and projects in peace building. It is well known that the media set agendas (McCombs, Shaw & Weaver 1997; Graber (2000), and use values such as prominence (journalists quoting renowned public figures when reporting news stories) to satisfy the interests of the public. Media can play a role in all of these categories. In fact, the United Nations classified the development of local media as a ‘cross-cutting’ peace-building concern, ‘transcending’ all types of activities (United Nations, 1996).

In Africa, there are positive examples where the Media has been useful in peace initiatives, albeit when violent conflicts have ended. Since 2002, Mega FM has promoted peace in Northern Uganda through encouraging dialogue between the Lord Resistance’s Army (LRA) factions, government and civil society as a good step towards peace, (Oriarie 2009). Earlier on in 1995, Burundi’s Search for Common Ground (SCG) initiative launched radio Ijambo (“wise words” in Kirundi) in the months ending the genocide in neighboring Rwanda, Gardner (2001). Search for Common Ground (SFCG), a US based NGO dealing with conflict resolution, launched Studio Ijambo at the height of ethnic and political violence in Burundi and neighboring 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 (Slachmuis2005). 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. Since its inception, Radio Okapi has enlightened listeners on the peace process its successes, failures and hopes. The Hironnelle Foundation²⁰ established radio Agatashya (little swallow), in Kinyarwanda to secure peace and dialogue among Rwandans coming from the genocide scourge, Dahinden (2007). 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.

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. The programmes provided practical advice about reconciliation and repatriation (Sadkovich, 1998) .Media aided pacification, though from diverse motives. During the 2007/8 Kenyan PEV, the media played a significant role. There are many positive roles that the media played;the role in the efforts to promote peace, stability and democracy, at the same time there are many negatives roles that that the media played ; that propelled the eruption of the PEV (Plaisance 2005). The media served as voice for those who could not be heard in the society.

These was particularly true with the local language radio stations where they provided platforms where the listeners could call in and air their grievances allowing the message to be received by the targeted local and international authorities whilst protecting those who people at the grass-root level (Ogola, 2011). The Kenyan media abandoned the notion of commercializing news content for the sake of profits, avoided naming either the victims or the perpetrators of the violence, employed investigative/critical journalism and chose to preach peace. This was a positive move, which was later to help reunify Kenya. This conduct demonstrates the maturity of the media and further proves that the Kenyan media uphold and respect their role in Kenyan society. In this case, the Kenyan media seem to have understood that the right to peace outweighed the right of Kenyans to know

(freedom to receive information) which tribe was killing which and in what manner; information that would only have aggravated the situation.

Table 4.5 Broadcast Media Peace Intervention Projects

Response	Frequency	Percentages
Yes	24	80%
No	6	20%
Total	30	100%

Source: Field Data (2017)

4.3 Forms of Broadcast Media Peace intervention Projects Influencing Peace

In relation to forms of Broadcast Media peace intervention projects influencing peace, the respondents from the 30% (200) of the Middle Level Management staff were asked which were some of these community TV/Radio Peace projects which influences audiences in living together, working together, conflicts/animosity reduction, sharing of information.

Accordingly, 23% indicated TV/Radio Talk shows/in-call Programs, 50% indicated Peaceful Demonstration/Peace Caravans, 17% indicated Peace Sports/Tournaments and finally 10% indicated Donations as the key Community Radio Peace projects which were organized geared toward Peace process during Kenya 2007/2008 PEV and even after, as represented by Figure 4.6. While some sections of the media, particularly ethnic language

radio stations allegedly disseminated ethnic centered information, some media houses bridged gaps between warring ethnic groups. These findings collaborate with the findings from various scholars in the literature review. For instance, independent radio and television used interactive shows to engage audiences in peace dialogue, Klopp, Githinji and Keffa (2008).

Pamoja FM, located in Kibera slum one of the main centers of the post-election unrest in Nairobi played an especially courageous role. Pamoja FM insisted on providing a voice for different communities and worked to calm conflict. The talk shows tried to reach across ethnic barriers, and were actively curtailing calls that seem to be engaging in ethnic stereotypes and were calling for reconciliation. Over the past six years the radio station has campaigned tirelessly to “promote peace and stability in Kibera, Bwire (2013). The foregoing is supported by statements from interviewed respondents

In Kibera minutes before the attack of Kikuyu and Kambas, Pamoja FM radio decided to call some of the Kikuyu, Kamba and Luo elders to the studio to discuss the implications of the rumor about the attack and they allowed the callers to call in and ask questions. People listened to the elders. They also played powerful music and the patriotic songs were helpful. The decision to spend an entire day talking about peace was very powerful, (Interview with a respondent 15.01.2017, Kibera, Nairobi County).

Ghetto FM located in Pumwani is another example. The station prides itself as, Kenya’s politically-neutral station at election time (2013). During the recent (2013) Kenya’s election they continuously relayed this message that, “As a

nation still trying to achieve national cohesion and integration, the 43rd tribe that is represented by Ghetto Radio is definitely what the Kenya needs in order to live as one, (Interview,15.01.2017,Kibera ,Nairobi County).

Another example would be Kenya Musicians. There are several cases that were present in the Kenyan situation; first, famous Kenyan musicians from all tribes came together and released a peace song that was aired several times a day by the mainstream media houses (Shitemi, *et. al*, 2013). Media continued to play the peace building role many months following the reconciliation of Mwai Kibaki and Raila Odinga.

There were peaceful songs played over radio stations, there were peace caravans in different corners of the country and other media events such as concerts and open forums that provided Kenyans at the grassroots to air their grievances (Shitemi, *et. al*, 2013). In addition, mainstream media houses got involved in settling the IDPs. The media also called out to the Kenyan public to donate what they have to help settle the IDPs in camps (Standard 13, 2013). During this time, Kenyans united and gave selflessly towards this plight. The media collaborated with big companies and institutions in the plight to settle the IDPs (Munyua, 2011). Secondly, there were peace caravans by the government in conjunction with private organizations that toured around the country preaching peace. Thirdly, the main mobile service providers began sending texts with peace messages through their Short Message Media houses Mobile peace caravans, Kikuyu Elders, Kamba Elders and Luo Elders Radio Talk Programs interventions, Female journalists

White Ribbon Peace Campaign, handbills and T-shirts with peace and reconciliation messages which were very effective in quenching the PEV.

The Swedish Embassy called senior women editors of the papers and encouraged them to report the voices of women and the impact of violence to ordinary people. Get the message out that 'Enough is enough!' and get ordinary women to speak on how they have suffered and how peace was paramount.

The impact was immense and it was called the "White Ribbon Peace Campaign. They also distributed handbills and T-shirts with peace and reconciliation messages (Bwire, 2013). The Media played its role to bring down the tensions when Media owners resolved to give a common voice. They agreed to find a common approach, common headlines, common DVDs being distributed to all Media houses that each Media house in a collective way was able to help bring down the passions. The Media finally stopped airing politicians, stopped inviting analysts, and stopped talk shows for a while. Things changed a lot when NGOs came in and set up Media programs that promoted peace. The Media especially the Broadcast Media aided greatly to bring back sanity back during 2007/08 PEV in Kenya.

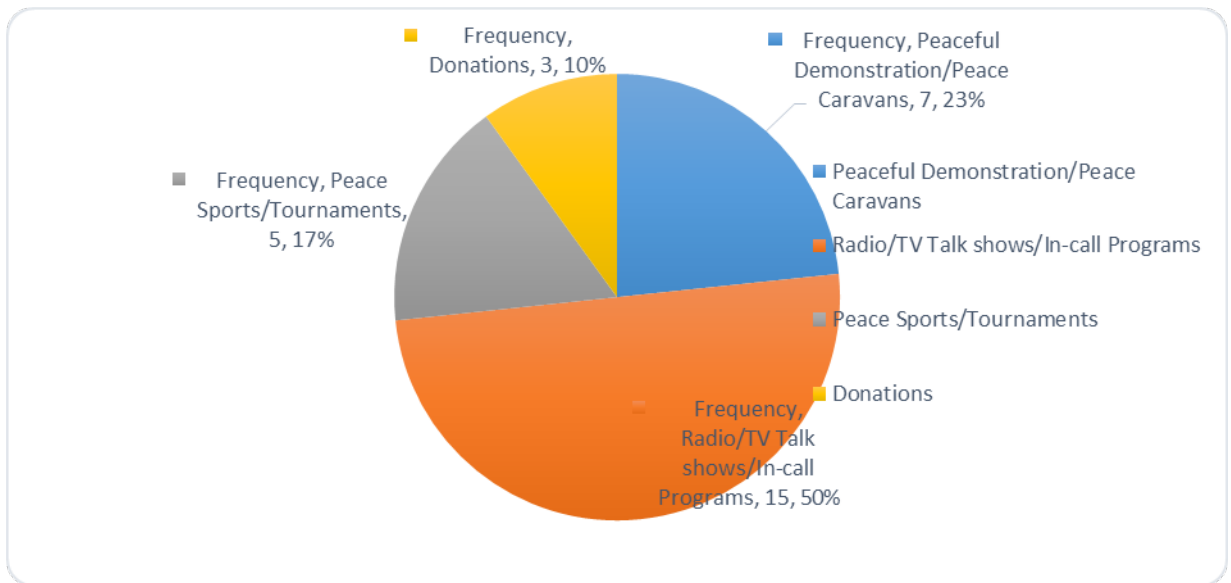


Figure 4.6 Forms of Broadcast Media Peace Intervention Projects

Source: Field Data (2017)

4.4 Extent of influence of Broadcast Media Peace intervention Projects

From the literature review, Walters *et al.* (2011) claims that effective radio activities can make a significant change in a community's life. Through the activities of Community Radio, the people are encouraged to peacefully coexist at the family and community levels. The researcher agrees with the author because from the findings is that all the Community Projects organized by these Stations focuses towards peace building.

When the respondents were asked to give their personal view on to what extent does these community projects influence their audience in living together, working together,

conflicts/animosity reduction, sharing of information, job creation. The influence is that 67% indicated to a large extent, 20% moderate, 3% less extent and 10% indicated not all.

From questionnaires and interviews indicators of this influence is that 67% indicated that to a large extent projects Radio Talk shows/In-call Programs, Peaceful Demonstration/Peace Adverts, Peace Sports/Tournaments and Donations as the key Community Radio Peace projects which were organized geared toward Peace process during Kenya 2007/2008 PEV and even after. On the other extreme end 3% felt that influence of these peace interventions Projects is less extent by these Broadcast Media, as indicated in Table 4.7.

These findings are consistent with one scholar Loretta Hieber who points out in her article *Media as Intervention*, which Media played a great deal in peace making in Kenya 2007/2008 PEV. For example, creation of programming for mass consumption inform of content stories, television and radio programs, songs, whereby the programs contained educating information on non-violent modes of conflict resolution (Hieber 2002).

Table 4.6 Extent of influence of Broadcast Media Peace intervention Projects

Response	Frequency	Percentages
Large Extent	20	67%
Moderate Extent	6	20%
Less Extent	1	3%

Not at All	3	10%
Total	30	100%

Source: Field Data (2017)

The question sought to know whether the respondents were satisfied with Broadcast Media Peace Interventions employed by the said stations during and after Kenya 2007/2007 PEV to avert the recurrence of the same. 80% of the respondent indicated yes, 20% indicated no. Based from the findings, we can see that the Broadcast Media helped and still do help people to come together, live together, share information and stay involved in these peace projects. The influence of these peace projects geared towards improving the Community's livelihoods and in so doing fostering Peace in general. Figure 4.7 summarizes these findings.

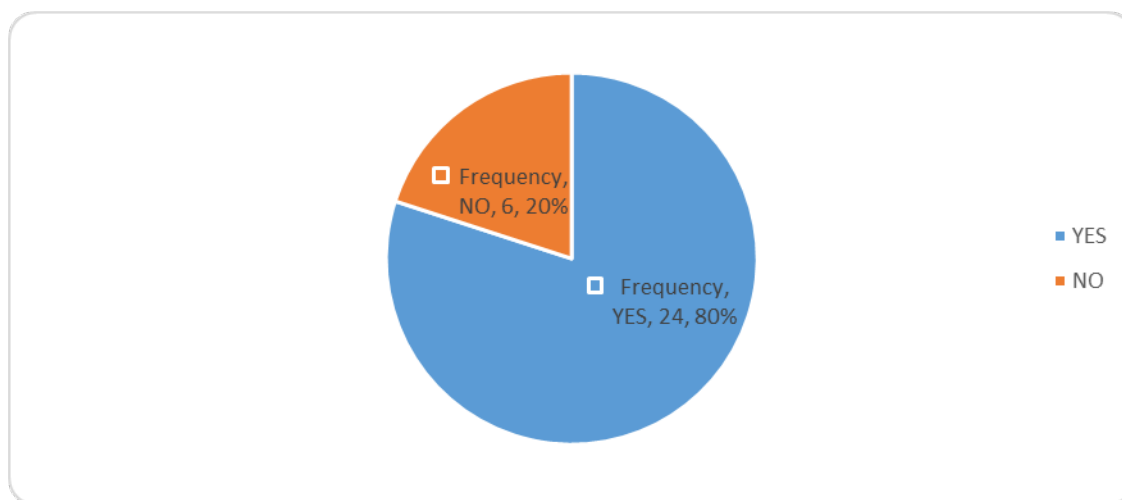


Figure 4.7 Satisfaction with Broadcast Media Peace intervention Projects

Source: Field Data,2017.

The media have facilitated uniting Kenyans from all walks of life. The media initiated a campaign that is, the “*I have no tribe; I am Kenyan*” campaign to re-unite Kenyans by humanizing their rivals. In this campaign, the media broadcasted religious leaders, political leaders, rival, men and women, young and old; people of every diversity come together to stand against violence and disunity (Oyungu, 2011). Along the same lines was the, there was a campaign dubbed, “*Mkenya mwenye nchi sio mwananchi*” (Karongo, 2012). This translated from the Swahili to English languages states “A Kenyan who owns the country, not a child of the country”. Mwananchi is the Swahili word for citizen (Kamusi.org, 2016). However, the Mwana is the Swahili word for child. Therefore, through creative wordplay, the founders; Kenya Private Sector Alliance (KEPSA) was able to provoke Kenyans to take accountability for their country thus fostering a feeling of loyalty and unity (Karongo, 2012). It is important to note that the “*Mkenya mwenye nchi sio mwananchi*” Campaign was the first part of a four-phase campaign aimed at peace-building before the 2013 presidential elections.

The second phase was dubbed “*Mkenya Daima*” which translates to Forever Kenyan (Karongo, 2012). The aim of this phase of the campaign was to deal with the negative conditions that facilitated the unrest in 2007. Phase three was the “Rights Come with Responsibilities” Campaign where the media played both an educative and cautionary roles educating Kenyans on their rights whilst warning them of the consequences of negligence of the law. The final phase “Conflict Mitigation” ran concurrently with phase three and focus on conflict prone areas with the hope of resolving existing disputes before the elections.

The signing of a peace agreement or any other event that marks the official end of war, signals the beginning of post-conflict reconstruction (Anderlini and El-Bushra, 2009). According to the former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, post-conflict reconstruction refers to “ the comprehensive efforts to identify and support structures which will tend to consolidate peace and advance a sense of confidence and well-being among people” (Burke, 2010).

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 Koffi 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).

Comparing from the literature review, Prehn (2002) asserts that participation is the engine of democracy and Radio is a tool for participation. They work to strengthen their communities to promote community for social change, cultural development, and democratization. Public Forums by Community Radio serves as an avenue where people can Share information, Express their fears, Conflict and animosity reduction, for working together, for National Identity .

Similarly, Bratic (2005) argues that in order to work for the public good, the media should convey messages in forms that contribute to the formation of positive attitudes and opinions and to the increase of knowledge and awareness. He concludes that the journalistic agenda of social responsibility could facilitate the agenda of peace building.

4.5 Chapter Summary

Based on findings from literature reviews, questionnaires and interviews, it is clear that Media Intervention Programs such as Joint newspaper headlines and peace pictorial images/photos, Media played a great deal in peace making process in 2007/2008 PEV in Kenya. Peace Campaign was organized by Journalist with the message ‘Enough is enough!’ The impact was immense and it was called the "White Ribbon Peace Campaign". A group of 40 Kenyan female journalists launched a “white ribbon” campaign to encourage peace. A similar track was evident in leading newspaper's uniform headline “Save our beloved Nation”. Further findings reveal that, the Media played its role to bring down the tensions during the PEV when they resolved to give a common voice. Peace DVDs were being distributed to all media houses’, which each media house in a collective way was able to help bring down the passions. The media finally stopped airing politicians stopped inviting analysts, stopped talk shows for a while. An initiative from Pamoja FM influenced in calming violence. Pamoja FM radio decided to call some of the Kikuyu elders, the Luo elders, the Kamba elders to the studio to discuss the implication of the rumor that was going on, and they allowed the callers to call in, ask questions. The role of the media after the violence was noted as very important by the government officials such as Dos, DCs, Chiefs and Head Men. The

media through music, arts, avenue of dialogue ensured the public had an avenue to express any pent up emotions. Media played a role in peace-building following the announcement of the Kenyan 2007 election.

CHAPTER FIVE

SOCIAL MEDIA PEACE MESSAGES CAMPAIGNS IN PEACE BUILDING SINCE KENYA 2007 ELECTIONS

Introduction

The chapter analyzes the findings vis-à-vis the research question and objective number 2 of the study. It analyzes the data collected from the field visits through various themes that found significant to the research in line with the aim and the research question. This chapter provides an analysis of data gathered from an area that was dubbed as “hotspot” areas during the 2007 Kenyan PEV. These are Kibera in Nairobi County, Kibuye in Kisumu County, Flower Farms in Naivasha in Nakuru County, Likoni Town in Kwale County and Kiamba Rural Village in Uasin Gishu County.

Data was collected from Focus Group Discussion through one-on-one interactions as well as phone Interviews with bloggers and online platform administrators. The analyses report covers 5 FGDs comprising of 10 to 15 respondents. The emerged themes are understood and explained according to the objectives of the study. These themes are systematically analyzed as follows:

5.1 Social Media Platforms in Peace Building

Literature review and findings from interviews revealed that, during the onset of the 2007/2008 election violence, the government imposed a media black-out where all

broadcasting stations were shut down. During the Media black-out, online networks proved to be the next best option to some Kenyans.

Further findings from Literature review revealed that, when the violence erupted, the leading mobile service providers, Safaricom and Celtel, allowed providers to send messages of peace and unity provided by the service providers themselves. This was after the then Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of Safaricom, Michael Joseph, convinced the government not to shut down the SMS. During this time, Safaricom and Celtel called upon citizens to shun violence and keep the peace.

5.1.1 Social Media commonly known in Kenya

During focus group discussion, the consensus was that Face book, Twitter, you Tube, Instagram, blogs and Mobile Phone Short Messages Services (SMS) were and are still the most known Social Media used widely in Kenya. The study sought to find out the popularity and strengths of social media as tools of conflict prevention and peace building. It was thus important to look at the penetration and popularity level of the social media platforms amongst the respondents. The study revealed that during Kenya 2007/2008 PEV, Mobile Phone Short Messages Services (SMS) was the most popular used with 56%, followed by Face book with 17%, as indicated in Figure 5.1.

During the PEV in Kenya smart phones were not available, so most of us used our mobile phones for texting and calling. We could not share photos through our mobiles. Smses are easy to do and they are cheap compared to browsing in the internet, (FGD participant on 10thFebruary, 2017, Kimbaa Uasin gishu County).

Findings from FGDs revealed that Mobile Phone was highly used to relay information instantly unlike Broadcast or Print Media. Kenyans have access to mobile phones and therefore peace messages were relayed within shortest time possible and also it can reach many people.

Further from the literature review, the findings indicated that there were some inspiring examples of using mobile devices as social media tools in Kenya's crisis. One such example is Voices of Africa, a concept of mobile reporters, which was also practiced in time of violence in Kenya. These local reporters used mobile phones and a portable keyboard to write, take photos, short videos, and also to publish their reports online.

In March 2010 there were a little over two million Facebook accounts according to the Communication Council of Kenya CCK (Wambugu,2011). This accounts for about 5 percent of the entire population. These numbers are much large now with more and more Kenyans joining Facebook. A great majority of those on social media are the youth. The reason for their popularity has been attributed to the easy access from cell phones. There is a Short Message Service SMS to Facebook for instance, that sends a text to the users on every time something happens on Facebook. According to Goldstein and Rotich (2009), Kenya has one of the richest blogging tradition in sub-Saharan Africa, which made their use even more effective and readily available during the election.

Kenyan bloggers became a critical part of the information flow in the country, starting from the three-day ban on live broadcasts, when it is reported that the web traffic from within Kenya shot through the roof. The influence grew further when radio broadcasters began to read entries from influential bloggers over the airwaves, helping them reach not 5 per cent, but 95 per cent of the Kenya population. Shortly after Kibaki was proclaimed winner on December 30th, 2007, the Kenyan internal security minister John Michuki announced the ban of live broadcast. The ban had been ordered in the interest of public safety and tranquility (The Standard 2007; AllAfrica.com 2007).

The findings were further supported by various respondents who felt that the usage of mobile phones was not only pervasive but also contagious. One of the respondents averred that:

We used mobile phones for texting others .Sometimes we could meet for social gatherings like sports, picnics and promise to chat one another. The chatting would be lengthy and cover a number of topics. Issues pertaining to election disputes, conflict among different ethnicity featured more prominently and more often than not, we interrogated the role of mainstream media and other media outlets, the government itself and non-governmental organizations in Kenyan crisis. We also formed social groups via our phones and occasionally we would confirm levels of chattitude and attitude in a more widened space-cyberspace (Kibuye respondent,17/01/2017,Kisumu County)

The foregoing indicate that social media is considered to contribute to government accountability, human rights activism, the development of civil society and practices of citizenship. In terms of accountability and transparency, it is increasingly difficult for governments to hide or manipulate information or to act inconsistently with citizen

concerns. The use of mobile phones and the internet, for example, allow for news of any inappropriate government actions to quickly reach the public and to be challenged (Haider, 2011).

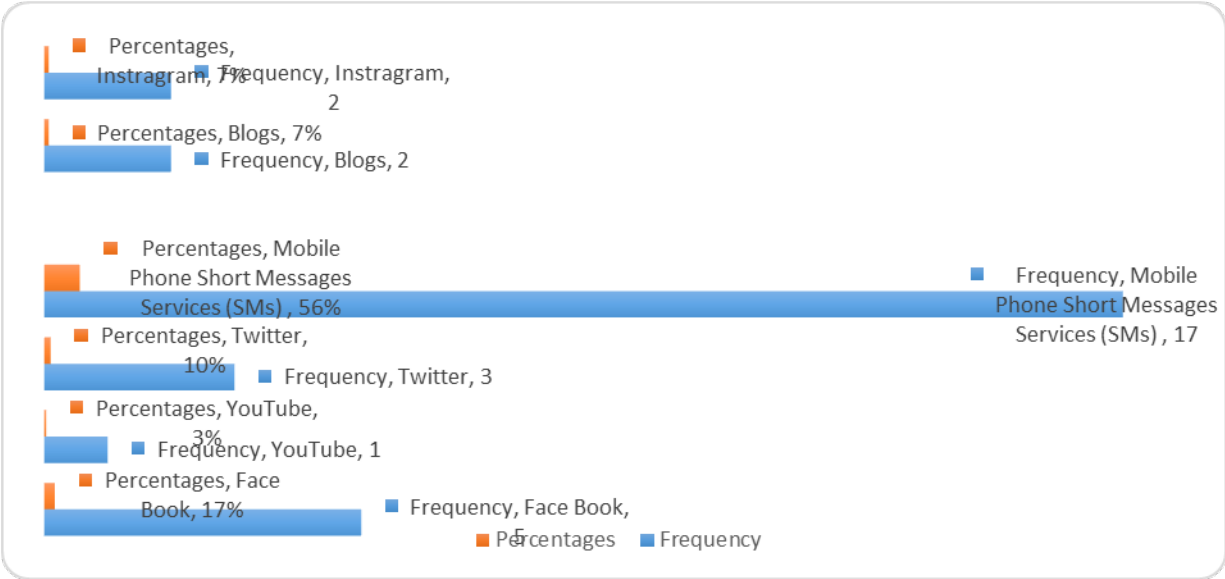


Figure 5.1 Social Media Commonly known in Kenya

Source: Field Data, 2017.

5.1.2 Effectiveness of Social Media in Peace building

The question sought to know whether Social Media can be used effectively among the communities in peace process in Kenya. 80% of the respondent indicated yes, 20% indicated no. All epicenters, registered high frequency of agreement to the fact that social media was effective in peace fostering process during the PEV period as indicate in Table 5.1. Further, findings from one a participant from the FDGs revealed that Social Media was and can be used in peace process in Kenya because of the fact that many Kenyans

have access to mobile phones and therefore peace messages can be relayed within shortest time possible and also it can reach many people.

As a resident of Naivasha, Nakuru County I no longer buy newspapers, instead I spend the sixty shillings in buying internet bundles and reads online version of the newspaper and eventually connect to social media to see what my friends are saying about the political developments".(FGD respondent at Sunflower Flower Farm, on 10th February, 2017,Naivasha,Nakuru County).

The foregoing assertions are articulated by findings from various Scholars from the literature review in that, Social media sites have distinct inherent properties conceptualized as affordances and network functionalities. These properties are seen to reduce the cost of civic and political participation. As we know the resources required for political participation are usually expressed in terms of time, money and civic skills, which include communication and organizational capacities. With online communication, the cost of information retrieval and communication in general falls and political participation becomes less costly (Enjolras, Steen-Johnsen, and Wollebæk 2012).

While the exact significance of the new media “revolution” for peace-building is still hard to pin down, the use of social networking sites Facebook and Twitter to organize protests in Colombia, Iran and Egypt, and the use of text messages for activist mapping by the *Ushahidi* website during the post-election violence in Kenya, are promising

examples of the possibilities. The greatest potential of social media is their ability to make media peace-building interventions more participatory. Dialogue is the first step in creating the sense that disputes should be settled through negotiation rather than violence. Radio phone-in shows are ideally suited to spur this dialogue within the safety of anonymity Adam and Schoemaker, (2010).

For many years, political violence upheavals, nuclear proliferation and international terrorism have posed the biggest threats to the nation state. We are now in an era in which the internet has been added to that arsenal. Millions of finger plucking and poking at touch screen phones, a logging in posting, can bring down a government as they did in Egypt (Countemanche, 2011).

“I’ve always said that if you want to liberate a society just give them the internet” said Wael Ghonim a Google executive and the administrator of Facebook page, (Ghannam, 2010). The social media tools gave Hosni Mubarak’s opponents unprecedented ability to share information and organize their activities including the massive protests which riveted the world attention asserts (Tapscott, 2011). As hundreds of thousands Egyptians in Cairo’s Tahrir square celebrated the resignation of President Hosni Mubarak on 11th February 2011, some wielded signs proclaiming “Thank you Facebook” (Harsch, 2011). Although empirical evidence is thin, there is positive anecdotal evidence that social media can contribute to peace building by improving knowledge for conflict prevention

and increasing contact and understanding between opposing groups (Oatley and Gagliardone, 2011).

Table 5.1 Effectiveness of Social Media in Peace building Process

Response	Frequency	Percentages
Yes	24	75%
No	6	15%
Total	30	100%

Source: Researcher (2017)

5.1.3 Mobile Phone SMSs and De-escalation of Violence in Kenya 2007/2008 PEV

As illustrated in Plate 6.1, findings from literature reveal that , shortly after Kibaki was proclaimed winner on December 30th, 2007, the Kenyan internal security minister John Michuki announced the ban of live broadcast.

Given the news blackout, many Kenyans turned to other means of getting and relaying information with mobile SMSes shorting high at the rate of 50% compared to other information channels. People used mobile phones to communicate and circumvent the media blackout. SMS messages were used to share news and feelings, but the ability to send mass SMS had been disabled by the government to prevent people from sending what it deemed to be “provocative messages.”

I think the media contributed to the reconciliation in Kenya when they broadcasted peace messages to all Safaricom

users. Also, supermarkets like Nakumatt printed peace messages on their receipts to promote reconciliation. My sister told me that one time when she was withdrawing money from an ATM, instead of the usual thank you message, it was a peaceful message saying something about Kenyans reuniting. (FGD participant at Sunflower Flower Farm, 10th February, 2017 Naivasha, Nakuru County).

The participant's suppositions are supported and corroborated by Scholar Munyua in that, the main mobile service providers, Safaricom and Celtel began sending texts with peace messages through their Short Message Service (SMS) to all mobile users in an effort to help shun the violence and instead promote reconciliation (Munyua, 2011).

These findings correspondents with the findings from one of the scholar Cullum who voiced that, during the media black-out, online networks proved to be the next best option to some Kenyans. This saw the creation of political blogs whereby bloggers wrote on what was going on wherever they were and asked readers to e-mail or post comments with details about incidences they witnessed. Eventually a mash-up was created showing where incidents occurred on a map. Following this development, a platform was created to serve as a centralized repository for on-the-ground reports from any Kenyan via SMS. This platform was what came to be known as '*Ushahidi*' meaning 'witness' in Swahili. The *Ushahidi* platform was developed as a rapid prototype model that enabled individuals to submit reports via SMS or e-mail detailing acts of violence and trouble spots. A Kenyan could send an incident report with location details to a short code number (Cullum, 2011).

When the Government announced a media blackout by the Minister, us Kenyans were left with no other alternative on how to get information and security updates other than through the use of Mobile Phone Short Messages Services (SMS)." (Focused Group discussion at Kibera, Nairobi County, 10th February, 2017).

Kenyans have a predilection of using mobile phones. During PEV we used our Mobile Phones to warn others of the places which were perceived to be insecure. We also used our Mobile Phones to pass peace messages to different communities as we were encouraged by the media, the media analyzed various trends of violent movements". (An interview with media analyst, 10th February, 2017). Nairobi County,

For example, Chiefs could update the communities by forwarding message of peace to many. Mobile Phone was used to relay information instantly unlike Broadcast or Print Media. Further finding from FGD respondent and interview with media analyst, is that the use of mobile phones was very effective in deescalating the violence during Kenya 2007/2008 PEV because people were able to make informed decisions. Other felt that SMSs was used widely to convey peace messages because charges are cheap and reliable. They were also use to share prayers for the Nation and loved ones.

Again, from the literature review the findings indicated that there were some inspiring examples of using mobile devices as social media tools in Kenya's crisis. One such example is Voices of Africa, a concept of mobile reporters, which was also practiced in time of violence in Kenya. These local reporters used mobile phones and a portable

keyboard to write, take photos, short videos, and also to publish their reports online. The project covered the electoral process from the preparations to the post-election violence and riots. In situations of crisis when the mainstream media suffer restrictions and do not cover many events and grassroots opinions, new social media offer opportunities for a diversity of voices to be heard and connect with each other.

Rather than speaking for Kenyan people affected the situation, we could point to the several ways people raise their voices and make stories more nuanced. Further, Literature findings also revealed that, the 2013 elections saw the creation of *Uchaguzi*, A fancier version of its 2007 crisis-mapping online platform. It was created under the title of *Uchaguzi*, meaning “choice” in Kiswahili.

On this new platform, citizens could report on security and tension as in 2007, but also now items directly related to the vote, including announcements of results, problems with staffing and polling station administration and logistics, as well as, comfortingly, any “positive events.” While in 2007 reports were primarily submitted through SMS, this year reports could also be submitted through virtually any electronic means imaginable, including Twitter, email, and even a specially-designed *Uchaguzi* Android and iPhone app (Marchant 2013).

This is corroborated in a study conducted by Mäkinen & Kuira, social media generated an alternative public sphere, which widened the perspectives about the crisis and enabled

new kinds of citizen participation in discussing the situation. The crisis also showed the significance of the social media as a horizontal form for information sharing. The social media offered narratives by citizen reporters and digital activists that were more diverse than the views presented in the mainstream media and represented grassroots reactions during the crisis.

While the international media only scratched the surface of what was happening, and the traditional media partly resigned to censorship due to fears of repression, the social media offered swifter, more subjective, and more detailed coverage during a fast moving and changing situation this in turn resulted into the main stream media relying on social media sites for information as they quickly gained confidence from the general public (Mäkinen and Kuiru ,2008).

For the first time social media offered an opportunity by allowing Kenyans to question candidates using short mobile phone messages, social media and crowd sourcing information and on the other hand social media affordances and network logic was leveraged by individual citizens wanting to encourage other citizens to take action resulting into the flourishing of hate speech (Abshir 2013). Further Findings from the literature review revealed that, the impact of the social media was clearly significant at the level of individual agency in the process of political mobilization. Social media played a significant role in facilitating the dissemination of news especially the feature of Twitter's news propagation in the use of re-tweets which allows users to record the

importance they attach to an item of news. Popular tweets therefore spread very quickly through cascades (Enjolras, Steen-Johnsen, and Wollebæk 2012).

According to Goldstein and Rotich (2009), Kenya's post-election violence demonstrated the effects that new technology can have. Despite a history of violence associated with elections, these were the first elections where mobile phones and access to vernacular radio stations were widely available. Mobile phones and media (including social media) can play the roles of mirroring events and providing an important opportunity for reflection and insight into political dynamics. They can analyze the level of dialogue, the polarization, and progress towards reconciliation, including possible avenues for the peaceful resolution of disputes. In these cases, the media, internet and mobile phones acted as enablers providing a positive role in mediating divergent perspectives, and creating a national vision of reconciliation; a space for dialogue that helped to reduce polarization and supported transitional justice processes.

Sisi Ni Amani, which is Kiswahili for 'We are peace,' is a grassroots peace building program that links local NGOs in Kenya to support peace efforts at the local level. While *Sisi Ni Amani* has programs that are not technology-focused, one of their core projects is a SMS text message subscriber service that provides information about leadership, local news, and provides a neutral source for information during tense periods such as elections (*Sisi Ni Amani*, 2013). This effort is in direct reaction to the violence in 2007/8, which was facilitated in part by mobile phone communication; *Sisi Ni Amani* is making an effort to take the same medium and use it to project

political information, and knowledge about peace building fostering. *Sisi Ni Amani* currently runs mobile phone SMS programs across Kenya, and works with national networks such as the National Steering Committee on Peace building and Conflict (NSC) to increase the reach of their programming to as many communities as possible (Okuthe, 2013).

Amani Kenya @108 operates differently from *Sisi Ni Amani*'s mobile phone SMS information sharing since it is rather a data collection and management program. It is part of the *Uwiano* Platform for Peace comprehensive peace architecture, which encourages information sharing between government, international, and NGO actors in Kenya who are working to prevent violence (Chuma and Ojielo, 2012). This platform was what came to be known as '*Ushahidi*' meaning 'witness' in Swahili. The *Ushahidi* platform was developed as a rapid prototype model that enabled individuals to submit reports via SMS or e-mail detailing acts of violence and trouble spots. A Kenyan could send an incident report with location details to a short code number (Cullum 2011). The text or e-mail could be rerouted through Frontline SMS, a free software that turns a laptop and a mobile phone or modem into a central communications hub (Vila 2010).

The functionalities and affordances of the program, made it a very efficient means of spreading information among the population about forthcoming actions and demonstrations. The program enabled users to send and receive text messages with large groups of people through mobile phones. It did not require an Internet connection, and

worked with existing plans on all GSM phones, modems and networks, and synched with the *Ushahidi* platform. The message would then be received by an administrator who would verify the information with the original sender. If the report proved credible, it would be uploaded onto Google Maps in as close to real time as possible.

This we see as evidence of the capability of digital networks enabling social processes such as in this case information cascades whereby people are seen to make decisions sequentially, observe others' decisions, draw rational inferences from these decisions and imitate them or share them on the basis of their inference (Cullum ,2011).

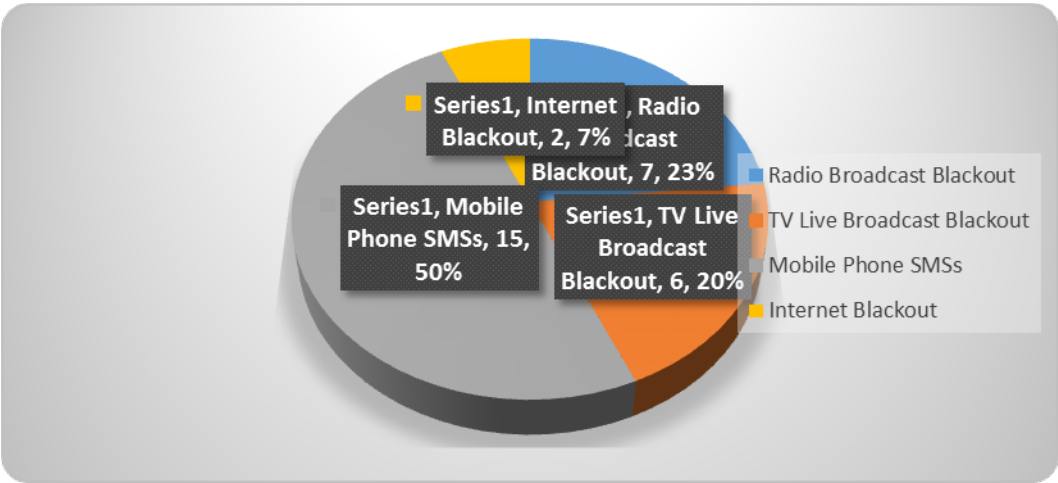


Figure 5.2 Mobile Phone SMSs in de-escalation Kenya 2007/2008 PEV

Source: Field Data (2017)

5.1.4 Instant Messages from face book, YouTube, /Mobile SMS in Peace Building since Kenya 2007 Elections

From figure 5.2 it was revealed that Mobile short messages were highly used compared to other social media platforms during Kenya 2007/2008 PEV. The usage as follows; Face Book 23%, YouTube 13%, Twitter 17%, Mobile Phone Short Messages Services (SMS) 30%, Blogs 10% and Intragam 7% as indicated in Figure 5.4.

These findings are consistent with Scholar Haider in that, Social media is considered to contribute to government accountability, human rights activism, the development of civil society and practices of citizenship. In terms of accountability and transparency, it is increasingly difficult for governments to hide or manipulate information or to act inconsistently with citizen concerns. The use of mobile phones and the Internet, for example, allow for news of any inappropriate government actions to quickly reach the public and to be challenged (Haider 2011). It also allows for people to follow decision-making processes and discuss issues of common concern. Kenya's post-election violence demonstrated the effects that new technology can have. Despite a history of violence associated with elections, these were the first elections where mobile phones and access to vernacular radio stations were widely available. Mobile phones and media (including social media) can play the roles of mirroring events and providing an important opportunity for reflection and insight into political dynamics. They can analyze the level of dialogue, the polarization, and progress towards reconciliation, including possible avenues for the peaceful resolution of disputes.

Findings from the literature reviews indicates that, for many years' political violence upheavals, nuclear proliferation and international terrorism have posed the biggest threats to the nation state. We are now in an era in which the internet has been added to that arsenal. Finding from various blogs which promote peace in Kenya, it was revealed that Social Media Peace projects were established at a grassroots peace building program that links local NGOs in Kenya to support peace efforts at the local level.

Sisi Ni Amani, which is Kiswahili for 'We are peace,' is a SMS text message subscriber service that provides information about leadership, local news, and provides a neutral source for information during tense periods such as elections. This effort is in direct reaction to the violence in 2007/8, which was facilitated in part by mobile phone communication; *Sisi Ni Amani* is making an effort to take the same medium and use it to project political information, and knowledge about peace building fostering. In addition to re-tweet, hashtags also played a role in targeting online conversations and the communities that had been formed online and also bolster the position of traditional media online. There was a generally high concern of the possibility of another post-election violence and therefore, to counter the hate speech there was a lot of individuals who used Twitter to call for a peaceful election and post-election.

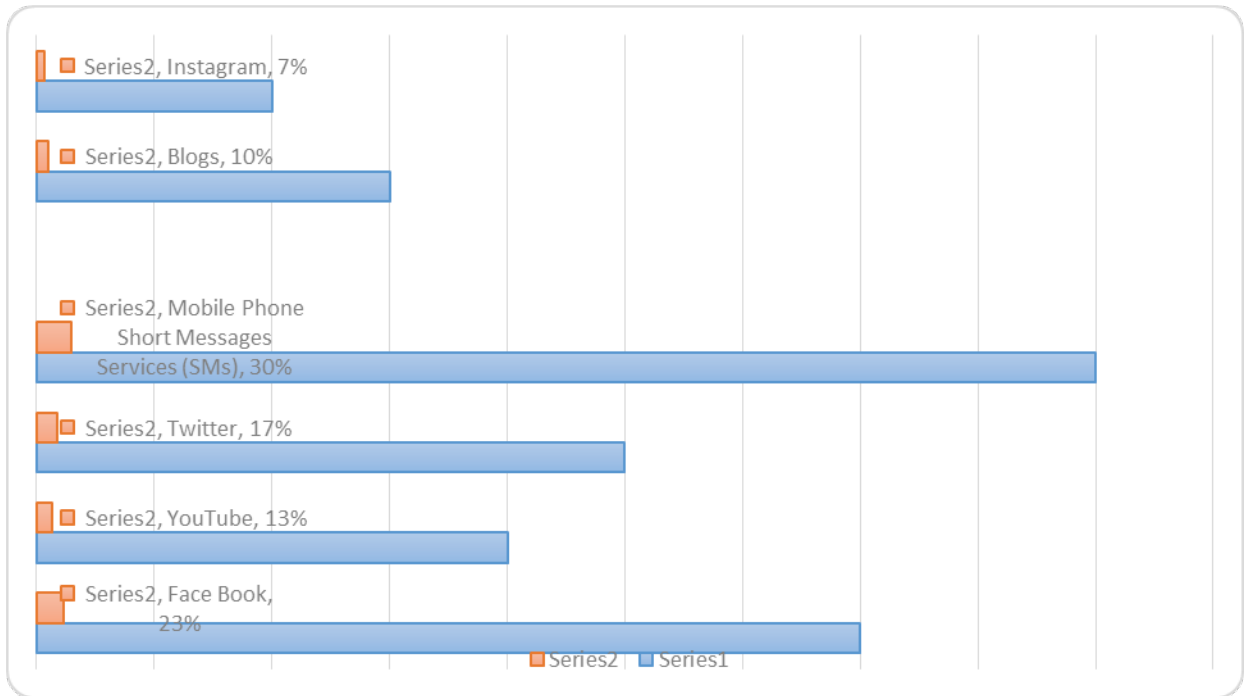


Figure 5.3 Instant Messages from face book, YouTube, /Mobile SMS in peace building since Kenya 2007 Elections

Source: Field Data (2017)

5.1.5 Factors that Necessitated Popularity of Social Media During Kenya 2007/2008 PEV

Discussions from Focused Group discussion in Likoni Social Hall, Kwale County, Focused Group discussion by KAG Church Kiambaa members, Uasin Gishu County and highlighting from Table 5.2 is that, respondents were asked to indicate the factors that necessitated Popularity of Social Media during Kenya 2007/2008 PEV, this was the indication: To Share information was 17%, Express their fears were 33%, Conflict/ Animosity Reduction was 23% and security updates was 27%.

This findings therefore reveals that the factor which necessitated popularity of the Social Media during Kenya 2007/2008 PEV was primarily to express fear and for security updates, thus the two coming very strongly.

Table 5.2 Factors that Necessitated Popularity of Social Media during Kenya 2007/2008 PEV

Response	Frequency	Percentages
Share Information	5	17%
Express fear	10	33%
Conflict Animosity	7	23%
Security	8	27%
Total	30	100%

Source: Field Data (2017)

This finding are consistent with Goldstein and Rotich (2009) in that, Kenya has perhaps the richest blogging tradition in sub-Saharan Africa, which made their use even more effective and readily available during the election. Kenyan bloggers became a critical part of the information flow in the country, starting from the three-day ban on live broadcasts, when it is reported that the web traffic from within Kenya shot through the roof. The influence grew further when radio broadcasters began to read entries from influential bloggers over the airwaves, helping them reach not 5 per cent, but 95 per cent of the Kenya population. Social media is considered to contribute to government accountability, human rights activism, the development of civil society and practices of citizenship. In terms of accountability and transparency, it is increasingly difficult for governments to hide or manipulate information or to act inconsistently with citizen concerns.

The use of mobile phones and the Internet, for example, allow for news of any inappropriate government actions to quickly reach the public and to be challenged (Haider 2011).

Kenya's post-election violence demonstrated the effects that new technology can have. Despite a history of violence associated with elections, these were the first elections where mobile phones and access to vernacular radio stations were widely available. Mobile phones and media (including social media) can play the roles of mirroring events and providing an important opportunity for reflection and insight into political dynamics. They can analyze the level of dialogue, the polarization, and progress towards reconciliation, including possible avenues for the peaceful resolution of disputes.

In these cases, the media, internet and mobile phones acted as enablers providing a positive role in mediating divergent perspectives, and creating a national vision of reconciliation; a space for dialogue that helped to reduce polarization and supported transitional justice processes.

5.1.6 Influence of Social Media on Communities in living together, working together and conflict/animosity reduction

The study sought to underscore the influence of social media on communities in living together as well as working together ascertain whether the media reduces animosity. The results are as indicated in figure 5.4

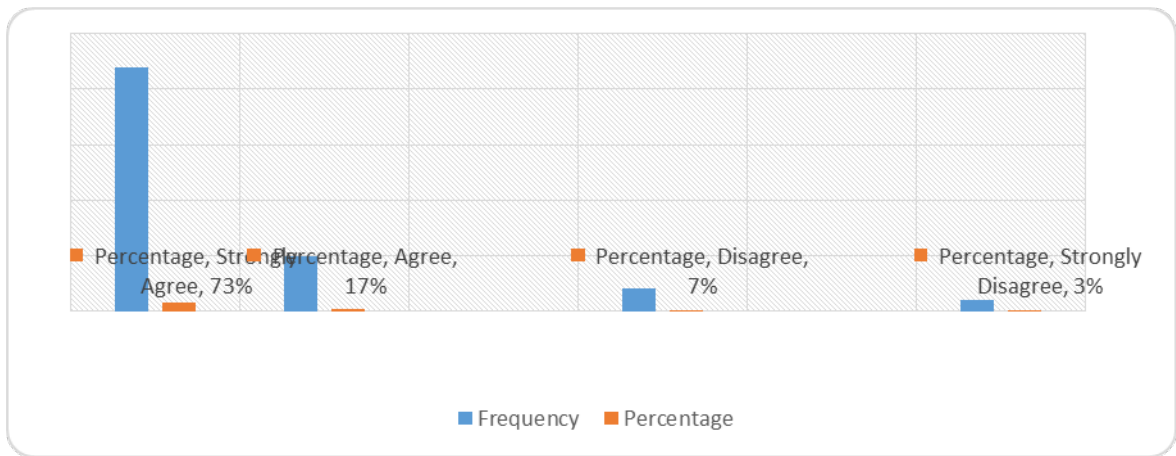


Figure 5.4 Influence of Social Media on Communities in living together, working together and conflict/animosity reduction

Source: Field, Data2017.

From the findings from the FGDs as indicated figure 5.4 is that, all epicenters registered high frequency of agreement that most of Social Media platforms are able to influence Communities in living together, working together and conflict/animosity reduction in that 73% of the respondents strongly agreed, 17% agreed, 7% Disagreed while 3% strongly disagreed. These findings are supported by Jorgie who avers that, online participation has become an important avenue of citizen participation therefore the arrival of affordable smart phones on the Kenyan market increased internet use on cell-phones and caused an explosion of social media (Jorgic 2013). However even though a number of authors have expressed hope of increased citizen participation, others have been more skeptical about the internet's democratic potential and in this case there was fear that Facebook and Twitter would take the place of text messages during the upcoming 2013 elections and be used to incite violence as it had happened in 2007/2008.

Respondents perceived that interactive shows inspired audience participation, and implementation of policies at grassroots levels, to some extent they were used as platforms for listeners to relay Information. From the data, it was evident that new tools of social communication such as, text messaging and Facebook hastened the spread of information.

5.1.7 Satisfaction with the Influence of Social Media in Peace Building

The question sought to know whether the respondents were satisfied with the Influence of Social Media in Peace Fostering process. The results are as shown in figure 5.5

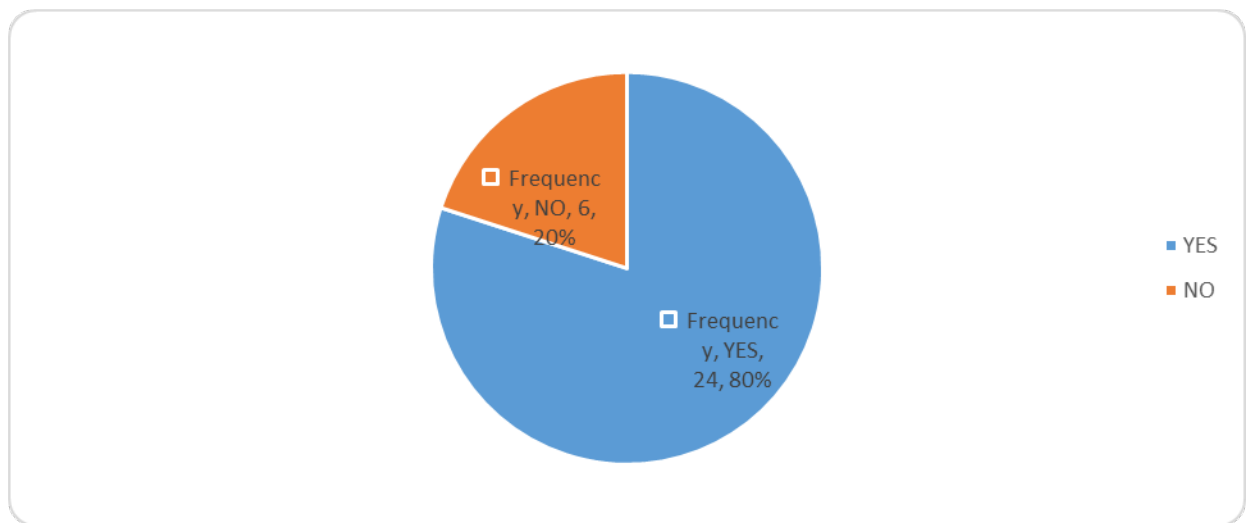


Figure 5.5 Satisfaction with the Influence of Social Media in Peace Fostering Process

Source: Field Data,2017.

As indicated in Figure 5.5, 80% of the respondent indicated yes and 20% indicated No. From all epicenters the researcher learnt that the general publics were satisfied with the Influence of Social Media in Peace Fostering process in that it helps Kenyans speak out their feelings, fears and do it honestly. Kenyans also felt that the Social Media especially SMSs are secure mode of communication.

An interview with one of the media house managers confirmed the foregoing discussion:

On daily basis we receive thousands of messages, some are congratulatory some denunciatory in nature. However a large number of subscribers feel that the social media is on an upward trajectory as far as peace building is concerned. The sound topical discussions that are carried out seeks to inform, educate and emancipate the masses from prejudice, hate and retaliatory feelings, consequently fostering peace in our country (An interview with a Media House Manager ,19/01/2017, Kisumu County)

The foregoing was supported by Goldstein and Rotich argument that, in Kenya, as in the rest of Africa, SMS is the most widely used digital application. The leading Kenyan online community, *Mashada*, during the elections period became overwhelmed with divisive and hostile messages. By the end of January 2008, the moderators decided to shut down the site, recognizing that civil discourse was rapidly becoming impossible. However, a few days later *Mashada's* site administrator David Kobia launched 'I Have No Tribe', a site explicitly centered on constructive dialogue among Kenyans. The *Mashada* site was then redirected to the new site of which it rapidly filled with comments (Goldstein and Rotich 2007).

This was a period that accelerated the development of the Kenya blogosphere and blogs which suddenly, was a critical source of information for Kenyans in Nairobi and the diaspora. Rumors that were spread via text message were dispelled via an online dialogue that took place on blogs and in the comments section of blogs (Goldstein and Rotich, 2007).

Kenyan bloggers became a critical part of the national conversation, starting during the three-day ban on live broadcasts, when the web traffic from within Kenya shot through the roof. The influence ballooned further when radio broadcasters began to read influential bloggers over the airwaves, helping them reach not 5 percent, but 95 percent of the Kenya population as press critic Jay Rosen writes, citizen journalists are: “the people formerly known as the audience who were on the receiving end of a media system that ran one way, in a broadcasting pattern, with high entry fees and a few firms competing to speak very loudly while the rest of the population listened in isolation from one another— and who today are not in a situation like that at all. The people formerly known as the audience are simply the public made realer, less fictional, more able, less predictable” (Goldstein and Rotich, 2007).

Further findings from secondary data further reveals that, for many years’ political violence upheavals, nuclear proliferation and international terrorism have posed the biggest threats to the nation state. We are now in an era in which the internet has been

added to that arsenal. Where millions of finger plucking and poking at touch screen phones, a logging in posting, can bring down a government as they did in Egypt. The feeling is that; if you want to liberate a society just give them the internet”.

Triangulation from literature/documents reviews, Interviews and the FGDs is that the potential of social Media as a tool for peace building is evident by the elaborate penetration of Social Media as a communication tool. This is because its effectiveness derives from the fact that its communication is built primarily on relationships and deals with the user’s circle of influence”.

5.2. Chapter Summary

From the foregoing analysis, this study holds that social media peace messages campaigns in peace building are preponderant. It has delved on social media as a platform that provides the thrust for peace-building. It has also discussed the most commonly known social media .This chapter has also endeavored to explicate the effectiveness of social media in the whole gamut of peace-building process .Additionally, it has generated a profound line of thinking from instant messages exhibited by the use of Facebook, YouTube and mobile SMS in peace-building. It has also brought to fore the view that social media influences communities living as well as working together. Through Interviews with bloggers and online platform administrators and FGDs, in everyday life, people hardly think of the gadgets they use to keep in touch with family and friends.

Further findings, is that the use of mobile phones SMSs was very effective in deescalating the violence during Kenya 2007/2008 PEV because people were able to make informed decisions. Other felt that SMSs was used widely to convey peace messages because charges are cheap and reliable. They were also used to share prayers for the Nation and loved ones. In nuce, the burden of this chapter has been to analyze social media messages campaigns in peace-building. The next chapter expounds findings on the challenges and opportunities of Kenyan media in promoting and enhancing peace-building in Kenya.

CHAPTER SIX

CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF KENYAN MEDIA IN PROMOTING AND ENHANCING PEACE-BUILDING IN KENYA

Introduction

This chapter links the third research objective and question respectively in presenting the research findings on Challenges and Opportunities of Kenyan Media in Promoting and Enhancing Peace-Building in Kenya in relation to the study. This chapter provides an analysis of data collected from 30% (100) of Senior Directors, Senior Producers, Senior Producers, Senior Editors and Media Analysts of the Media Houses under study Nation Media Group; The East African Standard; The People Daily; KBC TV; Ghetto FM and Pamoja FM Media Personnel. The response rate to my requests for interviews with various selected Senior Management Staff was fairly encouraging. The proposed number of respondent was almost achieved, with the exception that more department bosses were found willing and available to be interviewed than had been planned.

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

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

6.1 Challenges Faced by the Media in Promoting and Enhancing Peace-Building in Kenya

What are the Challenges faced by the Kenyan Media in promoting and enhancing peace-building in Kenya? What roles do you think media played or could have played in Escalation of violence during the 2007/2008 Kenyan PEV?

6.1.1 Media Viewed as an Instigator/ Propeller of Violence

More often than not the media has been viewed on the negative especially in conflict situation. The reporting style, the content and programming has been question over and over. As observed by one of the interviewee, thus:

I remember a political leader in one of the local Radio FM telling the youth to fight the foreigners. The word foreigner is a word used when referring to Kikuyus. This made people to participate in the violence when they listened such remarks from the Radio. There was no one to stop them, and there was no one to stop my political leader from using bad language to make the youths fight. However Pamoja FM Radio used the Radio to promote peace, (An interview with a senior producer, 10th February, 2017, Kisumu County)

The foregoing statement suggests that some of the local Media were not held accountable for the promotion of the PEV. Although the government issued a small ban for a few hours on the local language FM stations following the eruption of PEV, it was quickly alleviated and the hate speech and incitation continues (Munyua, 2011). Table 6.1 gives a summary of response whether Media is viewed as is always as an Instigator/ Propeller of Violence. 80% indicated yes and 20%.

Table 6.1 Media as an Instigator/ Propeller of Violence

Response	Frequency	Percentages
Yes	24	80%
No	6	20%
Total	30	100%

Source: Field Data (2017)

The foregoing are consistent with various scholars that found out that, the challenges of Media coverage and its effects in peace building is that they are always viewed as an Instigator/ Propeller of Violence. History records occasions where the media has been used as a destructive weapon to infringe upon fundamental human rights and escalate violence. Rwanda’s Radio Television Libre des Milles Collines (RTL), urged listeners “to kill Tutsis” or what it called “the cockroaches” (Des Forges, 1999). In the case of Rwanda, the Media was also used to guide the perpetrators of the genocide towards their victims. The media may also incite violence through manipulative, negative presentation of facts that create the impression that the situation is worsening.

From my argument is that just because the Media in Rwanda did a lot of harm in escalation of the crisis, the case cannot always be used as a blue print in every Country or State under doing a crisis. This is because Rwanda case was a learning lesson and especially to African States.

The lessons learnt from Rwandan case are that there are various roles played by the Media influencing peace. Findings from literature and interviews from Media Professions revealed that is that politicians, the military and aid organizations often perceive the media as a threat (Adam and Holguin, 2003). The immediate discussion suggests that, to politicians, media is always a threat. Media is never given an opportunity to prove their positive contributions influencing peace building because they are always judged without trial, so to say. Most of their interventions programs to peace building are never appreciated. This includes any media intervention plan, and the Millennium Development Goals make no mention of the importance of Media for peace building. And therefore, such positive contributions are never documented.

Although empirical evidence is thin, there is positive anecdotal evidence that media can contribute to peace-building by improving knowledge for conflict prevention and increasing contact and understanding between opposing groups. On the other, one can argue that the media propelled the violence through direct coverage of the incidents that took place thereby creating a volatile political environment, feelings of animosity, hatred and disunity.

Some of the local Media caused the PEV to occur due to hate speech played on the local Radio. This made people angry and made them to go out in the streets to fight. This made the ICC calling on Sang trial and this was important to the public because it makes people to be aware that you can't just speak badly and nothing happens to you. This is evident in that the Kass FM Radio Presenter by then Mr Joshua Arap Sang was taken to ICC court at The Hague, (Interview with Senior Editor 10th February, 2017, Nairobi)

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

Plate 6.1 is a note from a clergy who is still a member of KAG Kiambaa Church in Uansin Gishu County, which was burned during 2007/8 PEV in Kenya. It is written in Kiswahili urging members of the Society always to promote peace in the Society. The clergy was one of the participants during the FGDs which were conducted at the Church premises.

The peace note read:

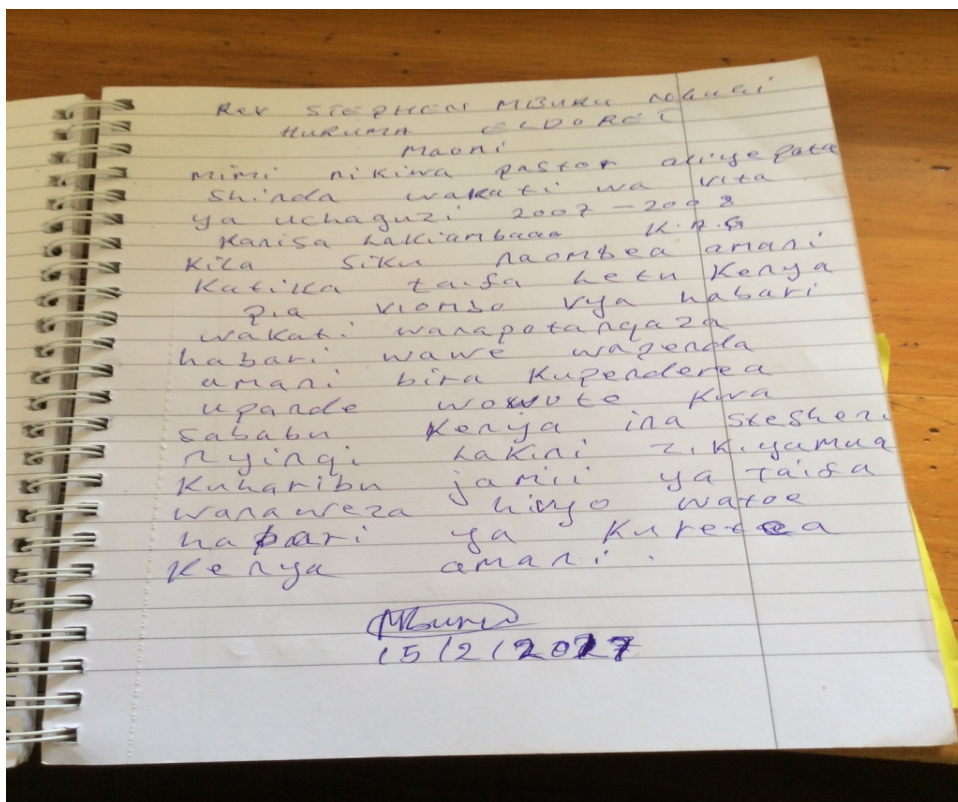


Plate 6.1 A peace note from of the KAG a clergy ,Kiambaa Church in Uasin Gishu County,

Source: Field Data,2017

6.1.2 Media Owners Interests

The first challenge about ownership as revealed from interviews from the 30% (100) of Senior Management Staff and collaborated with the findings from literature is that more often than not, Media Professions have to dance to the tunes of their Media owners and work according to their dictates. The motives of the owner of a media have to be reflected in news reportage, if a Media worker wants to stay in business.

The ideals and views of the owner must not be tampered with and most times, truthful and accurate reportage is abandoned for the owner's selfish ends. Objectivity and fairness in this case is sacrificed at the altar of biased reporting. The second challenge can be hampered by the media economy. If the media institute is profit oriented, then, the journalists have to write stories that can be sold as a commodity and generate profit. It is common that conflict stories can get better market and they have the value of their commodity, (Tumber, 2009).

In addition to the media owners and the interest of the media, the external factors like advertisers' interests are becoming contributing factor in the story selection and production. Due to that, the space and time that are allocated to cover conflict and peace are not equal. As I mentioned earlier, the dramatic issues like conflict are getting better coverage than peace. By its nature, peace process and peace building are not as dramatic as conflict, (Wolfsfeld, 2004). It means, the drama part of the stories has great impact for the income of the business-oriented media. It is because the commercial media are profit oriented, and the peace process, does not likely produce profit.

Most the media are totally depends on the incomes from the advertisements and other related financial sources. In the case of conflict, it is becoming problematic to cover the issues in a fair and neutral ways, when the media is focusing only profit.

Further, findings from the Interviews with Senior Media Professions revealed that the Kenyan media abandoned the notion of commercializing news content for the sake of profits, avoided naming either the victims or the perpetrators of the violence, employed investigative/critical journalism and chose to preach peace.

This was a positive move, which was later to help reunify Kenya. This conduct demonstrates the maturity of the media and further proves that the Kenyan media uphold and respect their role in Kenyan society. In any human rights issue related to two or more conflicting interest groups the rule of law anywhere in the world will defend the idea of balancing rights to see which rights outweigh others and which infringe on others. In this case, the Kenyan media seem to have understood that the right to peace outweighed the right of Kenyans to know (freedom to receive information) which tribe was killing which and in what manner; information that would only have aggravated the situation. One of the targeted journalists for fear of being reprimanded said:

Some Media took political stands which influenced the trend of reporting the grievances that the two parties had and what ODM protesting about. We were unable to fight for our right to be impartial or condemn biased reporting. Though I know taking sides is wrong I couldn't go against my editor's decisions, (Interview with Key informant 15.01.2017, Kibera, Nairobi County).

The media was extremely influential in the campaigns of both the opposition and the government with each side having their preferred media to propagate political ideologies and controversy, (FGD participants, 15.01.2017, Kiambaa, Uasin Gishu County).

As evidenced in the argument one scholar avows that the media mirrors the society, respondents suggested that the media was trapped in social themes including youth unemployment, and escalating violence in the country and failed to explain reasons behind the crisis.

Another targeted journalist who witnessed the crisis explains that, it was the duty of the media to report the crisis, but it had no control on how the audience would react. She explains:

The announcement of election results on Television triggered youth from the slums and supporters of ODM to demolish property and unleash violent mayhem. The ensuing chaos heightened a sense of insecurity causing Kenyans who had previously lived side by side to become suspicious of opposing tribes, (Interview key informant, ,15.01.2017, Nairobi County).

Findings from the respondents revealed that content on politics had high percentage compare to other media contents. 14% politics, 13% education, 13% indicated education, 3% said health issues and HIV Aids, 7% indicated security, 7% indicated women, while agriculture, religious issues were represented by 3 % respectively as indicated in Figure 6.1.

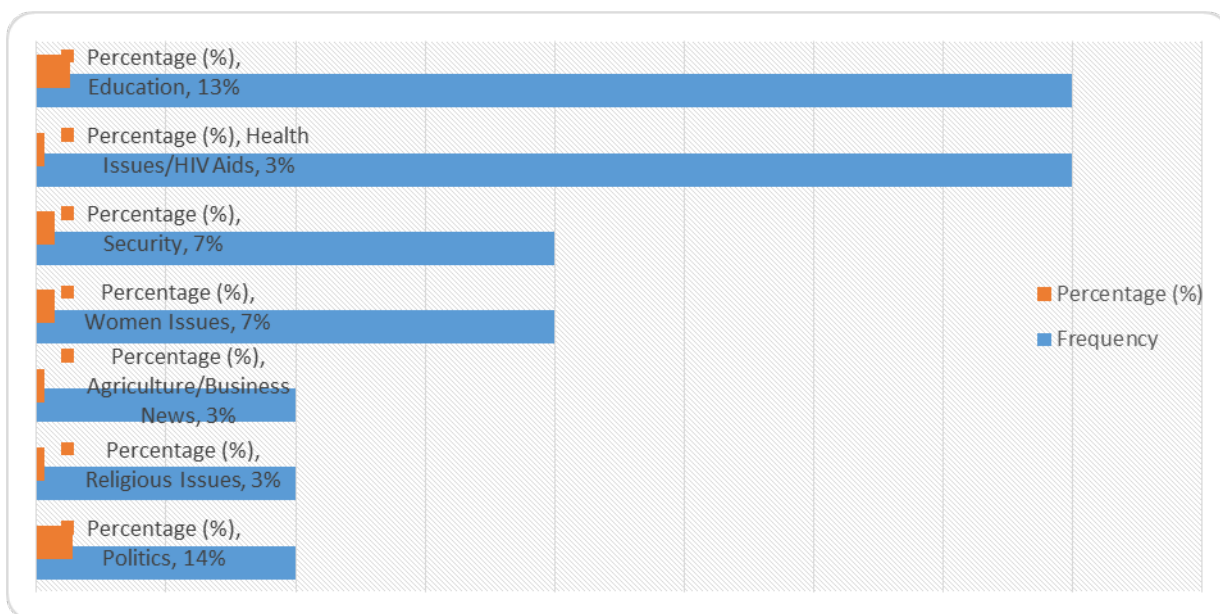


Figure 6.1 Core Publications and Broadcasting Content

Source: Field Data, 2017.

As regards to journalists' rights, respondents pointed out that working conditions for Journalists in Kenya varied from one media house to another. They said that this scenario hindered their effectiveness as conveyors of information. Some argued that those employed are poorly paid and in constant fear of losing their positions, given a lack of job security and increasing competition in the media market.

One media house presenter noted:

Working conditions for journalists in Kenya are not favorable, either their rights have been violated and abused by their employers or news sources. The legal provisions are not adequate to provide journalists with protection, while employers can abuse their rights to fair pay, (Media house respondent, 15.01.2017, Kisumu County).

There are skewed measures for the remunerations of journalist. Journalist work in debilitating environment, something that affect their work. Their rights are also violated in a number of ways, forceful arrest, extrajudicial killing and torture.

6.1.3 Security

Security itself is a main threat to Media roles in peace building as from the findings from literature and interviews from Media Professions. Journalist themselves are not sure of the protection of their lives and so are afraid to venture into places of crisis where they feel their life will be put to question. They therefore do not achieve in-depth reportage in situations that threaten peace and security (Nwolise 2010). The researcher agrees with the Scholar Nwolise in that, it is a pity that most security agents are still hostile to journalists in this democratic era. They still assault them at various instances; seize their practice equipment and even publications, close media houses for no explainable reason. Many media workers have also been known to be incarcerated, beaten, and ultimately lost their lives on the coverage of crisis situations at large. These are however the hazards of the profession.

6.1.4 Unprofessionalism and Ethical Misconduct

This thesis will not be complete without mentioning this trend as a bad apple in the apple basket of journalism practice. Findings from the literature revealed that, the greatest challenge here is that most so called journalists that report events of crisis do not receive the basic training required for journalism practice.

Further findings revealed that, lack of training and experience in conflict reporting was to blame for the initial poor reporting of post-election violence which is a challenge as revealed from the finding of literature review and interviews. During the Kenya 2007/2008 PEV, many Kenyan journalists were reporting on conflict for the first time in their careers as the country had been relatively peaceful though low level tribal clashes had occurred in 1992, 1997 and 2002.

It has been noted that Most FM stations rely on DJs and presenters who lack journalism education and experience. Journalism itself as eulogized by (Dariye ,2007) is a noble profession. Unprofessionalism is a menace on its own, as there is no excuse for ethical misconduct of a proclaimed profession. In this paradigm, the journalist willingly or consciously commits certain errors that contravene Codes of Conduct. Leman (2007) gave examples for ethical misconduct to include, misleading photographs which could be viewed as fraudulent, remarks made in confidence, obscene headlines, speculation, fabricated stories, reward and certification, and discrimination.

These interests of the journalists search uniqueness affect the peace promotional role of the media. “Journalists’ obsessive search for drama contributes to the problematic relationship between media and peace. This need for excitement can have a devastating impact on the course of a peace process. Every act of violence, every crisis, and every sign of conflict is considered news. Areas of calm and cooperation, on the other hand,

will be ignored because they are not considered interesting”. In addition to the hungry appetites of the journalists towards conflicts, the media people not only give lesser attention to the peace initiatives but also do not consider that peace building is as parts of their responsibilities. They considered that the peace building obligation is given for somebody else.

However, as stated by Lynch and McGoldrick (2005), it is the responsibility of the journalists to create the society to consider and value not-violence response to the conflict. This is not an external goal that imposed on journalism from outside; rather it is the obligation of the media to create the opportunities results directly from the role assigned to journalism in democratic societies, (Kempf, 2007). While, the agenda setting theory does not determine the direct influence of media messages on audiences, an Editor Pamoja FM demonstrates that certain themes reinforced from foreign overtures framed the post-election violence as a tribal war between Kikuyu and Luos. An interview with one of the victims of PEV in media industry revealed that:

The interplay in the reportage worked up emotions of conflicting groups and resulted to revenge attacks. Those aggrieved felt a need to retaliate while perpetrators exercised their intent to destroy property. However ,media intervention programs such as Celtel and Safarocm peace caravans worked towards quelling the emotions (Interview with key informant, 13.01.2017, Kibuye,Kisumu County).

This respondent avers that 75% of news content in newspapers radio and television is sourced from correspondents, who lack formal contracts with the media houses, yet they

continue to work and provide information that the media survives on. In this case, the victim views that freedom of the press, free market economy and existence of journalistic codes of ethics are not sufficient conditions for the development of fair and ethical journalism practice.

He explained that in the past the Kenyan government has used its powers to ban publications, arrest vendors, search and seize broadcasting equipment and intercept communications. It also exerted control over journalists, on grounds that they were "compromising public safety". These findings are supported by Howard (2003), who stated that most media report 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.

6.1.5 Vague Media Legislations and Government Interference

From the interviews conducted to the Senior Directors, Seniors Analysts, Senior Editors and Senior Producers is that, on the legal situation, media analysts point at gaps in legislation as reasons for the failure of journalists to be critical in their reporting. They were concerned that Kenyan laws on freedom of expression and of the media are vague and leave loop holes for practitioners to abuse media freedom, especially in talk shows and commentaries.

A respondent from the Correspondents Association of Kenya (CAK) suggested that;

There are extensive limitations to freedom of expression where these rights are interpreted in the interest of defense, public safety, order, morality and health, (An interview with CAK respondent 15.01.2017, Nairobi County).

His argument is based on the provisions in Article 35 of the Kenya constitutional Bill of Rights. The constitution gives citizens the right to access information provided it is in the pursuit and protection of other rights and fundamental freedoms. Like most journalists and editors, he argued that other laws which challenge the work of journalists are libel and defamation. Additionally, there are other inhibiting laws covered under the government's Information and Communication Act⁴⁵. Ouma further elaborated that some government backed legislation proposed after the post-2007 crisis contains sections which if implemented will hamper "Media Freedom".

Ouma sees this as a challenge and suggests that: Liberalization reforms established in 1990's must be constantly reviewed and harmonized with international provisions of press freedom as hallmarks in the new constitution, which many see as source of hope in the preservation of Civil and Political Rights. Ouma argument are expressed by findings from the literature review in that Media played a role in peace-building following the announcement of the Kenyan 2007 election. Because at the time Kenya did not have a law pertaining to hate speech, the names of individuals who were believed to have used SMS to circulate hate speech were forwarded to the government and parliament which prompted reviewing of legislature to include hate speech (Munyua, 2011).

This led to the adoption of this law in the new Kenyan constitution in 2010. Joshua Arap Sang, who Kamau refers to, is a radio presenter who was accused by the ICC of instigating the PEV (Ogenga, 2013). On the legal situation, media analysts point at gaps in legislation as reasons for the failure of journalists to be critical in their reporting. They were concerned that Kenyan laws on freedom of expression and of the media are vague and leave loop holes for practitioners to abuse media freedom, especially in talk shows and commentaries. A respondent from the Correspondents Association of Kenya (CAK) suggested that there are extensive limitations to freedom of expression where these rights are interpreted in the interest of defense, public safety, order, morality and health. His argument is based on the provisions in Article 35 of the Kenya constitutional Bill of Rights.

The constitution gives citizens the right to access information provided it is in the pursuit and protection of other rights and fundamental freedoms. Like most journalists and editors, he argued that other laws which challenge the work of journalists are libel and defamation. He further elaborated that some government backed legislation proposed after the post-2007 crisis contains sections which if implemented will hamper "media freedom". He fears that the laws could increase government control over the sector.

In this regard, I established that media industry stakeholders are still fighting to get amendments done on the act. Secondly, legislation is often used as a weapon against media freedom, (Interview with CAK correspondent, 15.01.2017, Nairobi County).

Accordingly, the foregoing suggests that laws implemented in 2002 introduced extremely high penalties for media houses and practitioners caught up in litigations. The laws require publishers to submit an expensive insurance bond in order to operate, something many small private newspapers cannot afford.

This as a challenge and the respondent suggests that:

Liberalization reforms established in 1990's must be constantly reviewed and harmonized with international provisions of press freedom as hallmarks in the new constitution, which many see as source of hope in the preservation of Civil and Political Rights,(Interview with CAK correspondent,15.01.2017,Nairobi County)

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

The media took political stands which influenced the trend of reporting the grievances that the two parties had and what ODM protesting about. We were unable to fight for our right to be impartial or condemn biased reporting. Though I know taking sides is wrong I couldn't go against my editor's decisions,(Interview with Senior Investigator on 15.01.2017, Kibera Nairobi County).

The investigator traces conflicts originating from the 2005 constitution referendum campaign, as having set the stage for the violence. He argues that divisions in the coalition government contributed to hostilities among supporters of rival political parties. Without being explicit, David Akombo a Kenyan Analyst and Professor at Weber State University -USA sees the referendum fallout as shaping the opposition campaign agenda.

Using the concept of salience of issues (McQuail&Windhal, 1993) discussed in the agenda setting process, I found that themes such as poverty reduction, settlement of land and economic disparities were used in the campaign and ranked high in the media. In turn, the media worked on the audience insatiable desire for news on conflict to form its agenda. Akombo notes:

The media was extremely influential in the campaigns of both the opposition and the government with each side having their preferred media to propagate political ideologies and controversy, (Interview,15.01.2017 Senior Media Analyst,Nairobi County).

Table: 6.2 Editorial Measures put to Discourage Negative Reporting during Conflicts

Response rate	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Managers/Directors,	2	7%
Editors,	3	10%
Reporters/Correspondents,	9	30%
Presenters,	7	23%
Investigators,	4	13%
Media Analysts	5	17%
Totals	30	100%

Source: Field Data,2017.

Generally, media analysts were of the view that despite different factors at play, the media shaped and cultivated opinions captured from political platforms and did not offer sufficient analysis of the problem. These findings support 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. 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.

In most cases, media are under the control of external body such as the governments, owners, political parties, advertisers and others. These groups are able to determine the media content, working situation and finance.

The smooth working environment of the media in most parts of the world is depending on the relationship between the media and the state. The relationship of the two certainly has great impact not only the conflict issues but also other reporting specially in developing countries. One of the influence is the government has the chance to limit the information. Based on their relation (the media-state), there can be open access to the media without discrimination, and/or controlled access to the media with screening and selection of messages, (Nordenstreng, 2006). As observed previously, the open access of the information either related to conflict and war or other public documents are determined by the level of the smooth relationship between the media and the state.

It means that the political environment and the media situation (how the media are free) limit the media's role in general and the peace-building process in particular. One of the essential elements of peace building process is a calm political environment, (Wolfsfeld, 2004). The political situation, the level of freedom of expression and the media expansion in a given country have direct impact in the peace building process. Media Analyst argued that the government was torn between banning the media for fueling violence and suppressing the media which was increasing spreading anti-government messages.

As an interviewee said;

The government must have found itself between a rock and a hard place. Besides, over the years, successive opinion polls have proved that Kenyans esteem the media as the most reliable institution. It was therefore no surprise when the public took sides and support the media in this government and media row, (FGD participants, 15.01.2017, Uasin Gishu County).

Correspondingly, a media reporter argued that;

The government wanted the leading media houses to support them while forgetting that the media should be non-partisan. The politicians and Kenyan Government officials should be in fact be grateful to the media. The media practiced self-censorships. Were it not for this censorship the voters would have known the government for who they are; selfish persons who wanted to use the media to spread their interest. But the government failed terribly since the media maintained its objectivity, (Media House respondent, 15.01.2017, Nairobi County).

The foregoing indicates that the government when given unfettered access to media space can infringe on the inviolable rights enshrined in the constitution. More often than not and in most sub-Saharan countries media freedom is curtailed at the expense of justice, fairness and integrity. This has aggravated the relations between the governments and media house owners and even putting the lives of journalist at risk.

6.1.6 Lack of Training

Lack of training and experience in conflict reporting was to blame for the initial poor reporting of post-election violence which is a challenge as revealed from the finding of literature review and interviews.

During the Kenya 2007/2008 PEV, many Kenyan journalists were reporting on conflict for the first time in their careers as the country had been relatively peaceful though low level tribal clashes had occurred in 1992, 1997 and 2002. It has been noted that Most FM stations rely on DJs and presenters who lack journalism education and experience”, Some media houses therefore optimized the “free” opportunity and were irresponsible in the content they aired. Recklessness was present since some media houses lacked signed codes of conduct for their reporters, often hiring untrained journalists who were witnessed as lacking objectivity and were not nonpartisan during the 2007 elections. They were often biased, sensational, compromised and unnecessarily alarmed their audiences with messages of fear, inciting them against the government, (Interview with key informant, 15.01.2017, Kibera Nairobi County).

The researcher agrees with the comments by the key informant in that there should be trainings for local media, tailored to local needs. There is also a strong case for recruiting and training local trainers, who can, in the long-term, continue to build local media capacity adapted to the specific conditions.

6.2 Opportunities of Kenyan Media in Peace Building

It is preponderant to underscore the fact that media plays a pivotal role in peace building and therefore provides a number of opportunities. Thus, the study also sought to underline the opportunities of Kenyan media in peace building. In the same vein, this question was necessary: What roles do you think media played or could have played in De-escalation of violence during the 2007/2008 Kenyan PEV?

The role of media has become so essential in building peace or bringing sustainable solution for the particular incidences or conflicts. Media has the power to shape the idea of the public, however, its impact is highly determined by the extent and the way issues of conflicts are reported. This illustrates that when the media cover specific issues constantly, there can be better chance to get attention and then there will be possibilities of bringing some impacts. Howard (2002), described the impacts of the media as a double-edged sword. It can be a frightful weapon of violence when it propagates messages of intolerance or disinformation that manipulate public sentiment, (Howard,2002).Melone, Terzis, & Beleli, (2002) discussed that as a result of their (Media) ability to reach and influence large numbers of people, the media carry immense power in shaping the course of a conflict. This immense power shall be used for the positive contribution to de-escalate of violence or conflicts or to stop the conflict by solving the problem.

Howard (2008), noted that a reliable, independent and diverse media would inevitably enable democratically-inclined societies to better resolve conflicts without violence. Moreover, Melone, Terzis, & Beleli (2002) emphasize that, if there are fair and accurate journalism and developing media content that builds confidence and counteracts misperceptions to the public, they(the media and the journalists) have potential in conflict prevention and transformation.

It is possible to use the potential of media in creating a common basis and transform conflict into peace through a variety of ways. For instance, the media can serve the public in informing and educating functions by securing a free flow of accurate and constructive information, counteracting misperceptions, identifying the interests underlying the issues and helping to build a consensus (Melone, Terzis, & Beleli, 2002, p.3). In other words, the content the media are covering in general and the frame the stories are written in particular can have the possibilities to loosen the tension of the two sides. This can also be done by generating alternative options to violent conflict, reflecting the ordinary person's desire and need for peace, communicating the process of negotiations to the constituencies involved and providing a forum for on-going dialogue (Siebert 1988) cited in (Melone, Terzis, & Beleli, 2002).

This role can be further consolidated that the media play with somehow keeping the interest of the large publics. They may act as a watchdog on leaders to ensure long-term accountability, monitor human rights violations, and, in a broader sense, provide some early warning on potential escalations of the conflict (Melone, Terzis, & Beleli, 2002). On the other hand, (Wolfsfeld, 2004) described four impacts of the news media in peace process. First, they can play a major role in defining the political atmosphere in which the process takes place. Second, the media can have an important influence on the nature of debate about peace process. Third, they can have an impact on antagonist's strategy and behavior. Fourth, they can raise and lower the public standing and legitimacy of antagonistic involved in the process and their positions.

During the pre-election period, Kenyans received majority of the information and developments in the election process through the mainstream media (Syallow, 2014).

The study found out that 107 out of 117 respondents said that they kept abreast of the election developments by the radio stations. Prior to the campaign season, the media took an active role in civic education. Through audio-visual, audio and printed media, media sought to educate Kenyans on how to vote correctly (Mbeke, 2009). Following live broadcast of the photograph of the two rival political leaders shaking hands in agreement following mediation, violence halted. The media showcased this photograph on all television stations in real time in an effort to stop the violence; and it worked (Mbeke, 2009). In addition, the media took several measures with the aim of peace building such as the airing of the peace song famous local musicians came together to sing (Shitemi *et. al*, 2013), mobile service providers sending peace messages to all mobile subscribers (Munyua, 2011) and the hosting of media events that promoted peace such as peace caravans (Shitemi *et. al*, 2013).

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

bring peace to the country, and the newspaper helped in spreading the message of peace across the country.

6.2.1 The Role of Media in De-escalation of Kenya 2007/2008 PEV

From the Table 6.3, we can see that Televisions and Radio peace building programs were given priority by the main stream Media. From the findings, it is also clear that the joint newspaper reporting by the print, joint talk shows and call in programs as well as peace building documentaries by the Media was a clear evidence that the Kenya Media were working together geared towards de-escalation of the Kenya 2007/2008 PEV. Also the Media collaborated by playing patriotic songs in between the shows and programs was a positive move. During the Kenya 2007/2008 PEV the Kenya Media put some efforts in terms of initiatives and programs towards the de-escalation of violence. These are Television & Radio Programs 33%, Patriotic Songs 10%, Joint Headlines Newspaper Reporting 27%, Talk Shows/In calls Programs 20% and Documentaries at 10%.

These findings were collaborated with various Scholars from the literature review, chapter two of this study. Based on findings from literature reviews and interviews, it is clear that news and media reports during the 2007/2008 Kenya post-election violence were critical in getting the much coveted peace. These findings are supported by Loretta Hieber who points out in her article Media as Intervention, Media played a great deal in peace making in 2007/2008 violence. For example, creation of programming for mass consumption of the media in the sense of content stories television and radio programs,

patriotic songs, whereby the programs contained educating information on non-violent modes of conflict resolution.

Moreover, production of documentaries about successful conflict resolution efforts as well as other talk show programs exposing the dangers of conflict helped a lot during and after Kenya PEV of 2007/8. Peace media introduces tolerance for differences and peaceful conflict resolution techniques by working them into popular entertainment on television and radio. Just after Kenya PEV erupted, the international community quickly intervened by sending mediators to Kenya (Munyua, 2011). This was the first role in peace-building that the media played. Secondly, the media broadcasted the mediation and negotiation between the Mwai Kibaki and Raila Odinga; the political leaders of PNU and ODM respectively (Mbeke, 2009). Of course the negotiations were private but the media kept the public abreast on events as the unfolded. A result of the announcement of negotiations was a decrease in violence (Mbeke, 2009).

The media have facilitated uniting Kenyans from all walks of life. The media initiated a campaign that is, the “I have no tribe”; “I am Kenyan” campaign to re-unite Kenyans by humanizing their rivals. In this campaign, the media broadcasted religious leaders, political leaders, rival, men and women, young and old; people of every diversity come together to stand against violence and disunity, (Oyungu, 2011). Along the same lines was the, there was a campaign dubbed, “*Mkenya mwenye nchi sio mwananchi*” (Karongo, 2012). This translated from the Swahili to English languages states, “A Kenyan who

owns the country, not a child of the country”. *Mwananchi* is the Swahili word for citizen (Kamusi.org, 2016).

However, the *Mwana* is the Swahili word for child. Therefore, through creative wordplay, the founders; Kenya Private Sector Alliance (KEPSA) was able to provoke Kenyans to take accountability for their country thus fostering a feeling of loyalty and unity, (Karongo, 2012). It is important to note that the “*Mkenya mwenye nchi sio mwananchi*” Campaign was the first part of a four-phase campaign aimed at peace-building before the 2013 presidential elections . The second phase was dubbed “*Mkenya Daima*” which translates to Forever Kenyan (Karongo, 2012). The aim of this phase of the campaign was to deal with the negative conditions that facilitated the unrest in 2007. Phase three was the „Rights Come with Responsibilities“ Campaign where the media played both an educative and cautionary roles educating Kenyans on their rights whilst warning them of the consequences of negligence of the law .The final phase „Conflict Mitigation“ ran concurrently with phase three and focus on conflict prone areas with the hope of resolving existing disputes before the elections .

Table 6.3 Role of Media in De-escalation of Kenya 2007/2008 PEV

Response rate	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Television & Radio Programs	10	33%
Patriotic Songs	3	10%
Joint Headlines Newspaper	8	27%
Talk Shows/In calls Programs	6	20%
Documentaries	3	10%
Totals	30	100%

Source: Field Data,2017.

6.2.2 Effects of Media Coverage during the Political Campaigns and After the 2007 General Elections

The impact of media coverage during political campaigns cannot be underestimated.

The role it plays contribute significantly in stability of a nation. As noted by one of the respondents:

The media played a part in conflict de-escalation. I remember the song that Eric Wainaina and other musicians made to promote peace. The media kept playing it several times a day trying to stop the conflict, (Media respondent, 10th February, 2017, Kibera Nairobi County).

The foregoing sentiments are consistent with Syallow's view point that, the media played different roles during different stages of the Kenyan 2007 presidential elections. The media played an informative role before the elections. By campaigning, the media acted as peace promoter because they promoted free and fair elections while subconsciously planting a seed of loyalty in the minds of Kenyans, (Syallow, 2014).

The founder of Peace Journalism-Galtung also says that the Media focuses on the positive values of journalism in ensuring peace during conflicts and wars. According to Galtung, the concerns of journalists in reporting conflict are in maintaining sustainable peace and bringing resolution for the conflict. Galtung (1986, 1998, and 2002) indicated that PJ focuses on stories that promote peace initiatives; tone down ethnic and religious differences; prevent further conflict; give attention to the structure of the society; and advocates conflict resolution, reconstruction and reconciliation.

Lynch and McGoldrick(2005) explained that it is when journalists make choice of what stories to report and about how to report them that create opportunities for societies at large to consider and value non-violent responses to conflicts. Media events can be used at the beginning of negotiations to build confidence, facilitate negotiations or break diplomatic deadlocks to create a climate conducive to negotiation.

Media events such as press releases, rock concerts, or radio programs can celebrate peace agreements and negotiations. The media events may help to promote and mobilize public support for agreements. For example, in Burundi, Studio Ijambo is attempting to harness the power of radio for constructive purposes. Beginning in 1995, Search for Common Ground set up Studio Ijambo with a team of twenty Hutu and Tutsi journalists to promote dialogue, peace, and reconciliation.

Studio Ijambo produces approximately one hundred radio programs per month to create steady campaign to promote peace, (Lynch and McGoldrick 2005).

6.2.3 Editorial Measures put to Discourage Negative Reporting during Conflicts

30% (100) of the Senior Management Staff confirmed that, media enhanced peace after the crisis by reporting and monitoring the implementation of key agendas of the peace accord. The accord called for long term solutions for historical and political conflicts in Kenya and supported peace building efforts.

The foregoing was also supported by FGD findings where a participant averred that:

The media called for an urgent settlement of the crisis in their editorials and commentaries, (FGD participant, 15.01.2017, Kiambaa, Uasin Gishu County).

The foregoing is corroborated with Scholars such as Vladimir & Schirch who affirms that the media played the watchdog role (Vladimir & Schirch, 2007). In dealing with the PEV and in efforts to curb the violence, media began singling out individuals who used hate speech to fuel the PEV (Munyua, 2011). Unfortunately, due to the lack of law on hate speech, little was done to hold these individuals accountable. It is important to note that despite this setback, Joshua Arap Sang, a radio presenter, was accused by the International Criminal Court (ICC) of using hate speech to plan and incite the initial wave of PEV (Sriram & Brown, 2010). The media has performed reconciliatory roles, in bringing warring communities together.

Some TV stations like KTN have taken a concise stand on human rights and peace campaigns. The stand speaks to the leadership, and may not only set an agenda but prompt change.

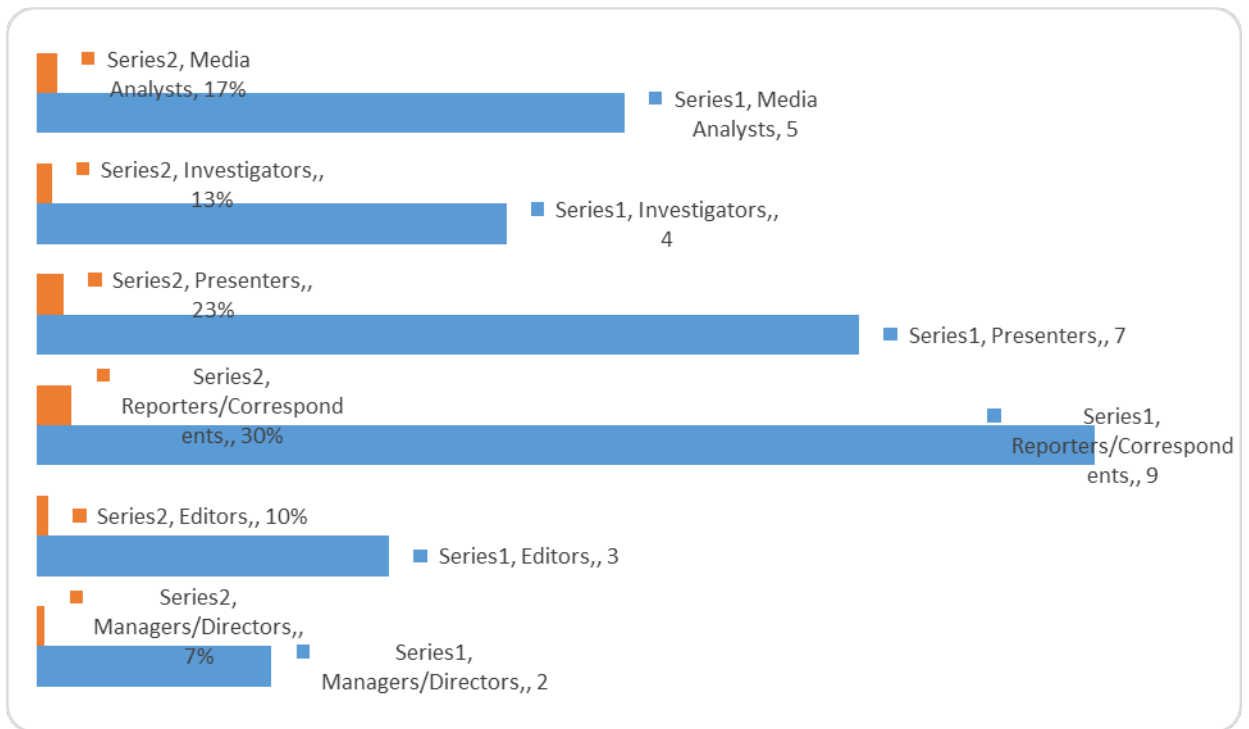


Figure 6.2 Editorial Measures put to Discourage Negative Reporting during Conflicts

Source: Field Data, 2017.

The media can potentially play a big role in helping prevent conflicts from escalating. Positive journalism is necessary according to John Marks, president of the Washington-based NGO, Search for Common Ground by "Asking questions like: 'Where do you agree?'" instead of focusing only on the disagreements."

Most journalists react to statements like these by pointing to the importance of responsible coverage of conflict situations: "That's a big contribution already." And journalists from the poorer parts of the world point to the fact that lack of money and time prevents them from covering conflicts at all. According to them, "Talking about media and conflict prevention is a luxury" (UNICEF, 2004).

Conflict sells but cooperation, or the process of resolving conflict, does not. It could be argued that, because of this assumption, the media tends to dramatize conflicts (either openly or tacitly) by focusing on irreconcilable differences between the parties, extreme positions and inflammatory statements, violent or threatening acts and win-or-lose outcomes. Furthermore, most news media ordinarily only turn their attention to conflicts at points of high public interest, such as dramatic escalation phases, unusually violent incidents, peace treaties, or other events considered especially newsworthy. The Managers/Directors, Editors, Reporters/Correspondents, Presenters, Investigators, Media Analysts all share the "Media Cake" to ensure objective reporting and Peace Journalism. However, from the results it is clear that Media Reporters and Presenters plays a great role to ensure that they are very objective during reporting so as curb mixed reactions, (Gilboa 2002).

Findings from literature reviews and interviews is that ,an objective media is mandated with, first, providing information that will enable people to make better decisions about how to respond to conflict. This could include early warnings, sensitizing the public on conflict issues, investigating, understanding and interpreting the causes of conflicts.

Secondly, educating people about conflict resolution processes and options by encouraging debate on the issues, providing space for conflicting parties and even conflict resolution experts to present their views, or even offering alternative solutions for the resolution of the conflict. Thirdly, providing a channel through which different parties can be heard and can communicate with each other.

This means the media must be adequately informed about the background and dynamics of the conflict to effectively identify the main players and their interests and be capable of accurately communicating different positions. Fourth, protecting parties and the public against abuse: for instance, reporting events as they happen in an accurate, non-partisan manner, exposing human rights violations, showing the consequences of conflict. Respecting the confidentiality of sources is vital, especially during conflict, (Gilboa 2002).

6.2.4 Factual Accuracy Reporting in Peace Promotion

Accurate reporting of any kind is dependent on what is being reported and the subject matter. When accuracy of information is distorted, then the information conveyed is only faux. Therefore, interrogating the measures that are put place to ensure that factual accuracy does not lead to conflict, is vital.

The foregoing was corroborated by a township respondent who avouched that:

Though the media, when reporting on government officials, always refer to the ‘ordinary people killed in the conflict’, they never discuss what happens to the local population when military jets bomb the area and fire missiles (Township respondent,18/01/2018,Likoni Town,Mombasa County)

The respondent’s assertion, is further elaborated by Scholar Haward who notes that a conflict-sensitive journalist applies conflict analysis and searches for new voices and new ideas about the conflict. The journalist’s reports focus on who is trying to resolve the conflict, looks closely at all sides, and reports on how other conflicts were resolved, (Howard, 2003).

A conflict sensitive journalist takes no sides, but is engaged in the search for solutions. Conflict sensitive journalists choose their words carefully. He further strongly stated that by providing the information, a journalist makes the public more well-informed about the conflict beneath the violence and case assist in resolving it. Then, it will become part of the conflict resolution. It can be an instrument of conflict resolution, when the information it presents is reliable, respects human rights, and represents diverse views. It's the kind of media that upholds accountability and exposes malfeasance. It's the kind of media that enables a society to make well-informed choices, which is the precursor of democratic governance. It is a media that reduces conflict and fosters human security, (Howard, 2002).

Griffiths says that media in Kenya has been recognized for the accuracy and fairness with which they reported the negotiations process that helped resolve the electoral violence. He was quoted saying that “We would get up in the morning and would read very accurate accounts in the newspaper the next day and on the whole very fair and very unpolemical” (Griffin, 2010). A new school of journalism thus argues that the media have a moral responsibility to report in a manner that does not champion warfare, but promotes peace (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2007).

As summarized by the table 6.3, on how respondent whether Media has a capacity to report of factual facts that promotes peace, 73% Strongly Agree, 17% Agree, 7% Disagree and 3% Strongly Disagree.

Table 6.3 Factual Accuracy Reporting in Peace Promotion

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly Agree	22	73%
Agree	5	17%
Disagree	2	7%
Strongly Disagree	1	3%
Total	30	100%

Source: Field Data, 2017

Further from the literature reviews, a measure of peace-building can be enhanced peace journalism. Peace journalists try to uncover the causes behind a conflict and true goals of all participants while making sure to humanize all victims of the conflict. The journalists don't try to exploit the loss and suffering but make sure that the reporting is balanced and also demonstrate how easily news can be manipulated. Part of the ethical guidelines for this kind of reporting is to bring out people that use peaceful measures and speak out against war and violence and document the suffering and loss on all sides.

Possible solutions and trying to prevent further escalation of the conflict are at the centre of peace journalism as well. The Institute on War and Peace reporting has a set of "six duties" for journalists covering conflict and peace: understand the conflict; report fairly; report the background and the causes of the conflict; present the human side; report on peace efforts; recognize journalists' influence, (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2007).

The list emphasizes that journalists, even facing increased external pressures as a result of the conflict, must maintain standards such as professional research and balanced coverage.

Also inspired by the so-called peace journalism paradigm of Johan Galtung, the list stresses the responsibility of journalists to cover the “trauma and the human stories of all the conflict’s victims” and that true balance requires a look at alternatives to war. Journalists are also products of the conflict that a country experiences or has experienced. The fact that journalists are often persecuted threatened or harmed during conflicts may very well affect their ability to report freely. Conflict zone reporters face a multitude of dangers unique to their particular form of journalism. Female journalists are more exposed in conflict settings heavily dominated by men, and hence are even more vulnerable. Particularly when covering war and conflict, there is a need to get local and ordinary voices heard.

In comparison to other studies, the findings are in line with the findings of 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 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).

Given these findings, media plays a pivotal influence in conflict de-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.

These findings that media played a role in conflict de-escalation is in support of the 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. John Marks from the Search for Common Ground is one of a growing number of conflict mediators and humanitarians trying to convince journalists that, in situations of conflict, they can play an important role in helping to stop its escalation. The Australian NGO Conflict Resolution Network (CRN) even developed a 'Toolkit' consisting of practical suggestions for journalists on how to bring parties in a conflict closer to one another, (Bratic 2006).

According to Bratic (2006), some of the recommendations given include: “Avoid simplistic representations of baddies and goodies” and “Report areas of agreement as well as disagreement as it encourages the problem-solving process to continue”.

6.2.5 Certification and Validation of News before Printing/Broadcast

The study also sought to underscore whether there were measures put in place to certify the validity of news before Printing/broadcast. Through interview, the study found out that:

The media is a lifeline of a Nation and provides human being with features that keeps him informed of developments, national and international .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, (Interview, with Senior Media Analyst ,15.01.2017 Nairobi County).

The provenance assertions are consistent with McQuil, in that Media fulfils certain obligations to the society. These are; high professional standards of informativeness, truth, accuracy, objectivity and balance. Media should be self-regulating within the framework of law and established institutions. It should adhere to the professional code of conduct and ethics and government may have a role to play if under certain circumstances public interest is hampered (McQuil, 2005). They should therefore avoid whatever might lead to crime, violence or civil disorder or give offence to any group of people in the society because of their faith or ethnicity. The media played the role of a peace builder (Vladimir & Schirch, 2007).

Immediately violence erupted, the media was keen to call upon Kenyans to shun violence and coexist peacefully (Sriram & Brown, 2010). In addition, the media played the role of a connector/link (Vladimir & Schirch 2007).

When tensions were high and violence was uncontrollable, the media offered an avenue of communication between the two political rivals. The media also facilitated the negotiations and supported this process until the end of the mediation (Mbeke, 2009).

6.2.6 Media Peace Building Initiatives aftermath of Kenya 2007/2008 PEV

Africa in general and East Africa region in particular has been bedeviled by incessant conflicts, many states are marooned by endless wars and the end result is suffering. Various governments have tried to come up with sustainable and lasting solutions but peace-building has still become an elusive discourse. However, as noted by the late former UN Secretary General, the media can borrow a leaf from this statement, thus:

A recurrence of the crisis and violence is a serious risk if tangible reform is not achieved. This cannot take place without the right protections of the democratic space,” (Annan, 2009). Furthermore, the African Union defines “post-conflict reconstruction and development” as: “a comprehensive set of measures that seek to: address the needs of countries emerging from conflict, including the needs of affected populations; prevent escalation of disputes; avoid relapse into violence; address the root causes of conflict; and consolidate sustainable peace, (AU, 2006).

This postulation is expressed by Scholar Yamshom in that, although the role of the media in both conflict and post-conflict settings remains a relatively unexplored era of research, this does not mean that the media have a limited impact in these situations.

On the contrary, “media can positively influence reconciliation in the aftermath of violent conflict just as the negative use of the media magnifies and promotes conflict”, (Yamshon and Yamshon 2006). The media may play a role specifically in supporting the peace process, allowing for participation, dialogue and reconciliation and strengthening

civil society. The findings from the secondary data revealed that Kenyan Media was very vocal in Peace building initiatives aftermath of Kenya 2007/7 PEV. It should be understood that when media announced the results, violence erupted all over the country. However, media never wavered and it was one of the few sectors to make an immediate initiatives calm the situation (BBC Report, 2008). Their media messages across the country were “Save Our Beloved Country”.

For example, one of the journalists was quoted saying that:

Some of our coverage focused on the role of the media in trying bring peace to the country, and the newspaper helped in spreading the message of peace across the country(Media respondent,16/2/2017 ,Kisumu County).

Griffiths also says that media in Kenya has been recognized for the accuracy and fairness with which they reported the negotiations process that helped resolve the electoral violence (BBC Report, 2008). He was quoted saying that “We would get up in the morning and would read very accurate accounts in the newspaper the next day and on the whole very fair. Media continued to play the peace-building role many months following the reconciliation of Mwai Kibaki and Raila Odinga.

There were peaceful songs played over radio stations, there were peace caravans in different corners of the country and other media events such as concerts and open forums that provided Kenyans at the grassroots to air their grievances (Shitemi, et. al, 2013). In addition, mainstream media houses got involved in settling the IDPs. The media also called out to the Kenyan public to donate what they have to help settle the IDPs in camps. During this time, Kenyans united and gave selflessly towards this plight. The media

collaborated with big companies and institutions in the plight to settle the IDPs (Munyua, 2011). In October, 2009, Kofi Annan returned to Kenya for consultations with all parties involved in the peace process. His report was telling: Progress is being made...But the pace of reform must be accelerated. Kenyans are concerned that the window of opportunity to deliver reform is rapidly closing.

6.2.7 Calls for Reconciliation and Negotiations

As indicated in Plate 6.2, Kenyans were tired of violence. "Peace wanted alive" is painted on a boundary wall in a neat, yellow script graffiti during in the streets of Kibera, Nairobi County. In one of the first calls for reconciliation and negotiation, an editor asked Kibaki and Raila: 'How many more must die, how much more must be destroyed before you come to your senses? This portrayed a Media that demonstrated social responsibility by directly questioning the moral probity of the leading antagonists. It followed the realization that the media could not simply remain objective and highlight the conflict without contributing to attempts at resolving it.

Findings from Interviews with the media Professionals, the Senior Managers, Senior Directors, Senior Producers, Senior Presenters, Senior Investigators, senior media analysts of the studied media Houses is that, the media played its role to bring down the tensions when media owners resolved to give a common voice. Further findings from literature review revealed that the 2013 Kenya Election was very different from the Kenya 2007 Election. There was not a reoccurrence of mass violence in 2013, but many

interlocutors largely attribute this to contextual factors versus programming. Interviewees indicated that tensions around the polls remained consistently high.

Furthermore, while hate speech was largely curtailed in traditional media, interviewees indicated that it was rampant on social media. Such speech was without consequence. According to one interviewee, “Kenyans weren’t violent in 2013 but there were plenty of opportunities to be.” On the diplomatic front, donors believed that strategic political messaging like Obama’s “take it to the courts” and intensive shuttle diplomacy with the message “if you whip up violence there will be consequences” played an important deterrent function in the lead up to 2013. The 2013 general elections differed greatly from those of 2007.

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

As noted by one of the respondents:

I was very surprised to see the debate with aspiring presidents. I felt as though I was watching an American election. Though it was surprising, it was very good because it gave a chance to the common people to familiarize themselves with the presidential candidate.

Also, it helped me understand the ideas and the way of thinking of these candidates (Media respondent, 10th February, 2017.,Kibera Nairobi County)

During the 2013 general elections, the presidential debate that was echoed by media was a great platform that provided the audiences with civil education and facilitated social awareness. It allowed even the most unaware or uneducated people to participate in the electoral process thereby fostering inclusion and representation. Hence, fostering peace and social cohesion in Kenyan society. FGD participant further emphasized the foregoing by averring that:

The presidential debate was a welcome surprise. I was able to learn more about the political parties that were represented understand their ideas and feel like I was part of the electoral process. I also liked the idea of the debate because it acted as a vetting process for the presidential candidates. By vetting the candidates using the media, it is a form of prevention because one can see the true colors of their potential presidents, (FGD participant, 10th February, 2017, Kiambaa,Usin Gishu County).

These sentiments were further echoed by a media house producer who averred that:

If the media can constantly promote peace through media events such as concerts and things link Safaricom's Jazz Festival, it creates a feeling of togetherness amongst Kenyans. The government should not wait until conflict erupts but instead make it a practice which will slowly become part of who Kenyans are, (Interview with Senior Producer,, 15.01.2017, Kisumu County).

These assertions are supported by Scholars Vladimir & Schirch in that, media events can be used in conflict situations to help facilitate the negotiations, build confidence and create a conducive environment for the negotiations. In addition, media events can help promote and mobilize public support for peace agreements and sustainable peace (Vladimir & Schirch, 2007). As of essence, the foregoing is voiced by Scholar Siebert who opine that, with increased monitory measures by the government and communication commissions, there will be a censorship in media that will help maintain social order and democracy. As a result, media will be at the forefront in promoting sustainable peace (Siebert *et. al*, 1972).



Plate 6.2 "Peace wanted alive" is painted on a boundary wall in neat, yellow script graffiti during in the streets of Kibera, Nairobi County

Source: <https://www.theguardian.com/journalismcompetition/making-peace-not-war>

6.3 Kenyan Media Opportunities in Peace Building in Partnerships with Key Stakeholders

A radio trainer with Inter-news an American based media agency says, “There has been consistent dialogue between media industry stakeholders to identify and rectify weaknesses recognized as a result of the post-election violence and election coverage. She adds that there is a general improvement in the observance of media laws and ethics as it is evident in how the coverage was done in Kenya Election of 2013.

I am optimistic and hope that journalists will take up their responsibility to safeguard the public against hate messages: As to whether journalists will act responsibly is another question, theirs is to inform on what is happening not to take sides or be seen as perpetuating violence among the communities (Interview with radio trainer, Inter-news, 18/2/2017, Nairobi County)

A stable country depends largely on information production and consumption. However, depending on the means of conveyance, propagation of information can be a blessing or a curse to a nation. The foregoing indicates that journalism should emphasize on acting responsibly while disseminating information to the masses. Additionally, journalists should be cautious not to perpetuate violence.

6.3.1 National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC)

Mikia singled out the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) act established through the National Reconciliation Act of 2008 to sensitize politicians and

the media against the use of hate speech, as a step in the right direction. The mandate of the commission is to facilitate and promote equality of opportunity, good relations, harmony and peaceful coexistence between persons of different ethnic and racial backgrounds in Kenya and to advise the government. The Act, holds any newspaper, radio station or media enterprise which publishes hate related utterances liable to hate speech offence and enforces fines or prosecution for offenders (<https://www.cohesion.or.ke>). The legitimacy for the media is dependent on the message and intent. One of the village respondents said:

After the crisis, the message on vernacular radio has changed, frequently highlighting on human rights issues and refraining from inflammatory comments, and again very evident in the 2013 Kenya Election. Events which though feared that crisis would occur preached peace hence the protest was very peaceful, (Village respondent, 15.01.2017, Kiambaa Uasin Gishu County)

This assertion is an indication of media progress that has been witnessed within a decade of soul searching. Indeed the media has been rallying behind tolerant a remark that promotes cohesion, peace and stability. This is laudable considering that media is a Fourth Estate and ought to behave so.

6.3.2 The Media Council of Kenya

The Media Council of Kenya is an independent national institution established by the Media Act, 2007 as the leading institution in the regulation of media and in the conduct and discipline of journalists in Kenya.

It is mandated amongst other to register and accredit journalists, register media establishments, handle complaints from the public and create and publish yearly media audit on the Media Freedom in Kenya, (www.mediacouncil.or.ke/). As regards to Media Freedom, Xavier Ouma a TV Producer with KTN informs that although the free operational environment has attracted investors in the media sector, it also presents challenges and opportunities for practice. One of the senior editor notes:

The media in Kenya is free to a point that journalists can express themselves as long as they do not go overboard to incite *wanainchi* (citizens) over a national matter. The Media Council of Kenya encourages us to observe professional ethics through objective and fair reporting, (Interview with Senior Editor, 15.01.2017, Nairobi County,).

He says in a bid to transform the conflict environment to a peaceful one, the Media Council of Kenya advocated for openness and information sharing. The council urged journalists to adhere to media guidelines and precincts of press freedom. Most journalists were of the view that the media situation in Kenya has changed from what was experienced in the previous regimes. Compared to other African countries, they said that the Kenyan Media had realized its rights and freedoms as supported by the Freedom House (2010) index.

The index lists Kenyan media as fairly free. But, Paul Kamau an ICT Trainer at Kenya Science College recognizes that, “ although the media enjoys wider freedom, there are still certain infringements on freedom of expression and of assembly leading to violation of other individual rights. There is convincing evidence that media freedom in Kenya has

also catalyzed unfavorable ethnic commentary”. In this view, a radio intern with Pamoja FM said that, in most cases the message is taken seriously by listeners who understand the language. She opines that:

Commentary in ethnic language has the ability to generate stereotypes that depict one community as less human than the other, (Interview with ,15.01.2017, Senior Reporter, Nairobi County).

Figure 6.4 indicate the satisfaction about Media in peace building as indicated by the respondents thus 80% indicated yes they were satisfied and 20% indicated No.

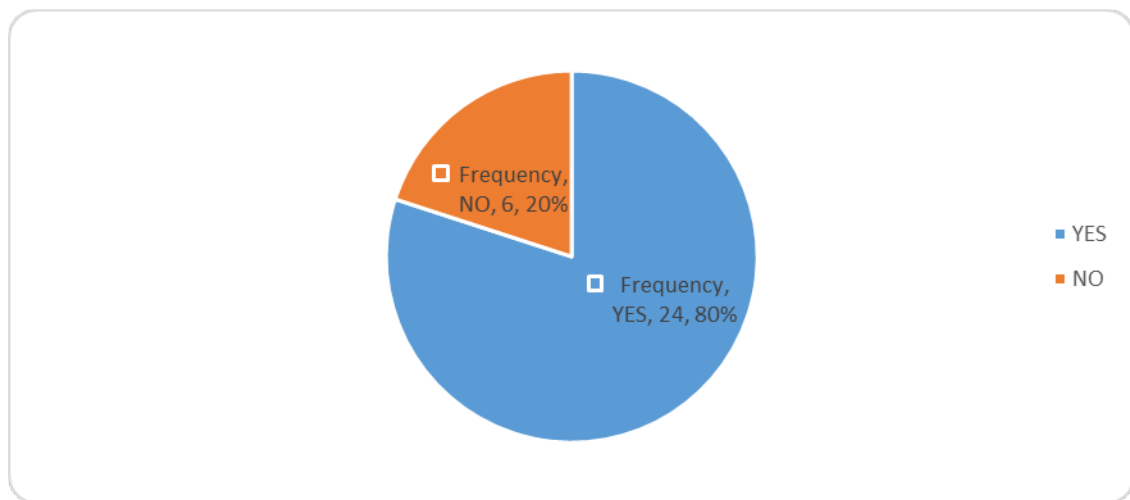


Figure 6.3 Satisfactions with Media in Peace Building Process

Source: Field Data, 2017.

6.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter has expounded on the challenges and opportunities that emanate from Kenyan media and the whole discourse surrounding peace-building in this study. It highlights among other key aspects, that media is viewed as key instigator of violence .it also explains that media owners have also been a stumbling block in media coverage. Core publications and broadcasting contents, security, unprofessionalism, ethical misconduct and vague media legislations have been challenges that afflict the media fraternity. This chapter also has brought out the aspect of de-escalation of PEV as an important opportunity in peace-building. It delves also on the editorial measures put in place to avert negative information as well as propagation of illicit information. The researcher argues that despite the many challenges experienced by the Kenyan Media during and after Kenya PEV, Kenyan Media offers a lot of opportunities in peace building. Its role has been voiced by various scholars. The media played the role of a peace builder .When tensions were high and violence was uncontrollable, the media offered an avenue of communication between the two political rivals. The media also facilitated the negotiations and supported this process until the end of the mediation.

The Media can play an important role in defusing tension, reducing and containing conflicts. It can do so by being deeply aware of the fragility of a country's' social fabric, of the efforts being expended at unifying a country's polarized and ethicized politics and more importantly by objectively reporting conflict incidences as they unfold. The next chapter provides the summary of the whole thesis, conclusion as well as the recommendation of the study.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This chapter brings together the lessons drawn from the preceding chapters. It's divided into four sections being introduction, summary of the findings, conclusion and recommendations which are based on the findings of the three research objectives. Media being considered to be the 4th pillar of the society after legislature, executive and judiciary do play an important role as a powerful tool for peace fostering, Peace Journalism. In coverage of conflict, media serves to encourage dialogue, tolerance and interaction among communities hence reducing inherent conflicts and building lasting peace.

The greatest problem surrounding Kenya Media in coverage of conflict is that, it has been blamed widely for igniting ethnic hatred and animosity and especially during the PEV of 2007/2008 in Kenya. Further problem that bedevil Kenya Media in peace fostering is that, it has not received much intellectual and critical research attention and there is little information written specifically on its positive interventions in peace process. Literature on conflict and peace-building reveals a dismal focus on the role of the Media in peace fostering process.

7.1. Summary of the Findings

In line with objective one findings of this research indicate that the use of media as a peace building tool is still controversial. The vast majority of the peace building literature blatantly omits the role of the media. Politicians, the military and aid organizations often perceive the media as a threat. In coverage of conflict, media encourages dialogue, tolerance and interaction among communities hence reducing inherent conflicts and building lasting peace. In coverage of conflict in order to foster peace, it is preponderant to note that Media is only an instrument.

The findings also reveal that when respondents were asked to indicate the core publication content, 30% indicated news, 20% indicated music and entertainment, 13% indicated education as the core content, 14% said health issues and HIV Aids, 3% indicated security, 7% indicated women, while agriculture/business news, religious issues and politics were represented by 14% .In peace building, evidence shows that media can be a powerful tool for peace fostering. This is by engaging in credible reporting, representing balanced opinions and opening up communication channels among parties in a conflict. The findings reveal that, there is a link between media change and social change, thus in situations of uncertainty, people turn to the media for guidance. The media become the most effective channels for acquiring information to use in making decisions about political goals.

A new school of journalism thus argues that the media have a moral responsibility to report in a manner that does not champion warfare, but promotes peace. This “peace journalism” is, however, not the only way in which the media can contribute to peace building. The media can also be used in a more pro-active manner to promote the aforementioned cognitive, attitudinal and behavioral changes in society. In coverage of conflict, the essential role of the media in reporting conflicts is to accurately present events in a fair and balanced manner.

In line with objective two the study found out that 80% of the respondent indicated that the media influences peace building while 20% indicated media does not influence peace-building. From all epicenters the researcher learnt that the general public was satisfied with the Influence of Social Media in Peace Fostering process in that it helps Kenyans speaks out their feelings, fears and the do it honesty. Kenyans also felt that the Social Media especially SMSs are secure mode of communication.

From the results, Broadcast Media influenced greatly in calming violence. Pamoja FM radio decided to call some of the Kikuyu elders, the Luo elders, the Kamba elders to the studio to discuss the implication of the rumor that was going on, and they allowed the callers to call in, ask questions. Findings revealed from the Social Media is that, because of the said blackout by the Minister, Kenyans were left with no other alternative on how to get information and security updates other through the use of Mobile Phone Short Messages Services (SMS). Kenyans used the Mobile Phones to warn others of the places which were perceived to be insecure. The used the Mobile Phones to pass Peace

Messages to different Communities. For example, Chiefs could update the Communities by forwarding message of peace to many. Mobile Phone was used to relay information instantly unlike Broadcast or Print Media.

In line with objective three the findings of the study revealed that, it is also clear that the joint newspaper reporting by the print, joint talk shows and call in programs as well as peace building documentaries by the Media was a clear evidence that the Kenya Media were working together geared towards de-escalation of the Kenya 2007/2008 PEV. Also the Media collaborated by playing patriotic songs in between the shows and programs was a positive move. During the Kenya 2007/2008 PEV the Kenya Media put some efforts in terms of initiatives and programs towards the de-escalation of violence. These are Television & Radio Programs 33%, Patriotic Songs 10%, Joint Headlines Newspaper Reporting 27%, Talk Shows/In calls Programs 20% and Documentaries at 10%.

Finding from various blogs which promote peace in Kenya, revealed that Social Media Peace projects were established at grassroots peace building program that links local NGOs in Kenya to support peace efforts at the local level. Though the levels of trainings are still low on how to handle conflict. *Sisi Ni Amani*, which is Kiswahili for 'We are peace,' is a SMS text message subscriber service that provides information about leadership, local news, and provides a neutral source for information during tense periods such as elections. This effort was facilitated in part by mobile phone communication.

7.2. Conclusions

Media Peace Intervention Programs Influencing Peace Building in Kenya Since 2007 Elections. The study depicted that Media Peace Interventions Programs organized deliberately influencing peace building in Kenya, played a great impact to bring back sanity in Kenya. Media served to encourage dialogue, tolerance and interaction among communities hence reducing inherent conflicts and building lasting peace. Media played a great deal in peace making in Kenya 2007/2008 PEV. For example, creation of programming for mass consumption informs of content stories, television and radio programs, songs, whereby the programs contained educating information on non-violent modes of conflict resolution.

Moreover, production of documentaries, talk show programs exposing the dangers of conflict helped a lot. Media owners resolved, to find a common approach, common joint headlines, Joint broadcasts, common DVDs being distributed to all media houses; that each Media house in a collective way was able to help bring down the passions. The Print and Broadcast Media houses organized Peace Intervention Programs such as Mobile peace caravans, Kikuyu Elders, Kamba Elders and Luo Elders Radio Talk Programs an initiative from Pamoja FM influenced in calming violence. In Kibera in minutes planning to attack the Kambas, Pamoja FM radio decided to call some of the Kikuyu elders, the Luo elders, the Kamba elders to the studio to discuss the implication of the rumor that was going on, and they allowed the callers to call in, ask questions.

There was also an initiative of Female journalists "White Ribbon Peace Campaign", Media Houses distributed handbills and T-shirts with peace and reconciliation messages to the public. The media through patriotic music, arts, avenue of dialogue ensured the public had an avenue to express any pent up emotions. Kenyan Media finally stopped airing politicians stopped inviting analysts, stopped talk shows for a while. Effective radio activities can make a significant change in a community's life. Through the activities of Community Radio, the people are encouraged to peacefully coexist at the family and community levels. The researcher agrees with the author because from the findings is that all the Community Projects organized by these Stations focuses towards peace building. Dialogue is the first step in creating the sense that disputes should be settled through negotiation rather than violence. Radio phone-in shows are ideally suited to spur this dialogue within the safety of anonymity.

We can therefore conclude that The Kenyan Media have facilitated uniting Kenyans from all walks of life. The media initiated a campaign dubbed, "*I have no tribe; I am Kenyan*" campaign to re-unite Kenyans by humanizing their rivals. In this campaign, the media broadcasted religious leaders, political leaders, rival, men and women, young and old; people of every diversity come together to stand against violence and disunity. 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.

Social Media in Peace Building since Kenya 2007 Elections

Focus Discussion Groups comprising of 10 to 15 members were organized in all the 5 epicenters study of 2007/2008 PEV in Kenya. From the findings from the FGDs, all epicenters, registered high frequency of agreement that most of Social Media platforms are able to influence in peace processes. Social media is considered to contribute to government accountability, human rights activism, the development of civil society and practices of citizenship. In terms of accountability and transparency, it is increasingly difficult for governments to hide or manipulate information or to act inconsistently with citizen concerns. The use of mobile phones and the Internet, for example, allow for news of any inappropriate government actions to quickly reach the public and to be challenged. If you want to liberate a society just give them the internet. The study revealed that during the Kenya 2007/ 2008 PEV, while the international media only scratched the surface of what was happening, and the traditional media partly resigned to censorship due to fears of repression, the social media offered swifter, more subjective, and more detailed coverage during a fast moving and changing situation this in turn resulted into the main stream media relying on social media sites for information as they quickly gained confidence from the general public.

Kenyan bloggers became a critical part of the information flow in the country, starting from the three-day ban on live broadcasts, when it is reported that the web traffic from within Kenya shot through the roof. Further findings are that, the use of mobile phones

SMSs was very effective in deescalating the violence during Kenya 2007/2008 PEV because people were able to make informed decisions. Other felt that SMSs was used widely to convey peace messages because charges are cheap and reliable. They were also used to share prayers for the Nation and loved ones. Chiefs could update the Communities by forwarding message of peace to many.

Findings revealed that during the Kenya 2013 Election, for the first time social media offered an opportunity by allowing Kenyans to question candidates using short mobile phone messages, social media and crowd sourcing information and on the other hand social media affordances and network logic was leveraged by individual citizens wanting to encourage other citizens to take action resulting into the flourishing of hate speech.

We can therefore conclude that the use Social Media and especially the use of mobile phones SMSs on various organized platforms like sisi ni Amani and Amani Kenya was very effective in deescalating the violence during Kenya 2007/2008 PEV because people were able to make informed decisions. Other felt that SMSs was used widely to convey peace messages because charges are cheap and reliable. They were also used to share prayers for the Nation and loved ones.

Challenges and Opportunities of Kenyan Media in Promoting and Enhancing Peace-Building in Kenya

Media coverage and its effects in peace building is that they are always viewed as an Instigator/ Propeller of Violence. History records occasions where the media has been

used as a destructive weapon to fundamental human rights and violence. Media can propel or cause conflict in almost any political situation and that becomes a challenge in peace building process. For instance, media can instigate its audience through hate speech and propaganda to take mass action thereby causing conflict. Such was the case in the Kenyan 2007/8 PEV when local language radio stations were at the forefront of broadcasting hate speech which contributed to the eruption of PEV.

The researcher argues that despite the many challenges experienced by the Kenyan Media during and after Kenya PEV, Kenyan Media offers a lot of opportunities in peace building. Its role has been voiced by various scholars. The media played the role of a peace builder. In Kenya immediately violence erupted, the Media was keen to call upon Kenyans to shun violence and coexist peacefully. In addition, the media played the role of a connector/link. When tensions were high and violence was uncontrollable, the media offered an avenue of communication between the two political rivals. The media also facilitated the negotiations and supported this process until the end of the mediation.

The Media can play an important role in defusing tension, reducing and containing conflicts. It can do so by being deeply aware of the fragility of a country's' social fabric, of the efforts being expended at unifying a country's polarized and ethicized politics and more importantly by objectively reporting conflict incidences as they unfold.

Media played the role of the watchdog). In dealing with the PEV and in efforts to curb the violence, media began singling out individuals who used hate speech to fuel the PEV. Unfortunately, due to the lack of law on hate speech, little was done to hold these individuals accountable. Media continued to play the peace-building role many months following the reconciliation of Mwai Kibaki and Raila Odinga. In addition, mainstream media houses got involved in settling the IDPs. The media also called out to the Kenyan public to donate what they have to help settle the IDPs in camps. During this time, Kenyans united and gave selflessly towards this plight. The media collaborated with big companies and institutions in the plight to settle the IDPs.

The conclusion of the findings is that, the researcher believed that most Kenyans appreciate the power of the Media. The researcher also found that in recognition of the complex challenges facing the country in the aftermath of violence and following the National Accord that led to the secession of violence, in 2007/8, Media Focus on Africa Foundation implemented an intervention program “Platform for Dialogue towards National Integration and Cohesion”, aimed at re-building inter-ethnic trust, promoting national integration and cohesion in Kenya using the media.

Overall Conclusion

Though there is a complex alchemy on telephony, service providers, users or subscribers as well as conveyors of information, media coverage on political conflict is preponderant in peace-building. The main argument in the study findings confirm that Kenyan Media

has significantly influenced peace building since 2007 General Elections through various organized Media interventions programs influencing peace building. Media has played a great deal in peace making in Kenya 2007/2008 PEV.

For example, creation of programming for mass consumption informs of content stories, television and radio programs, songs, whereby the programs contained educating information on non-violent modes of conflict resolution. During Kenya 2013 Elections Kenyan Media played positive roles by 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 researcher therefore conclude that the use of Social Media and especially the use of mobile phones SMSs on various organized platforms like *sisi ni Amani* and *Amani Kenya* was very effective in de-escalating the violence during Kenya 2007/2008 PEV because people were able to make informed decisions. Despite many challenges experienced by Kenyan media during and after Post Election Violence, Kenya media offers a lot of opportunity in peace building and especially working with the key stakeholders.

7.3. Recommendations

The study made the following recommendations:

Based on the findings of objective one 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. Kenyans also want media that support efforts to promote professionalism in journalism practice in the country; and gather and provide accurate, fair, balanced and impartial information, education and entertainment to all Kenyans.

They must cultivate the attitude of reporting what can unite rather than divide the people. Through Media interventions Projects, the people are encouraged to peacefully coexist at the family and community levels. Some intervention strategies exist to address conflict at community, national, regional and international levels. These measures range from district peace committees, traditional peace processes and participation in regional peace and security initiatives.

In regard to findings of objective two, the study also recommends promotion of continued efforts that scrutinize Social media behavior is desirable. This is because it is very difficult to verify the authenticity and accuracy of Internet reports, including visual materials. Audiences may not know who, when, where, and under what circumstances a particular photo or video clip was taken.

In Kenya, political conflict prevention is made easier by the fact that the violence occurs around elections; the Media has time to reach out to leaders beforehand, set up programs, test software, and organize networks of trusted reporters which promotes peace. Journalists should be providing a secure environment for journalism practice.

In accordance with objective three, the study recommends that local media reporters or journalists be trained on conflict reporting. Since conflict reporting is more challenging, some 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.

There is need to find a way of voicing more about the Role of Media as an instrument of peace in Kenya. There should be consistent dialogue between the media industry stakeholders to identify and rectify the weaknesses recognized as a result of the post-election violence coverage.

7.4 Suggestion for Further Research

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.

Lastly, the study suggests further study to be carried out to come up with concerted efforts and solutions that bedevil Kenya Media in peace fostering and especially during and after Kenya Elections.

There should be positive and directed intellectual and critical research attentions on the Role of Media and its positive interventions in peace fostering process in times of conflict locally, regionally and internationally. Literature on conflict and peace-building reveals a dismal focus on the positive role of the Media in peace fostering process.

Research should explore the possibilities of post conflict transformations created by the New Media. The study could be analyzed in parallels to the massive demonstrations and regime change in recent history in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya, particularly the use of social media such as YouTube, Twitter and Facebook. The effectiveness of these kinds of media in setting a global agenda should be considered for research.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: Questionnaires to Middle Level Management Staff **Of the Print Media Houses, Social Media Users and Senior Management Staff**

This Questionnaire seeks to gather information regarding Media Coverage of Political Conflicts Influencing Peace Building in Selected Hotspots in Kenya Since 2007 Elections. Please spare your 10 minutes to respond to these questions. All the information will be treated in confidence and used only for Academic purposes. Please answer all the questions that you feel are applicable to your Station either by ticking the box or filling the blank spaces provided bellow and Thank you in advance.

PRINT MEDIA

Print Media:	The Daily Nation; People Daily and The East African Standard
Target Audience	Managers <input type="checkbox"/> Editors <input type="checkbox"/> Correspondents <input type="checkbox"/> Reporters <input type="checkbox"/> Investigators <input type="checkbox"/> Media analysts <input type="checkbox"/>
For How long has your paper been in circulation	<input type="checkbox"/> Below 3yrs <input type="checkbox"/> 3-5yrs <input type="checkbox"/> 5-7yrs <input type="checkbox"/> 7-10 yrs <input type="checkbox"/> 10 years and above

1. Please give a short description of your Publication

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

a. What is the core area Published by your publication? Please number in order of priority
For example, 1, 2, 3 .

News Politics Education Entertainment/Music Agriculture
Health Issues/HIV/AIDS Security Religious Issues Women issues

b. In what ways did your Newspapers Pictorial Peace Messages used as a demonstration to foster peace during 2007/2008 PEV in Kenya?

Please Explain Briefly

.....
.....

c. In what ways did your Newspaper joint-headline “Save Our Beloved Country” helped inDe-escalation of violence during the 2007/2008 PEV in Kenya?

How? Please Explain Briefly

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

d. Who influences the stories to be published by your publication?

Editors Investigators Media Analysts Reporters Correspondents

How? Please Explain Briefly

.....

.....

.....

APPENDIX II: Questionnaires to Middle Level Management Staff of the Broadcast Media Houses

Broadcast Media:	KBC TV; Pamoja FM; and Ghetto FM
Target Audience	Directors <input type="checkbox"/> Producers <input type="checkbox"/> Producers Presenters <input type="checkbox"/> Investigators <input type="checkbox"/> Media analysts
For How long has your Station been Broadcasting in Kenya	<input type="checkbox"/> Below 3yrs, <input type="checkbox"/> 3-5yrs, <input type="checkbox"/> 5-7yrs , <input type="checkbox"/> 7--10 yrs, <input type="checkbox"/> 10 years and above,

1. Please give a short description of your Television/Radio Station.....
.....

a. What is the core Programming content of your Broadcasting? Please number in order of priority ,for example 1, 2, 3 .

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
News	Politics	Education	Entertainment/Music	Agriculture
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Health Issues/HIV/AIDS	Security	Religious Issues	Women issues	

b. Who influences the programming content?

Producer Listeners Presenters Volunteers

How? Please Explain Briefly

.....

.....

.....

c. Which are some of these Media projects and promotions did your Station organize which were geared toward peace process during Kenya 2007/2008 PEV?

Peaceful Demonstrations Peace Adverts Talks shows In-call Programs
Drama/Music Festivals Peace Sports & Tournaments Donations

c. How did Broadcast Media Peace Interventions Programs deescalated violence during the 2007/2008 PEV in Kenya? Please explain briefly

.....

.....

.....

d. From your personal assessment, to what extent does these Media projects and promotions influenced community in living together, working together, conflicts/animosity reduction during Kenya 2007/2008 PEV?

(Tick the correct one)

- Large Extent
- Moderate Extent
- Less Extent
- Not at All

e. Which are the indicators that these Media projects and promotions influenced the community in living together, working together, conflicts/animosity reduction during and after Kenya PEV?

Please Explain Briefly

.....

.....

.....

f. Generally, are you satisfied with the Media projects and promotions employed by your Station during and after PEV to avert the recurrence of the same?

Please explain briefly

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

APPENDIX III: Interview Guide For Key Informant and Senior Management Staff of Print and Broadcast Media Houses

Introduction

Good morning/afternoon. My name is.....

The purpose of this interview is to collect information from Media professionals from Print and Broadcast Media. The interview is aimed at soliciting data to assess the

MEDIA COVERAGE OF POLITICAL CONFLICTS INFLUENCING PEACE BUILDING IN SELECTED HOTSPOTS IN KENYA SINCE 2007 ELECTIONS

Your views will be useful in academic purposes and will be treated with confidentiality.

Your Title:

Gender:

Education level:

Institution/Organization you work for:

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

a. What roles do you think media played or could have played in Escalation/ De-escalation of violence during the 2007/2008 Kenyan PEV?

Escalation of violence

i.

De-escalation of violence

i.

b. In what ways did your Newspapers Pictorial Peace Messages used as a demonstration to foster peace during 2007/2008 PEV in Kenya?

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

In what ways did your Newspaper joint-headline “Save Our Beloved Country” helped in De-escalation of violence during the 2007/2008 PEV in Kenya?

How? Please Explain Briefly

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

d. How did Broadcast Media Peace Interventions Programs such as Media houses Mobile peace caravans, Kikuyu Elders, Kamba Elders and Luo Elders Radio Talk Programs interventions, White Ribbon Peace Campaign, handbills and T-shirts with peace and reconciliation messages, deescalated violence during the 2007/2008 PEV in Kenya?

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

e. What measures do your editorial put in place to discourage negative reporting during conflicts?

.....

.....
.....

f. What measures are in place to ensure that factual accuracy does not lead to conflict?

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

g. Are there measures put in place to certify the validity of news before Printing/broadcast?

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

b. 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)

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

b. What are the Challenges faced by the Kenyan Media in promoting and enhancing peace-building in Kenya?

How have you turned those Challenges into Opportunities in promoting and enhancing peace-building in Kenya?

Thank you for your time and May God Bless you

APPENDIX IV: Focus Group Discussion Guide

Introduction

Good morning/afternoon. My name is.....

and welcome to our session. Thanks for taking the time to join us to talk about how Social Media Peace Messages Campaigns were used in peace building since Kenya 2007 Elections. You were invited because you have used social media and especially a mobile phone for communication in one way or another.

Please keep in mind that there are no “right” or “wrong” answers to any of the questions I will ask. The purpose is to stimulate conversation and hear the opinions of everyone in the discussion. I hope you will be comfortable speaking honestly and sharing your ideas with us. Please feel free to share your point of view even if it differs from what others have said. Keep in mind that we're just as interested in negative comments as positive comments, and at times the negative comments are the most helpful.

Please note that this session will be recorded and we will also be taking notes during the (Focus Group Discussion) to ensure we adequately capture your ideas during the conversation. However, the comments from the focus group will remain confidential and your name will not be attached to any comments you make. Do you have any questions before we begin?

1. Please list the Social Media you know in Kenya

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

2. Do you think Social Media can be used effectively among the communities in peace fostering process in Kenya?

Yes No.

Why? Please Explain Briefly

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

3. Given the news blackout and the ban of live broadcast by Kenyan Internal Security Minister John Michuki during 2007/2008 PEV in Kenya, many Kenyans turned to other means of getting and relaying information. One such means was the use of Mobile Phone short messages services (SMS) from mobile phones. How did Mobile Phone SMS helped to deescalate violence during 2007/2008 PEV in Kenya?

Please Explain Briefly

.....
.....

.....

4. How did Instant Face book Messages used as a powerful weapon to foster peace during 2007/2008 PEV in Kenya?

.....

.....

.....

5. How did Instant Messages streaming in the You tube used as a powerful weapon to foster peace during 2007/2008 PEV in Kenya?

.....

.....

.....

6. How did Instant Messages from blogs used as a powerful weapon to foster much coveted peace during 2007/2008 PEV in Kenya?

.....

.....

.....

7. What are the factors that necessitated the Social Media to become popular as a form of communication and especially by the youth during and after Kenya 2007/2008 PEV?

Share information: Very strong Strong Average Weak

Express their fears: Very strong Strong Average Weak

Conflict/animosity reduction: Very strong Strong Average Weak

Security: Very strong Strong Average Weak

For national identity: Very strong Strong Average Weak

8. From your personal assessment do you agree that these Social Media are able to influence community in living together, working together, and conflicts/animosity reduction?

Strongly agree Agree Disagree Strongly disagree

How Explain Briefly

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

9. Are you satisfied with Social Media and its Influence in Peace Fostering

Processes Why? Please Explain Briefly

.....
.....

Thank you for your time and May God Bless you

APPENDIX V: Letter of Introduction to Media Houses for Research Data Collection

Sharon N. Maina
P.O. Box 299 - 00208,
Kajiado.

Date:

Dear Respondent,

Re: MEDIA COVERAGE OF POLITICAL CONFLICTS INFLUENCING PEACE BUILDING IN SELECTED HOTSPOTS IN KENYA SINCE 2007 ELECTIONS

I am a student undertaking post graduate studies leading to Doctor of Philosophy in Peace and Conflict Studies at Masinde Muliro University of Science & Technology (MMUST). In pursuit of this degree, I have to fulfill the requirement of carrying out a research as entitled. Kindly respond to the attached questionnaire as objectively as possible. Please note that the information collected is for academic purposes only and will be treated with utmost confidence. Thank you in advance

Yours Faithfully

.....

.....

.....

Sharon N. Maina

Prof. K. Onkware

Prof. C. Itoyo

STUDENT

SUPERVISOR


SUPERVISOR


APPENDIX VI: Research Permit

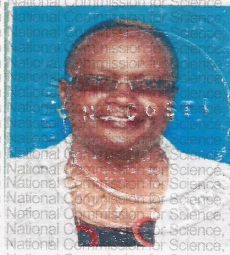
THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT: **Permit No : NACOSTI/P/16/81125/14776**
MS. SHARON NJAMBI MAINA **Date Of Issue : 23rd November,2016**
of MASINDE MULIRO, 299-208 NGONG **Fee Received :Ksh 2000**
HILLS,has been permitted to conduct
research in Kwale , Nairobi, Nakuru
Uasin-Gishu Counties

on the topic: MEDIA RE-PRESENTATION
OF CONFLICT TO FOSTER PEACE IN
REFERENCE TO 2007/2008 POST
ELECTION VIOLENCE IN KENYA

for the period ending:
21st November,2017


Applicant's Signature


Director General
National Commission for Science,
Technology & Innovation



CONDITIONS

1. You must report to the County Commissioner and the County Education Officer of the area before embarking on your research. Failure to do that may lead to the cancellation of your permit.
2. Government Officer will not be interviewed without prior appointment.
3. No questionnaire will be used unless it has been approved.
4. Excavation, filming and collection of biological specimens are subject to further permission from the relevant Government Ministries.
5. You are required to submit at least two(2) hard copies and one (1) soft copy of your final report.
6. The Government of Kenya reserves the right to modify the conditions of this permit including its cancellation without notice



REPUBLIC OF KENYA



National Commission for Science,
Technology and Innovation
RESEACH CLEARANCE
PERMIT

Serial No. A12016

CONDITIONS: see back page

APPENDIX VII: Research Authorization



NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone: +254-20-2213471,
2241349, 3310571, 2219420
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Email: dg@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke
when replying please quote

9th Floor, Utalii House
Uhuru Highway
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref. No. **NACOSTI/P/16/81125/14776**

Date:

23rd November, 2016

Sharon Njambi Maina
Masinde Muliro University of
Science and Technology
P.O. Box 190-50100
KAKAMEGA.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*Media representation of conflict to foster peace in reference to 2007/2008 post election violence in Kenya,*" I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Kwale, Nairobi, Nakuru and Uasin-Gishu Counties** for the period ending **21st November, 2017.**

You are advised to report to the **Chief Executive Officers of the selected Government Agencies, the County Commissioners and the County Directors of Education, selected Counties** before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit **two hard copies and one soft copy in pdf** of the research report/thesis to our office.

DR. M. K. RUGUTT, PhD, HSC.
DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO

Copy to:

The Chief Executive Officers
Selected Government Agencies.

National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation is ISO 9001:2008 Certified