



UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

MASTER OF ARTS

**ROLE OF MEDIA IN POLITICAL CONFLICT: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF
KENYA AND ZIMBABWE**

By

Gideon Moegi Ogeto

Registration Number: R50/8261/2017

**A Research Project Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the
award of Master of Arts in International Studies at the Institute of Diplomacy and
International Studies,
University of Nairobi**

2019

DECLARATION

I declare that this research project entitled ‘role of media in political conflict: a comparative study of Kenya and Zimbabwe’ is my original work and has never been submitted at any other university for an award of a degree or diploma.

Name: Gideon Ogeto

Registration No: R50/8261/2017

Signature:.....

Date:.....

Certificate of Supervision

I hereby certify that this research was undertaken under my supervision and submitted for examination with my approval as university supervisor.

Supervisor’s name: Dr. Patrick Maluki

Signature:.....

Date:.....

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Dr. Maluki has been a committed research project supervisor. His advice, insightful critics and immense encouragement went a long way in ensuring that this research project is completed successfully. I extend my gratitude to my family for their prayers and support during this time.

DEDICATION

Dedicated to my family members.

ABSTRACT

This research project examined media's role in political conflicts: a comparative study of Kenya and Zimbabwe. The study achieved this by reviewing the theoretical media's role in triggering political conflicts as well as examined media as a tool for peaceful processes. Media practitioners and media consumers for radio, television, print, and social media were interviewed to enrich and corroborate the findings. The study utilized the agenda setting media theory. Anchored on the general objective of examining media's contribution in politically oriented conflicts, the study hypothesized that media's contribution to political conflict is as a result of skewed reporting and media practitioners' failure to uphold media ethics and journalistic principles. The study was conducted using both desk top review of literature and quantitative and qualitative research methodology with the aim of establishing facts about media engagement in a conflict situation. This study concluded that the media has an input in contributing to political conflicts because both audiences in Kenya and Zimbabwe reported to have been incited by media broadcasts. On the aforementioned, the study found also found out that media contributed significantly in ending conflict although this was later after the conflicts had erupted as was in Kenya 2007-2008 elections and the elections in Zimbabwe. In light with the findings, the study recommends that there is need for self-regulation by media, as well as an independent body that can regulate media without curtailing media liberty and independence of expression.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Update Table...	
DECLARATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iii
DEDICATION	iv
ABSTRACT	v
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
1.0 Introduction	1
1.1 Background of the Study	1
1.2 Statement of the problem	6
1.3 Research questions	7
1.4 Objectives of the study	7
1.4.1 Specific objectives	8
1.5 Literature Review	8
1.5.1 The Broad Role of Media in Conflict	11
1.6 Justification and significance of the study	18
1.7 Theoretical Framework	19
1.7.1 Agenda Setting Theory	19
1.7.2 Priming	21
1.7.3 Agenda-building	22
1.7.4 Framing	22
1.8 Hypotheses	22

1.9 Research Methodology	23
1.9.1 Introduction	23
1.9.2 Research Design.....	23
1.9.3 Target Population	24
1.9.4 Sampling Procedure	24
1.9.5 Data Collection.....	25
1.9.6 Validity and Reliability	26
1.9.7 Data Collection Procedure	27
1.9.8 Data Analysis	27
1.10 Scope and Limitation of the Research	27
1.10.1 Limitations	27
1.10.2 Chapter outline	28
CHAPTER TWO: THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN AGGRAVATING CONFLICT IN KENYA AND ZIMBABWE	29
2.0 Introduction.....	29
2.1 Local language media	29
2.2 Social Media and Election Crisis.....	31
2.3 Sensational Reporting	38
2.4 Media Freedom During Conflict.....	41
2.5 Conclusion	45
CHAPTER THREE: COMPARATIVE BETWEEN MEDIA REPORTAGE IN CONFLICTS CASES IN ZIMBABWE AND KENYA	46
3.0 Introduction.....	46

3.1 Media coverage of conflict in Kenya.....	46
3.1.1 Radio coverage during conflict	47
3.1.2 Television coverage during conflict.....	48
3.1.3 Print media coverage of the conflicts.....	49
3.1.4 Social media Reportage of conflict	50
3.2 Media coverage of conflict in Zimbabwe	51
3.2.1 Radio reportage of conflict in Zimbabwe	51
3.2.2 Television reportage of conflict in Zimbabwe	53
3.2.3 Print coverage of the Zimbabwe conflict.....	53
3.2.4 Social media coverage of the conflict in Zimbabwe	53
3.3 Conclusion	54
 CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS OF MEASURES TAKEN TO CURB ETHNIC	
CONFLICT IN KENYA AND ZIMBABWE.....	
4.0 Introduction.....	55
4.1 Questionnaire Return Rate.....	55
4.2 Demographic Distribution of Respondents.....	55
4.3 Source of media consumption.....	56
4.4 Episodes of political conflict in Kenya and in Zimbabwe	58
4.5 Role of media in establishing political peace processes	59
4.6 A Comparison of media coverage in Kenya and Zimbabwe political conflict.....	62
4.6.1 Similarities and differences	62
4.6.1.1 Hate and inciting messages.....	62
4.6.1.2 Ethnicity in Media	63

4.6.1.3 International media reportage of Kenya and Zimbabwe conflict	63
4.6.1.4 Media Ownership and political conflict	64
4.7 Summary of the Study Objectives	64
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	66
5.0 Introduction.....	66
5.1 Summary.....	66
5.2 Conclusion	67
5.3 Recommendations.....	67
5.4 Suggestion on Area for Further Study	68
REFERENCES.....	69
APPENDICES	79
APPENDIX 1 : INTRODUCTION LETTER TO QUESTIONNAIRE	
RESPONDENTS	79
APPENDIX 2: QUESTIONNAIRE.....	80
APPENDIX 3: NACOSTI Research License	82

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This chapter encompasses information on the background of the study, research problem, objectives of the study, research questions, justification and significance of the study. Further, focus is given to the assumptions, range and limits of the study.

1.1 Background of the Study

Conflicts are getting significantly diverse and imploded thus creating a peril to world peace and stability in a manner never experienced previously. Correspondingly, the understanding and perception of the deep causes of conflicts, the interlink between security and management of conflict in a global context is presenting many dynamics.¹ As a result, majority of modern conflicts emerge from the community and society levels and spread to other regions across borders. This is further deepened, by morbid regional dynamics motivated by power competition and ensuing struggles among and between states as have been witnessed in several developing countries particularly in Africa.²

The media has a long standing history and has been an essential aspect in the establishment and exercising of peace building whenever there is a political conflict by states since the closure of the cold war era. The media is capable of influencing decision making and setting factors or conditions that states can consider in resolving conflicts. The complex interdependence in modern day international system and the rise of non-state actors in

¹ Morgenthau, H., & Thompson, K. (1985). *Politics among nations*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

² MFAF. (2009, April). *Media Focus on Africa Foundation Centre for Independent Research (CIR). National Integration and Cohesion Report*

international politics has brought forth powerful actors such as the media which influence primary interests of states in one way or another.³ Media coverage has surpassed the territorial borders and aspects such as the internet which has evolved on how information is collected, framed and written in different regions and internationally.⁴ Media is a key player in conflict and conflict management. The media can assert its power as an individual unit or collectively, while on the other hand, it can be subject to manipulation.

Conflict is inevitable in any functioning society. The role of media is to shape what is seen and heard about a conflict. Media house may skew news in favor of one side or for economic interests, others may have their own beliefs and opinions based on their personal preferences and experiences. Digital media has given the people more liberal avenues to be active participants in the political debates and processes and an event taking place in one corner of the state can go viral in a matter of minutes, thus increasing the number of actors. This could however serve either as a deterrent to mismanagement of political process or an incitement tool against perceived political injustices that could then fuel conflict.

Politics are International Relations affair which involves actors as states and leaders of International relations watching the progress, the event (in most times the elections and debates) then finally the outcome. Kenyan politics have received more attention recently from African countries as well as the western world that are partners in trade and world politics.⁵ In 2007, when the general elections caused ethnic violence, killings and uprooting

³ Robinson, P. (1999). 'The CNN Effect: can the news media drive foreign policy', *Review of International Studies* 25(2): 301-9.

⁴ Srivastava, S. (2009). *The Role of the Media in Foreign Policy: A Decision-Making*. 7th AMSAR Conference on Roles of Media during Political Crisis. Bangkok

⁵ Lenhe, S. (2012). *The Big Three in EU Foreign Policy*. Carnegie Europe. Accessed on 15th December, 2016 from <http://carnegieeurope.eu/2012/07/05/big-three-in-eu-foreign-policy-pub-48759>

of people from their homes, the world was concerned with the media involvement both local and international levels highlighting the chaos and violence which took place.⁶ The research examines the involvement of media in political conflict and specifically the ethnic conflicts, opposition parties and the 2007/2008 and 2017 election violence in comparison to the Zimbabwean conflicts. It shall compare media activities in ethnic conflicts, party conflicts and 2008 that elevated or mitigated the post- election violence with what the media in Zimbabwe did to fuel the violent 2017 and 2018 protests.⁷

Elections is an expression of democratic governance of any state. In Kenya, elections occur every five years periodically.⁸ The elections in Kenya are mostly based on the ethnic identity, this is because the aspirants expect their communities to vote them in the office. Ethnic tensions have been in place for a quite long time given the inequitable distribution of resources since the era of Jomo Kenyatta rule and 1980's during Daniel Arap Moi's presidency. In 2007 post-poll skirmishes, the CORD opposition party contested the presidential elections, leading to deaths of an estimated 1500 people, destruction of property, and 5000 displacement of people from their homes which marked the darkest moment for media performance in Kenya.⁹

The opposition party led by Raila Odinga, had made a declaration on staging nationwide rallies to put pressure on the Jubilee administration to address urgent issues of public interests such as insecurity, soaring cost of living, corruption, nepotism in public

⁶ Mwagiru, M (2008), *The Water's Edge: Mediation of violent Electoral Conflict in Kenya*, Nairobi, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies

⁷GoK. (2008). Report of the Commission of inquiry into post-election violence in Kenya. Nairobi: Government Printers.

⁸ Larfague, J, (2009): *The General Elections in Kenya*, Nairobi: IFRA.

⁹ OCHA, Kenya Weekly Humanitarian Update, vol. 8, 28 Feb – 03 March, 2008. There are various estimates of the number of internally displaced people in Kenya ranging from around 150,000 to 600,000.

appointments, and gross sacrilege of the Constitution, and exasperated election related pledges.¹⁰ The CORD leader had retorted to national mobilization after the Jubilee government rejected his call for national dialogue. This means there was a political conflict between these two parties. Moreover, in the case study above it incorporates how the media comes in to tackle these conflicts by educating, addressing the public and one on one reporting.¹¹ Political conflict is major in Kenya due to conflicting parties, that is, the government and the opposition party. This case study tends to elaborate more on this and how the media comes in conflict resolution between the two parties.

In Zimbabwe the media has been an instrumental source since independence in 1980's.¹² Following Zimbabwe's liberation, in 1980s, Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) under the stewardship of Robert Mugabe exercised power over public institutions and the country's economy. ZANU-PF faced political contest from the opposition party; Movement for Democratic Change, the main resistance party which was unveiled in 1999. This political environment which was marred with violence contributed in the transformation of Rhodesia into Zimbabwe. The political interface in Zimbabwe has for decades been characterized by mistrust, and assassinations of those who dare to challenge those in power. Substantial company close down and capital flight has further compounded a fragile political situation.¹³

Zimbabwe struggles with a raft of issues oscillating from entrenched corruption, gross human rights violations, poor governance, dictatorial tendencies and a stagnant economy.

¹⁰ BBCWST, (2008), The Kenya 2007 elections and their Aftermath: The role of Media and Communication.

¹¹ Ibid

¹² Ibid

¹³ Ibid

Large numbers of Zimbabweans have emigrated as a result.¹⁴ Pressure from a deteriorating economic situation intensified in 2015, culminating to extensive protests and public cry over economic improvements, and calls for the ouster of President Mugabe. These demonstrations intensified in 2017, triggered further by ZANU-PF's pronouncement of 93-year-old Mugabe's candidature in the 2018 elections.¹⁵

The protests were countered by excessive use of force by security officers on the demonstrators. Internal political parties infighting, an opposition that was gaining ground, and concerns on vote rigging intensified the fiercely contested election.

Citizen journalism is a fast-growing phenomenon in the media industry. In Social Media, any individual with an opinion or view point is now able to express themselves on the various platforms of social media this is battled with the accuracy if the information from different outlets.¹⁶ There are various forms of social Media that include but not limited to Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, and Instagram. In 2004, the media liberalization law states that radio stations can broadcast in their local languages. This has led to incitation of ethnic conflicts in different regions which end up causing political conflicts.¹⁷ Studies suggest media's input may contribute towards conflict through inciting mass violence, failure to report on emergent conflicts, delay in filing conflict related news, journalists participating

¹⁴ Ndlela, Nkosi, 2005. The African Paradigm: The Coverage of the Zimbabwean Crisis in the Norwegian Media, University College of Hedmark, Norway (http://www.wmin.ac.uk/mad/pdf/zim_art5.pdf (accessed November 2007))

¹⁵ <https://www.peaceinsight.org/conflicts/zimbabwe/>

¹⁶ Spurk, M. (2002). Multi-Party Politics in Kenya. London: Oxford University Press.

¹⁷ Heiber, A. (2001). Elections campaigns, balance and the mass media. World Bank, Workshop Report, Washington

in killings, glorifying hate speech, ignoring genocide undertones, media practitioners acting unethically, and intentionally misreporting the facts.¹⁸

Political conflict is major in Kenya and Zimbabwe due to conflicting parties, that is, the government and the opposition party. This case study tends to elaborate more on this and how the media comes in conflict resolution between the two parties.

1.2 Statement of the problem

War and conflict result to violence. Violence destroys what is at hand including people, property, institutions, political will, trust and infrastructure. The repercussions of conflict is causing poverty and suffering, economic underdevelopments, deaths, immigrations, crimes and depriving people of their basic needs.¹⁹ Countries undergoing political transformation are most prone to conflicts. For such countries, it is vital to have an environment that facilitates transparent governance processes and the media play's the preliminary support function by providing credible information. Further, media liberty and freedom of expression are essential components for accountability reasons, promoting practical debates which reduces political tension and creates a more stable and sustainable political structures.²⁰

Significant studies on media's contribution in politically motivated conflicts as well as media as a tool in conflict resolution in both Kenya and Zimbabwe has been extensive. Nevertheless, limited studies have focused on a comparative examination between media's

¹⁸Howard, R. (2003). *The Power of the media: A handbook for peacebuilder*. Utrecht, Netherlands: European Centre for Conflict Prevention.

¹⁹ Chretien, S., Spurk, L., & Christopher, J. (1995). *Media and Peacebuilding, Concepts, Actors and Challenges*. KOFF: SwissPeace.

²⁰ Rugumanu, T. (2002). *Studies in Reconstruction and capacity building in post conflict countries in Africa: some lesson of experience from Uganda and Harare*. Africa capacity building foundation, Vol IV

role in Kenya's conflicts in contrast to Zimbabwean media in conflict situation which include the violent crackdown protests in 2018. This, according to libertarian theory of media reporting can hardly be exploited for selfish gain by state and individuals who strive to protect their images in the society and remain politically impartial at all times. Therefore, media in such an environment should encourage a competitive political system that should promote democracy, peace and stability. There is an evidence that points to existing work attempts to link media to conflict, but there is limited evidence on relation to Kenya and Zimbabwe, the areas of study. Therefore, this study will look into how the media can use its agenda setting role to fuel conflict in Kenya and Zimbabwe. Thus, the research problem, Media and conflict: a comparison of Kenya and Zimbabwe. This study will give the best recommendations on the best practice by the media in conflict resolution

1.3 Research questions

The following are the research questions under which this study will be conducted;

1. How has the media been used to aggravate conflict in Kenya and Zimbabwe?
2. What are some of similarities and differences of media coverage of the conflict in Kenya and Zimbabwe?
3. What are some of best practices to avert ethnic conflict in Kenya and Zimbabwe?

1.4 Objectives of the study

The broad objective of the study is to investigate media's role in political conflict: a comparative study of Kenya and Zimbabwe.

1.4.1 Specific objectives

The specific objectives will be:

1. To investigate whether the media aggravated conflict in Kenya and Zimbabwe.
2. To establish the similarities and difference of media reportage in conflicts cases in Zimbabwe and Kenya.
3. To analyze measures taken to curb ethnic conflict in Kenya and Zimbabwe.

1.5 Literature Review

A lot of scholarly documents and studies have been conducted on media and conflict in the recent past years. This study will look at some of the scholarly thoughts that influence how media has managed conflict escalation into violence. Literature will be drawn from the Zimbabwean protests and violence where media was used as the instrument in the protests by promoting speeches over the national televisions, radio stations and print media such as newspapers. Kenya has been described by some scholars as the pillar of peace in the East Africa region in the past years. But in reality, Kenya has been a pivot of post violence, protests and terror attacks.

Most of the scholars have been watching the political environment in Kenya since the post violence era. Most argue that violence was bound to happen despite the 2007 election due to the ethnic identity in which few communities wanted their political aspirants to be in power. Others argued that land disputes, corruption, violations of economic rights and poor governance enabled violence and conflicts.²¹

²¹ Juliana, (2008). 'Report on Post-Election Violence in Kenya'. Un Human rights team, March 20, 2008. <http://blog.ushahidi.com/index.php/2008/03/20/report-on-post-election-violence-in-kenya-un-human-rights-team/>

The major problems caused by the conflict and violence in Kenya included; First, more than 1,500 Kenyans were reported killed, 1,133 casualties, over 350,000 were rendered as internally displaced persons in Kenya at the time. Further, the situation created an estimated 2,000 refugees, damage of an estimated 117, 216 private assets and 491 state possessed property. In addition, about 42,000 households and business premises were looted, wrecked and in many cases burnt down. The railway line was vandalized leaving majority of poor Kenyans who rely on that form of transport stranded. Cases of gang rapes and forced male /female genital mutilation were reported across the urban and rural areas. ²²

In 2017, clashes and violence erupted after Kenya's disputed repeat presidential election which also led to a divided country. Political and ethnic divisions exacerbated by the vote led to endemic violence and other destabilizing activity. Secondly, the violence led to factors of production being rendered idle while the country lost millions in the economy. This was demonstrated by the fact that factories went dormant, most roads were blocked, resulting to a dire food and humanitarian crisis. Regionally, other countries suffered too. For instance, Uganda, DR Congo, and Rwanda, there was intermission of fuel supplies that transits via Mombasa port due to lack of transport. It is fairly approximated the Kenyan economy was losing \$30 million a day.²³

Just like Kenya, has also experienced similar acts following intent to destroy, killing of members of the group, deliberate infliction of pains and harm. The Government of National Unity which ended after ZANU PF emphatically won the 2013 elections could be the fifth phase and is significant in the sense that it has witnessed intense intra-political party

²² Ibid

²³Prunier, G., (2008). Kenya: The Roots of Crisis. 7th January 2008 http://www.opendemocracy.net/article/kenya_roots_of_crisis

struggles than any other period in Zimbabwe.²⁴ These struggles led to succession plots, party splits and factional battles that have had serious impact on the political scene in Zimbabwe. Following the disputed July 2013 elections ZANU-PF effectively retained its hegemony leaving opposition political parties severely weakened and disoriented. After the MDC failed in its legal and diplomatic man oeuvres to ensure the conduct of fresh elections, it started to battle strong internal conflicts.

Disgruntled with the party's loss, some high-ranking members began to call for leadership renewal, especially regarding the party presidency ailing for early congress to elect a successor in order to renew the party and the leadership. There were also fresh conflicts within ZANU-PF in which presidium officials were accused of plotting President Mugabe's ouster. Hence the current phase is characterized by power, succession struggles and factionalism in political parties.²⁵

In the Zimbabwe conflicts, the media began to suffuse more on media related intervention in conflict areas. In 2003 estimates, projections on investment in media towards initiatives on conflict dynamics in the past decade stood at US\$ 1 billion.²⁶ This helps demonstrate the fostering of a highly trained team of press practitioners in developing world. Media should verify ethnic statements to ensure groups or societies most vulnerable are not endangered.²⁷ Romeo Dallaire avers that news has the potential to influence public opinion once the population is well informed. In instances where statesmanship is lacking or

²⁴ Bond, P. & Manyanya, M. 2002. Zimbabwe's Plunge: Exhausted Nationalism, Neocolonialism and the Search for Social Justice, University of KwaZulu Natal Press: Durban.

²⁵ Blair, D. 2002. Degrees in Violence: Robert Mugabe and the Struggles for Power in Zimbabwe. London: Continuum.

²⁶ An associate at the Vancouver-based Institute for Media, Policy and Civil Society (IMPACS)

²⁷ ICTR judgment, 2003, paragraph 1008, www.ictor.org

perceived to be missing, public opinion becomes a powerful tool in influencing the government to take action”.²⁸

The social responsibility role of media is critical when covering conflict situations. A thin line exists between coverage for public interest and social responsibility. Mutua agrees when he observes that “The 2008 post-poll skirmishes tarnished the media in Kenya. Unethical media reportage by Kass FM incited the violence in the Rift Valley. In contrast, Musyi FM projected a high level of professionalism in their exposure of the skirmishes. In covering the conflict, media in many ways desecrated the code of social responsibility which resulted to execrating the conflict situation; as perceptions and divisions among the people take root.”²⁹ Some scholars recommend that the media should not merely report, comment on or interpret conflict but should also enhance peace through conflict resolution. Ekwo voices this view when he advises that we must be conscious of evolving a conflict-resolving media ³⁰

1.5.1 The Broad Role of Media in Conflict

A quick scan on ongoing armed political conflicts across the globe reveal the dire situation in terms of loss of lives, damages, and human suffering. Specific scholars have discussed the interlink between globalization and the changes in the trends and motives of violent

²⁸ Dallaire Romeo, the media dichotomy, 2007, in Thomson Allan (ed), The Media and Rwanda Genocide, 2007, p42

Romeo Dallaire is a retired Lieutenant-General. He led the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) to help implement the Arusha accords. He is the author of Shake Hands with the Devil: The Failure of Humanity in Rwanda and now sits in the Senate of Canada as a member of the Liberal party

²⁹ Mutua Ekzekiel, thesis 2010, Media and Social Responsibility: an investigation into Post-Election violence coverage by Kass and Musyi FM, University of Nairobi, abstract p.i.

³⁰ Ekwo, Uchenna, 2001, “Nigeria’s media in crisis-prone democracy”, In Reporting Conflicts, Lagos: Mass Media Africa Peace Centre p6.

conflict. Some reference the 1980s and 1990s revolution in information technology led to a new form of globalization, which consequently, shaped the need for a redefinition of long held views on media and conflict.³¹ While media reports can give indications of a conflict in terms of where, who are the actors, levels of violence, and the how; there is a lacking on the extent of media's influence to the point of conflict escalation.

The media has a crucial input to make, a status that is mostly and unfortunately overlooked by political decision-makers and security agencies. It is often the decision makers that make pronouncements on media's critical impacts. In many occurrences, players in the political arena and those in research field, under look media's reportage in politically motivated conflicts. Case in reference, in a survey conducted in 1995 on media influence during wars, 64% of US military officers were of the opinion that the media had the power through their broadcasts to ruin the war efforts in Vietnam.³²

In reference to this findings, it is startling to see that still few studies and resources have been dedicated towards creating a deeper understanding of possible impacts of media in states democratization and during armed conflicts.³³

Media remains a key player in countries experiencing conflicts and can be a tool of either escalating or de-escalating the internal and external enablers of violence. Media, if not well checked is capable of creating divisive politics and enhancing existing domestic

³¹Kaldor, S. (2001). *Canada and International Peacekeeping*. Washington DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies.

³²Taylor, P. M. (1997). *Global Communications, International Affairs and the Media since 1945* (1st ed.). (N. I. Series., Ed.) London: Routledge

³³ Ibid

differences. The creation of a well-informed citizenry within a country, and/or by pushing the agenda of ethnic power dynasty.³⁴

The conclusion reiterated that intentional miscommunication of happenings to accommodate interests of certain parties only serves to exacerbates the differences between different opposing parties and this becomes a major prompter to violent conflicts. This study, however did not analyze media's influence on human factors.

Television has developed to be the primary and preferred basis of news by the general public, with a significant potential of informing public opinion. The uptake of television sets has been escalating as compared to 1950s when only nine percent of households in America owned a television. Over a decade later, around 1966, there had been an upsurge of TV intake with the figure rising to 93 percent.³⁵ The Vietnam War, in which American soldiers were critical players in efforts to restore peace is attributed to the Television ownership as most people wanted to follow on the news.

Unfortunately, there was no established code of journalists in war reporting and neither was there restriction of media in covering military during the combat. Journalist exercised this media freedom with no formal restriction in the war zones. Journalists presented raw footage of grisly images to the public, and had interviews with the soldiers in the battle front. Media interviews with soldiers who expressed their dissatisfaction with the developments of the war, were in contrast to formal state briefings. There was lots of media attention to the war that in 1967, it is estimated that over 50 million people keenly followed news on television and regularly read newspapers, with an approximate of 90 percent of

³⁴ Terzis, G., & Melone, S. (2002). *Using the Media for Conflict Transformation*, London: Pluto Press.

³⁵ Bonior, D., Champlin, S., & Kolly, T. (1984). *The vietnam Veteran - A History of Neglect*. New York: Preager.

the prime news coverage on the war and roughly 50 million audience.³⁶ The outcome was a decrease in support towards the US foreign interposition policy by the Congress and the public.³⁷ This demonstrates media's persuasive characteristic for shaping attitudes and swaying decisions.

Television broadcast thus plays a vital role in eliciting public attention as well as influencing policy setting on domestic and foreign on issues of concern. Its key to note that television does not enforce policy responses but rather sets the policy agenda.³⁸ Mostly, media falls short of expressing the vision and wants of the masses but significantly works to advance their own interests. Nevertheless, the media can serve both interests of the public and government policy but need to adopt a balanced approach. Similarly, both parties should appreciate media limitation in resources and this affects its breadth in coverage.

In all time, history is occupied with experiences that demonstrate media when negatively used can influence people towards violence. As frequently referenced, Hitler exploited the power of the media to provoke hatred for Jews.³⁹ Joseph Goebbels, Hitler's Minister of Propaganda, crafted the most successful and persuasive mass appeal campaigns using emotive radio broadcast messages and motion images to spread his propaganda against the Jews. In the Balkan war of 1992-5 the traditional media played a huge part in fueling ethnic skirmishes and hatred leading to violence.

³⁶ Bonior, D., Champlin, S., & Kolly, T. (1984). *The vietnam Veteran - A History of Neglect*. New York: Preager.

³⁷ *ibid*

³⁸ Gowing, N. (1994). *Real-Time Coverage of Armed Conflicts and Diplomatic Crises: Does it Pressure or Distort Foreign Policy Decisions?* US Security - Working Paper 94-1.

³⁹ Vladimir, B., & Schirch, L. (2007). *Why and when to use media for conflict prevention and peace building*. European Centre for Conflict Prevention (Issue No. 6)

While hate messages were not aired plainly, the general bias and misreporting over time heightened tensions, fueled differences and eventually erupted into a conflict.⁴⁰ Broadcasters conveyed polarizing content that legitimized violence as a tolerable tool for addressing grievances.⁴¹ The Bosnian civil war between Serbs, Bosnia and Croats claimed an estimated more than 150,000 persons.

In Africa, the reference is on the Libyan civil war and an exploration into media's role in modern conflicts.⁴² Particular emphasis focused on media's shortcomings in the reporting and analysis in times of conflict, underlining the double standards that the media applied by drawing parallels in the Iraq and Libya wars in attempts to illustrate the errors repeatedly perpetuated by mass media. Although the media has time immemorial managed to create a division between the governed and the political class using stereotypes that widen the gap, in this study the effect of media on social status, gender, age sets and other variables of interests were not explicitly outlined.

In Côte d'Ivoire, the general elections of 2010 was marred with media taking sides, which resulted to misreporting and news sensationalization as opposition parties strived to discredit the other. Media's position also exposed journalists to intimidation and frequent attacks.⁴³ The post-poll predicament that ensued after the pronouncement of the poll outcomes for the presidency revealed influences from the print media.

⁴⁰Buric, A. (2000). Media, War and peace in Bosnia. In E. David (Ed.), *Regional Media in Conflict* (p. pp 64). London: Institute for War and Peace Reporting

⁴¹Vladimir, B., & Schirch, L. (2007). Why and when to use media for conflict prevention and peace building. *European Centre for Conflict Prevention* (Issue No. 6).

⁴²Viggo, M. (2011). *Forging Peace: Intervention, Human Rights and the Management of Media Space*. (P. M. Taylor, Ed.) Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press

⁴³Media Foundation for West Africa. (2011, April 18). Ban on international media lifted by Ouattara government. Retrieved March 18, 2013, from International Freedom of Expression Exchange: <http://www.ifex.org/>

The press was used by both presidential candidates Laurent Gbagbo, the incumbent and his fierce opposer Allassane Ouattara as a propaganda tool and a means for mobilizing their electorate and pitting them against their opponents.⁴⁴ The media was at the epicentre of the post-poll skirmishes and the escalation of the crisis into a civil war with outcomes of death and displacement of an estimated one million people.⁴⁵

In the Central African Republic, media broadcast content that bordered to hate speech and profiling of groups which created a sectarian environment and set the precedence for a conflict in 2013. This resulted to displacement of close to one million people, and reports suggesting over 75,000 refugees affected.⁴⁶ In what could have been a non-sectarian conflict, the traditional and online media platforms fueled divisions inter-sectarian divisions.

This resulted to accusations and counter accusations from members of both groups blaming the other for the violence. Media incitement to hatred in many cases gains roots and in some instances spreads to the extremes. A good case is the Democratic Republic of Congo where inter-ethnic conflicts have been ongoing for decades.⁴⁷

In 1994, the Rwandan Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines is documented and placed at the epicenter of the genocide that saw over a million brutally killed in less than a hundred days. The media was accused of broadcasting hateful and demeaning messages that openly called for the murder of the Tusti community members.

⁴⁴ Electoral Reform International Services. (2011). Broadcasting a peaceful future. London.: 6 Chancel Street Press.

⁴⁵ *ibid*

⁴⁶MRG. (2013). Annual survey: Hate crime towards minorities and indigenous peoples in Africa. Minority Rights Group International. London: Commercial Street Press.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*

This reportage influenced the initial response of the public to attack their opponents but further sustained the violence through media messages that glorified the attacks instead of condemning the massacre.⁴⁸

In Northern Uganda, the media has failed to give adequate attention to the protracted conflict between Uganda People's Defence Forces (UPDF) and Lord Resistance Army (LRA) (Okumu, 1997). The lack of exposure on the magnitude of the war has contributed to the leniency of the global community to act or intercede. Likewise, decades long conflicts in Somalia and Darfur conflicts have received little to no coverage, only recently the local and international media intensified their reportage. The international media is disparaged for failure to report on the massacre as it developed in Rwanda in 1994. The failure to report the situation as it were on the ground resulted to a failure or delay in conflict intervention from the international community. Okumu (1997) asserts that if the media had been objective in the coverage of the genocide as it unfolded, the situation would have been deterred. This study too did not state how the media impact humans to resort to conflict.

On the other hand, media has in notable situation been used to promote peace and reconciliation. Such is the case in Northern Uganda where the media has been applauded for being a tool for positive advancement of the peace discourse.⁴⁹ Mega FM has been in the frontline in advocating for peaceful co-existence with positive outcomes since 2002. Credible reports indicate that the media played a fundamental role in urging LRA members to surrender. Struges (2007) asserted that the LRA leaders were urged to listen in and

⁴⁸ Metzl, J. (1997). Information intervention: When switching channels isn't enough. *US Foreign Affairs*, 76 (6), pp. 17-20.

⁴⁹ Struges, D. (2007). Third-Party Techniques for Preventing Conflict Escalation and Promoting Peaceful Settlement. *International Organization*, No. 4: 653-681.

engage in phone in talk shows which involved on air dialogue with the government and members of the nonprofit organizations. This marked a milestone towards peace establishment. To this end, the media is credited for its input in creating peace.

The social media platform is gaining more popularity among the young generation in Kenya and world over. Through the various platforms such as blogs, face book, and Twitter the media has been able to pick newsworthy stories for coverage. Scholars argue that blogs are able to set the agenda on content for media coverage.⁵⁰ They say “trending topics in international space, the blogs play a fundamental role in offering expertise, real-time coverage, breaking news, and sets the public discussion.” It is this platform that has created hate speech among Kenyans during the 2013 elections. The Kenya National Human Rights Commission defines hate speech as all forms of utterances that demeans others, creates hatred, and provokes violence directed at a targeted group of people based on their religion, race, colour, or ethnic belonging. It includes coverage in form of speech, written content, radio or television messages that are demeaned degrading and dehumanizing a certain populace.⁵¹ Therefore, this research seeks to answer, whether or not the effort by the media in Kenya was enough to avert the social media crisis on hate speech.

1.6 Justification and significance of the study

The media is a two-sided tool. It can be used as a bat of violence as well as an instrument for peace and conflict resolution. The study will enable individuals become familiar with the media environment as well as understand what happened in Kenya’s violence also the 2017 after elections and Zimbabwean violent protests.

⁵⁰ Thompson, A. (2007). *The media and the Rwandan Genocide* (Ed). London: Pluto Press.

⁵¹KNCHR <http://nipate.com/omar-s-knchr-definition-of-hate-speech-t8927.html>, accessed on 10th March 2019.

Academically, the paper will seek to find out how media can contribute in maintaining a peaceful environment in their reportage of conflict. It examines media's input in setting the public agenda and implications of certain messages on the audiences. The research will fill the gap between the discordant relationship between main stream media, their ethics and the human variables that sometimes determine conflict on the social media.

Professionalism of the media both in Zimbabwe and Kenya has been examined in order to understand the landscape in which media practitioners worked under during the conflict in Zimbabwe and Kenya. Issues in this study may also be helpful in policy formulation in Kenya and other countries across the world. The study elucidates on various interventions geared toward improvement of the laws as well as professionalism of the media.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

This study utilized the Agenda Setting model which will be used to enhance the principles of the study.

1.7.1 Agenda Setting Theory

A scientific revolution occurred in the study of how the mass media affect public opinion. From 1930s to early 1970s the dominant direction of mass communication research was to investigate direct media impact on the attitude of the audience and overt behavior. Paul F. Lazars field set this new direction in motion. Researchers found out that the media appeared to affect attitudes and behavior directly only for some individuals in some circumstances for example television violence as found to affect children aggression.

Baran and Davis observed that the concept of agenda setting in contemporary day is drawn from public perception.⁵² The Agenda setting model which was propagated by Walter Lippmann was later advanced and refined by Bernard Cohen. Bernard held the view, “there is more to media than just a channel for sharing information and views. Although, it may not succeed always in influencing persons on what to ponder, it is significantly efficacious in convincing its readers on what to think about and it concludes that people view the world differently depending on their personal preferences, interests as well as on the image that is projected by the journalists, editorial team and publishers of their preferred papers.”⁵³

This argument by Cohen appears to contradict when he observes that the media more often than not fails in shaping what people think about while at the same time continues to argue that different people view the world differently based on what the media offers. In 1963 Cohen summed up the theory with words “the media don’t state to their audience what to ponder, instead, they express to the people on what to reflect on.”⁵⁴

Kuhn (1970) saw the anomaly and predicted that the search of a new paradigm. Kuhn prediction led to a 1972 study on Agenda setting by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw. The new paradigm of agenda setting offered new way of thinking in mainly mass communication research and to a less extent in political science, sociology and among social scientists. According to Kuhn⁵⁵ this new agenda setting paradigm offered a fresh thinking on effects of mass media so that “familiar objects are seen in different light.”

⁵² Baran Stanley J. and Davis Dennisk, 2006, Mass Communication Theory Foundations, Ferment and Future, 4th edition, Thompson Wadsworth, p.316.

⁵³ Cohen B.C. (1963), The Press and Foreign Policy, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, p.13.

⁵⁴ Anderson James A, (1996), Communication Theory Epistemological Foundations, the Guilford Press.

⁵⁵ Kuhn, T.S (1970), The Structure of scientific revolutions, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, p.111.

McCombs and Shaw articulate their understanding of the agenda setting by observing that “by making a decision on what news coverage, media practitioners contribute in demonstrating political reality. The audience is informed on specific issues and further, readers know the prominence they should place on such a subject based on how it is positioned and projected by the media. In this case, the media is able to set the agenda on an issue or around a campaign.”⁵⁶ Agenda setting emphasizes is on changes overtime around issues on (a) the agenda set by the media (b) the public agenda and (c) the policy agenda. The school of thought that advocates for this framework argues that society relies on the media direction to push conversations on issue that are imperative.⁵⁷ There are three concepts under Agenda setting theory that will help the study in uncovering what happened to the media in both the Rwanda genocide as well as the Kenya election violence in 2007/2008. These concepts are: (a) Priming, (b) agenda building and (c) framing;

1.7.2 Priming

According to Iyengar priming refers to the results generated on political resolutions based on media focus on a subject.⁵⁸ In this regards, the media may draw more attention to specific components of politics like the elections and the aftermath at the expense of others. Iyengar and Kinder⁵⁹ gives an indication that priming on television broadcast influences how political pacts are crafted and political decisions made.”

⁵⁶McCombs, M. E and D.L. Shaw (1972), The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media, *Public Opinion Quarterly*

36:176-187, p.176

⁵⁷ McQuail, M (2005), *McQuail’s Mass Communication Theory*, 5TH edition, New Delhi, Vistaar Publications

⁵⁸ Iyengar, S, (1991), *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, p.133

⁵⁹Iyengar, S. and D.R. Kinder (1987), *News that matter: Television and America opinion*, Chicago, University of

1.7.3 Agenda-building

Agenda-building is another concept under agenda setting theory. Kurt Lang and Gladys Lang⁶⁰ define agenda-building as “a mutual process through which government, press, and the public impact each other.” This definition however assumes that there is increased knowledge by the society.

1.7.4 Framing

Dietram Scheufele⁶¹ avers that “framing words based on a perception that a delicate alterations in the wording of the depiction of a condition might have an impact on audience elucidation.” McCombs while linking the Agenda Setting theory to framing theory argues that media coverage can help influence how we think about objects like candidates, events and other issues.”

1.8 Hypotheses

1. The media in Kenya had a direct role in inciting conflict rather than the Zimbabwean media in the violent protests.
2. The Kenya media coverage landscape is better than the Zimbabwe media coverage in conflict resolution.
3. The Kenya media was faced with more challenges in mitigating conflicts than the median in Zimbabwe did on the violent crackdown protests.

Chicago Press, p.114.

⁶⁰ Lang, K and G.E. Lang, (1983), *The Battle for public Opinion: The President, the press and the Polls during*

Watergate, New York, Columbia University, pp.58-59.

⁶¹ Scheufele, D.A (2000), *Agenda-Setting, Priming and Framing revisited: Another look at Cognitive Effects of*

Political Communication, Mass Communication and Society, p.309

1.9 Research Methodology

1.9.1 Introduction

Methodology describes the procedure to be followed while undertaking research. This encompasses the study design, the target audience, sample design, methods for data gathering and examination. Further, it gives an interpretation on the ethical considerations that were adopted in the research.

1.9.2 Research Design

Research design is a comprehensive plan indicating how the research will be conducted to be used for research. According to Cooper and Schindler⁶² survey's intent is to provide a factual description of a certain aspect of a position, individual or community. Further, it is utilized in the determination of the sources of existing situation in the area under study. A case study is a comprehensive investigation of a phenomenon. The case study of Kenya political conflicts and Zimbabwe violent protests are forms of case studies that enriched this study. The two cases helped enumerate the factors, relationships that resulted to the violence.

In this approach, the study looked at how media influenced election violence in 2007/2008 and in 2017 after elections. Which form of media (print, radio or television) was more responsible for both Zimbabwean conflicts and Kenya election violence? How different could the media have covered the conflict? What measures did the media take to avert spread of hate speech through their avenues? Did these measures work and how? The Research intends to collect data from the various media houses (radio, Tv, and print) using

⁶² Cooper, D. R., & Schindler, P. S. (2008). Business research methods (8th Ed). New Delhi: Tata McGraw-Hill Publishing Company. India

various data collection methods. The study also adopted a qualitative data through interviews from Editors, journalists and media experts. The qualitative methodology determined the trend, attitude and opinion of these media professionals.⁶³

1.9.3 Target Population

Population is the composition of a set of individuals, happenings or objects with shared features.⁶⁴ The target populace for this study will comprise of selected media houses from print, radio and television. The target for radio stations are Ramogi FM, Inooro FM and Classic FM vernacular radio stations. Print media will focus on the two main dailies i.e the Standard Newspaper and The Daily Nation. Television stations were the national broadcaster Citizen and KTN. In Zimbabwe the target stations are National FM, Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation and Daily News.⁶⁵

1.9.4 Sampling Procedure

Sampling is a thoughtful selection of respondents who are to make available the data which conclusions will be derived from, representing some larger group.⁶⁶ It presents a section of a population or dimensions that a researcher will utilize to make a conclusion. This study utilizes purposive sampling whereby the researcher considered the period of violent conflicts in Kenya and Zimbabwe. The benefit of purposive sampling is that it allows the researcher to save the time and money resource and facilitates one in conquering the limitation of access to a whole population. This sampling skill provided for easiness when

⁶³ Croswell, N. (2009). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*. (3rd, Ed.) London: Sage.

⁶⁴ Mugenda, O. M., and Mugenda, A. G. (2003). *Research methods: Quantitative and qualitative approaches*. Nairobi: Acts Press

⁶⁵ Kothari, C.R,2004, *Research methodology, methods and techniques*: Rajasthan, New age International Publishers

⁶⁶ Cooper, D. and Schindler, P. S. (2006). *Business research methods*. London: McGraw-Hill

choosing data for examination in the selected newspapers, radio stations and Tv stations. However, the downside of using purposive sampling's is that the outcome may be incorrect or skewed depending on a researchers knowledge on the subject.

The preferred method of sampling is by probability sampling of the target but the nature of this study did not accommodate this technique. The study focused on representation of political conflict in the Kenyan and Zimbabwean press. Purposive sampling presented the most ideal technique as the researcher was able to select relevant information on political conflict.

1.9.5 Data Collection

Data collection is a technique of assembling information from both primary and secondary data. This information gathered was measured to answer the objectives, tested the hypothesis as well as assessed the outcomes. I will utilize primary and secondary data to quantify the outcomes of media messages on political processes and the respective audiences which forms the foundation for analysis. Primary data will be assembled through tele interviews with key informants and media professionals while content secondary data will be derived from documents.

Interviews were administered to key informants of this study i.e media professionals. Interview is obtaining information from an interaction between the researcher and respondents. It can be structured or semi structured. Interviews help see the reactions, values and attitude of the respondents. They also ensure that all questions are answered because the researcher can probe further in order to get more information. On the other hand, Interviews are very costly and time consuming. The presence of the researcher may

intimidate the respondents. Quality of data to be collected may be affected especially when the respondents don't have time to reflect or consult.

The study focuses on already published work as well as the unpublished data gathered from books, journals, newspapers, reports, thesis, private and public papers.⁶⁷ This information mainly focuses on media's role in conflict situations like Zimbabwe and the Kenya poll violence.

1.9.6 Validity and Reliability

The research will conduct an experimental study to assess the dependability and soundness of the research tools mainly the questionnaires. The researcher relied on data collected from primary sources as well as secondary data to probe the impact of media broadcast content on the audience and on political processes which lays the foundation for analysis. Primary data is derived from interviews conducted over the phone, while secondary data comprised of information from diverse documents. The interviews will provide a comprehensive range of opinions to facilitate the interpretation of data and deduce such data and the largely social discourse carried out semi-structured interviews. The interview guides were distributed two weeks prior to unstructured telephone conversations.

Respondents chosen are from renowned establishments and of good standing in society thus their responses are dependable, trustworthy and credible. Most of the respondents are knowledgeable people in the media and those who took part in the rallies thus their responses had the required depth and was given with understanding.

⁶⁷ Kothari, C.R,2004, Research methodology, methods and techniques: Rajasthan, New age International Publishers

1.9.7 Data Collection Procedure

Data collected was analyzed to answer the objectives and the hypothesis. Raw data was cleaned in order to make sense on the study. The researcher conducted the interviews by visiting the respondents work stations or pre-agreed venues and responses were noted down.

1.9.8 Data Analysis

Content analysis was utilized to analyse data derived from tele-interviews and organized centered group discussions. Content analysis is a commonly utilized research tool employed to establish the occurrence of keywords or thoughts within scripts or sets of scripts. It relies on a set of classification for building useable and shareable interpretations from data to their setting. Researchers examine and quantify the manifestation, denotations and connections of such texts and concepts which lead to their deductions about the information within the texts, the author(s), the audience, the way of life, and period of the happenings.

1.10 Scope and Limitation of the Research

The study focuses on the influence of media in fueling conflict and best practices to ensure effective political conflict resolution using media in the Zimbabwe and Kenya election violence Case Studies.

1.10.1 Limitations

The research may face challenges that stemmed from ICC cases that are ongoing. The matter is still sensitive for discussion given that two journalists, Joshua Sang and Walter Barasa faced trial at The Hague based court.

Data from some radio stations will be difficult to collect owing to the CCK regulations. Long bureaucratic procedures involve while gathering information from the different Editors, media houses and government bodies. The study will rely on the memories of editors, media experts, government representatives and senior journalists to collect data.

Memories may fade after a while. In order to counter these challenges, the researcher was persistent in collecting data from the various respondents. The study also counter checked information provided by respondents with the already available literature of the Zimbabwe and Kenya election violence.

1.10.2 Chapter outline

The study is structured into five chapters.

Chapter one is centered on the primer and context of the study, statement of the problem, research questions, objectives of the study and why the study is relevant.

Chapter two examines media's extent in exacerbating conflict in Zimbabwe and Kenya election violence.

Chapter Three elucidates on similarities and difference of media landscape in Zimbabwe and Kenya in reportage of political conflicts.

Chapter four gives an analysis on measures taken to curb ethnic conflict in Kenya and Zimbabwe. It entails collection of data, presentation of the data collected and analyzed and a discussion of the results from the analysis.

Chapter Five makes recommendations and conclusions based on qualitative and quantitative review of utilized primary and secondary data sources.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN AGGRAVATING CONFLICT IN KENYA AND ZIMBABWE

2.0 Introduction

The media as a means of sharing information carries a big responsibility in its coverage especially in times of conflict.⁶⁸ Depending on how media is utilized, it can serve to escalate underlying issues to a conflict situation or serve as a tool in advancing peaceful co-existence.⁶⁹ Past experiences in both Kenya and Zimbabwe indicate that media has contributed in fueling political chaos as well as promoting reconciliation. It is on the premise of these indications that ongoing chapter studies media's role in aggravating conflicts with a focus on media in Kenya and that in Zimbabwe. The section will examine; use of local language media, social media and election crisis, sensational media reportage, and media freedom during conflict.

2.1 Local language media

There has been a proliferation on the use of local vernacular stations in the past two decades. This has contributed in expanding the audience reach as many local media stations build a network of readers and viewers at the grassroots to national levels. Local radio and television stations have contributed largely in reaching and informing a larger public, resulting to increased advertising, media revenue and an overall economic growth. On the flip side, local language stations have been notorious in broadcasting content that can be

⁶⁸ Joyner, Christopher C. "Broadcasting for Peace and Human Rights." (2003) 5 (2) International Studies Review 239-41.

⁶⁹ Jaffe, Louis L. "The Editorial Responsibility of the Broadcaster: Reflections on Fairness and Access." (1972) 85(4) Harvard Law Review 768-92 <doi:10.2307/1339992> accessed 5 July 2019.

described as hateful and inciting. The comfort of using a native language that is understood by a specific ethnic group has been a factor that leads many media outlets to fall into the temptation of broadcasting content that can lead to tensions and escalate into violence.⁷⁰

In Kenya's case, in 2007 post-poll skirmishes that erupted following the presidential declaration that Mwai Kibaki had won the elections, the local media was largely blamed for escalating the political tensions.⁷¹ Conflict and security analysts had however warned that the political rhetoric and media undertones heading to the election presented a ground for conflict with the slightest provocation.⁷² In parts of Nairobi, and Rift Valley, vernacular FM stations broadcasted content that was considered hate speech against community members who were from other ethnic groups particularly those deemed to have been supporting rival political camps.⁷³

Reports from investigative researches and commissions of inquiry into the 2007 post-election indicated that most victims reported how the local dialect radio stations were used to incite ethnic violence.⁷⁴ In Kenya, local stations in rural areas were blamed for fueling ethnic violence. This was in contrast to FM radio channels in the urban areas especially the slums which were hailed for using the platforms to pledge for peaceful co-existence and calm pre- and post-elections.⁷⁵ The call for peace by community based stations in Nairobi especially at the height of the violence was applauded as a major escalator to quiet in the

⁷⁰ Osborn, Michelle. "Fuelling the Flames: Rumour and Politics in Kibera." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 2, No. 2 (2008): 315-327.

⁷¹ Anderson, David and Emma Lochery. "Violence and Exodus in Kenya's Rift Valley, 2008: Predictable and Preventable?" *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 2, No. 2 (2008): 328-343.

⁷² European Union Election Observation Mission. "Kenya General Election Preliminary Statement," January 1, 2008.

⁷³ Making peace, not war: the role of the media in Kenya," *The Guardian*, July, 23, 2009, retrieved September 9, 2019.

⁷⁴ Dagne, Ted. "Kenya: The December 2007 Elections and the Challenges Ahead." Congressional Research Service Report for Congress (P CRS-4), September 17, 2008.

⁷⁵ Report of the Findings of the Commission of Inquiry into Post-Election Violence. Oct 15, 2008.

midst of lots of chaos. Ghetto FM was recognized by international organizations for its contribution in promoting peace in slum areas in Nairobi.

In early 2008, violence erupted in Zimbabwe resulting to mass displacements of people and tragic loss of lives. The violence started prior to the general elections as opposition supporters clashed with security officers acting under the ruling party Zanu-PF. There was no outright winner which prompted a repeat election in June which was also marked with escalated politically instigated violence.

The media particularly television broadcasted distressing images showing the violence, death and destruction. 'pirate' radio journalists were reported to have used 'guerrilla-' tactics to gather and share information in a highly aggressive political environment.⁷⁶

2.2 Social Media and Election Crisis

Social media is described as the channels through which content is shared while user generated content is that information which is shared on those platforms. Social media since its inception has served as a loud voice for traditional media outlets. Typical media have their social media accounts which is aimed at amplifying their content to the online audience. User generated content is defined as content that is to a larger extent creatively developed and is disseminated via online platforms in a process that does not follow the established professional guidelines and practices. The content is not restricted to professional communication practitioners but can be generated by amateurs. The goal for UGC is not necessarily to make profits but could be for reasons such as sharing with peers, self-expression, fame and celebrity status, and for a certain cause. Content online is

⁷⁶ Wallace, Chuma. "The Role of Radio and Mobile Phones in Conflict Situations; The Case of the 2008 Zimbabwe Elections and Xenophobic Attacks in Cape Town." Carleton University Canada (2013)

disseminated in a complex web system with the most relevant content being automated to rank high on various web platforms and pages.⁷⁷ Content is aggregated in a process that involves content ranked based on keywords, geography, IP address, metadata among others by search engines such as Google and Yahoo. Aggregation is automatically done by the computer while curation is carefully done through analysis by human beings who are well skilled on the subject.⁷⁸

In contrast to traditional media content, online new media content is easy to collect and disseminate. With a basic mobile phone one can do a recording or take pictures and proceed to share online. Depending on the subject, with hours the information can reach millions as a result of re-sharing, comments and ensuing discussions on the issue. Most of the times, content quality is wanting since it is not approved through the gatekeepers as it is with old media. There are many recognized content creators who have built a name and a reputation for themselves with a massive following that they are recognized by traditional media.⁷⁹ When they post content, the mainstream media use it as a lead to follow up on the issue, conducting their own diligence in crafting a news item.

There is a growing debate on the input of information and communication technologies (ICTs) in conflict situations. Particularly, there has been a growing examination on the preventive role of ICTs in non-violent change. The Arab uprising in Tunisia, Egypt, and recently Sudan have demonstrated the power of social media

⁷⁷ Sacha Wunsch, Vincent and Graham Vickery, "Participative Web: User-created Content," OECD Directorate for Science, Technology and Industry. (2007)

⁷⁸ Claudine Pache, "Content curators: The DJs of the web" in Journal of Digital Research & Publishing, 2011 pp 19 – 25.

⁷⁹ Sacha Wunsch, Vincent and Graham Vickery, "Participative Web: User-created Content," OECD Directorate for Science, Technology and Industry. (2007)

networks.⁸⁰ The success of online media revolutions as demonstrated in these countries served as a reference point for protesters in other parts of the world and aroused government consciousness in calls for democratic change. In the past, the press has been described as the mirror.

Similarly, there is enough literature that suggests ways in which ICTs can be exploited effectively by peace and conflict resolution specialists. Most of the studies have however concentrated on use of ICTs approaches before and during conflict at early warning and preventive stages. ICT tools have been used in mapping, mobile penetration, social networking, and online reporting during conflict.⁸¹ These approaches use web based platforms and web technology such as crowdsourcing of information from an online community of users and crowd feeding which is providing information to the community. One of such online platforms is Ushahidi which is used to profile warning signs of a conflict early enough and facilitates conflict deterrence. The platform supports a wide variety of interfaces such as for mobile phone users, web content and SMS. The platform is decentralized and accessible from many parts of the globe.⁸² Such like interventions focus more on getting real time information from first responders and facilitating the appropriate interventions'. Nevertheless, no doubt that social media and content for online audiences can be used in post-conflict stages for peace building and reconstruction.⁸³

⁸⁰ Alex Comninos, "E-revolutions and cyber crackdowns: User-generated content and social networking in protests in MENA and beyond: The internet and social movements in North Africa," Global Information Society Watch 2011: Internet Rights and Democratisation, APC and HIVOS, 2011

⁸¹ Patrick Meier, Early Warning Systems and the Prevention of Violent Conflict, in Peacebuilding in the Information Age: Sifting Hype from Reality, ICT4Peace Foundation, 2011

⁸² Communication for Peacebuilding: Practices, Trends and Challenges, prepared by Search for Common Ground, for the United States Institute of Peace, 20 June 2011. P. 15

⁸³ Joseph G. Bock, The Technology of Nonviolence, Cambridge, MIT Press: 2012, and Peacebuilding in the Information Age: Sifting Hype from Reality, ICT4Peace Foundation, 2011.

With the emergence of new technologies utilized for the distribution of content, the place of media has changed to that of an amplifier. While as election violence has in most cases been experienced since time immemorial, mobile phones usage and online media is a fairly new phenomenon. Social and emerging new media platforms specifically Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and Whatsapp have encouraged interactions between individuals on a range of issues and networking of like-minded groups. These open online spaces have facilitated speedy sharing of unverified information in uncontrolled manner. In cases of political rhetoric and stereotypes, technology then becomes a fertile ground to propagate such content which remain key triggers to incitement and violence. This fast sharing of information intensifies the ways in which individuals, communities, and groups are mobilized to take action.

Like traditional media, new media can contribute in triggering political violence or promoting peace. Social media can be used negatively by both the state and the citizens. During the Arab uprising in Tunisia and Egypt, there were reports that the state using spying software accessed online accounts of the protesters. There were also claims that some protesters who are highly tech savvy could hack into government websites and emails. This loophole on both sides, which allows tracking of what the other party is doing can prove to be detrimental especially in conflict sensitive times.

However, the main challenge with new technologies is a lack of clear law on its regulations. Many countries have introduced new media law and policy in light of the emerging online media influence and its complexity within the regulatory framework and in the conflict context.

Content shared on digital online platforms can compound tensions and easily trigger violence since it passes unregulated. It can further compound hate speech, incitement, cyber bullying, and such like unruly activities which creates a fertile ground for violence when the discussions go past online platforms. In addition, the anonymity nature that the internet offers makes it rather difficult to attribute certain information to which generators. There is the challenge with fake identity that is all common especially when creators want to push certain stories without taking responsibility. Communities can create fake identities to create a perception of huge numbers supporting a certain cause, movement, product or service.

In the 2007, the reality of the effects of new technology and new media were well displayed. Though it was not the first time that Kenya was experiencing elections related clashes, this was recorded as the first time when there was a significant access of vernacular radio stations and an increase in use of mobile phones. On one hand the mobile phones were used in monitoring elections and sending up-to-date voting results. However, the positive contribution of mobile technology was lost in the way mobile phones particularly SMSs used to spread hate and inciting messages.⁸⁴

Ushahidi was first developed to respond to the post-poll chaos experienced in Kenya in late 2007 and a spill over to 2008. The tool has been used for conflict prevention in other countries such as Liberia. Ongoing debates call for the integration of knowledge and

⁸⁴ BBC Monitoring Africa. "Kenya: Mobile phones' messages of hate," February 4, 2008.

practice on how ICTs can be utilized in the context of emerging conflicts and peace building initiatives.⁸⁵

Zimbabweans call for change intensified in 2000 as calls for economic developments and an end to political crisis gained momentum. The government countered the early signs of opposition by frustrating any democratic activities. In early 2008, Zimbabwe's elections were marred with violence pre and post polls. The state broadcasting media carried government propaganda against the antagonism party the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). To counter this, Zimbabweans in the diaspora and many other online supporters utilized new media such as blogs, Twitter, Facebook, news websites and pirate radio to support the opposition.

The government in an offensive cracked down on private owned media leaving many media professionals jobless and with no platform to share information. Many journalists fled the country for asylum abroad. In their safe spaces in the diaspora, the citizens started online community groups including 'pirate' radio which provided alternative news to the state biased broadcasts on unfolding events.

New media opportunities were appropriated by citizens who were within Zimbabwe who exploited mobile phones penetration and availability of 'pirate' radio to disseminate information amid themselves and those in diapora in 2008 elections. SMSs were circulated among voters especially among the opposition circles and elections results from various constituencies were shared and this facilitated in monitoring and tracking the preliminary results.

⁸⁵ Stauffacher, Drake, Currión and Steinberger, Information and Communication Technology for Peace: The Role of ICT in Preventing, responding to and Recovering from Conflict, United Nations ICT Task Force 2005. p. 42

While there is limited research on social media's role in conflict, most conflict analysts agree that online strategies need to be encompassed in the developing of conflict prevention and peace building strategy.⁸⁶ As it is, social media impact in reference to conflict situations is still measured in an adhoc manner. It is critical to define the concepts of online media within the context of conflict since this will allow a better appreciation and integration into conflict resolution framework.⁸⁷

Social media platforms provide a double edged sword; they can be used as tools for cooperation and peace building as well as instruments for incitement leading to violence. For the techno-optimists, new technologies present the opportunities for solutions to political and social violent situations.⁸⁸ Opponents of this position believes that new technologies could pose new threats to peace and co-existence if they are not evaluated in the context of the existing and emerging societal and political challenges.⁸⁹

Online media has significantly impacted the conduct of conflict and the practice of conflict prevention and resolution. The global accessibility of news and events as they unfold has significantly increased information sharing at the international level. People are more informed on happenings from across the globe. There is an increase in number of actors in the information and communication sphere as governments monopoly on news and information continues to diminish. This situation has seen more cooperation between government and actors who are non-state both in political interferences and conflict

⁸⁶ Communication for Peacebuilding: Practices, Trends and Challenges, prepared by Search for Common Ground, for the United States Institute of Peace, 20 June 2011. P. 15.

⁸⁷ Sheldon Himelfarb and Megan Chabalowski, Media, Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding: Mapping the Edges, USIPeace Briefing. United States Institute of Peace, October 2008

⁸⁸ G. Bock, the Technology of Nonviolence, Cambridge, MIT Press: 2012

⁸⁹ Evgeny Morozov, To Save Everything, Click Here: The Folly of Technological Solutionism, New York: Public Affairs, 2013.

resolution mechanisms. The significance and appreciation of the social media in most facets of the society is expected to be on the rise as penetration of the internet and an increase in uptake of mobile phones and use of computers.⁹⁰

2.3 Sensational Reporting

The old maxim in news room ‘if it bleeds, it leads’ to date remains a leading consideration for journalists and editors when determining the news worthiness of a story.⁹¹ In this regard, news that tend to attract a lot of volumes in terms of viewership and readership is given prominence. This notion is driven by a capitalist approach where media stations want to attract advertising and advertisers in turn buys media space where their products and services will reach largest target audiences. This business model results to media entrepreneurs’ pushing for numbers which translates to more advertisers and the impact is more profits.⁹² To achieve this, media practitioners have to make stories appeal to a wider audience to projecting the news item as bigger than it actually is in most times.

Media sensationalism is described as an approach of reporting news in a manner that is intended to invoke strong responses including fear, anger, excitement, and heightened emotions among the targeted audience.⁹³ This is a marketing strategy driven by media companies with the intent of attracting the audience reach, size and create a follow up reporting to make the viewers believe that the media is edging to reporting on a solution

⁹⁰ Eytan Gilboa, “Media and Conflict Resolution: A Framework for Analysis,” (2009)

⁹¹ Serani, D. “If It Bleeds, It Leads: Understanding Fear-Based Media.” (2011)

⁹² Edström-Frejman, Anders. "Diversity of offerings—A profit making strategy for media content?" *Building the knowledge economy*, IOS Press, Amsterdam (2003): 238-245.

⁹³ Ibid

on the current situation.⁹⁴ This way, the audience remain loyal to the station as they await story development.

The media is respected as a public institution that is responsible for informing the citizen on the happenings both locally and internationally. It is the mirror of the society and has been described as the fourth estate.⁹⁵ In this respect, the media acts as a watchdog for other government arms and facilitates in promoting accountability and good governance. With a well-informed public and an independent media, the country is capable of achieving an environment where human rights are respected and rule of law is upheld.⁹⁶ While, to a great extent the media endeavors to achieve this purpose, a section of the media has maintained sensational reporting.

In episodes of conflict, the involvement of the media as a key player is critical by appreciating that media is the only platform and source of news. The public relies on the media for news on the conflict and on the parties to the conflict.⁹⁷ Reportage at this critical moment is essential as it can lead to a conflict or a cessation of violence. The media is also an instrument of making and shaping opinion among the public. The big debate then remains to what extent can the media contribute to escalating or deescalating tensions in a society.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Mehrota, R. "Effects of Media Sensationalism." (2014) <http://www.buzzle.com/articles/effects-of-media-sensationalism.html>

⁹⁵ Edström-Frejman, Anders. "Diversity of offerings—A profit making strategy for media content?" *Building the knowledge economy*, IOS Press, Amsterdam (2003): 238-245.

⁹⁶ Hass, Rabea. "The role of media in conflict and their influence on securitization." *The International Spectator* 44, no. 4 (2009): 77-91.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Hass, Rabea. "The role of media in conflict and their influence on securitization." *The International Spectator* 44, no. 4 (2009): 77-91.

In the case of Kenya, reports indicate that media played an impactful input in the 2008-2008 post poll chaos. Some journalists and senior editors sensationalized their news by reporting on content that bordered hate speech and incitement against certain community members.⁹⁹ In the deeply contested 2017 elections for the presidential position, the debate has remained on whether the media reported the electoral process accurately, fairly and in what would be deemed balanced for the various political parties. Questions still linger on to whether the media covered and presented the politics in tandem with the national good and in an approach that promoted conflict prevention.¹⁰⁰ Though electoral violence was reported in various regions especially those aligned to the opposition politics, the media seemed to keep its role of informing the public.¹⁰¹ Nevertheless, media has been accused of being playing complacent to electoral injustice that saw a repeat presidential election and the swearing in of current President Uhuru Kenyatta. The effect of a bungled elections and a repeat election that was boycotted by the opposition, and later the swearing in of the opposition leader Raila Odinga as the peoples' president was heading the country to a threat to peace and stability.

The media in Kenya could have undertaken a more active role in the whole electoral process to ensure the citizens participated in a free, fair, and transparent elections. Further, the media had an opportunity to follow the voting process and thus offer credible and verifiable results. This section draws examples on media's role in fueling political skirmishes and violence in Kenya and Zimbabwe.

⁹⁹ Chuma, Aeneas, and Ozonnia Ojielo. "Building a Standing National Capacity for Conflict Prevention and Resolution in Kenya." *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development* 7, no. 3 (2012): 25-39.

¹⁰⁰ Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, "A media monitoring Report on the coverage of the Kenya General Elections 2017."

¹⁰¹ Gilboa, Eytan. "Media and conflict resolution: a framework for analysis." *Marq. L. Rev.* 93 (2009): 87.

Media will always be faced with the challenge and the pressure to focus on the juicy and dramatic events in a conflict. However, it's essential for media outlets to remember their social responsibility in their line of duty and therefore to cover violence in a process that is comprehensible to their audience and in terms do not fuel a conflict. Journalists should desist from partisan reporting and from framing personalities and political players when covering a conflict.¹⁰² Media has a part to play in the transformation process in a conflict towards peace and reconciliation. Media in respective countries should be guided by an ethical code of practice detailing how conflicts should be reported as a reference point on the dos and don'ts.

2.4 Media Freedom During Conflict

While most narrative surrounding media in times of conflict has concentrated on media freedom, the role of media as an enabler should not be overlooked. Media while pursuing its independent and protection in fragile states should also be held accountable in its reportage. Journalists must uphold professionalism, ethics and respect the existing regulatory guidelines.

Political polarization of the media was reported in the case of Kenya's post-poll violence. Media practitioners are drawn into their ethnic cocoons and alignment with loyalty for their political parties. Lack of journalistic professionalism was observed as a trigger of exacerbating ethnic and political tensions. Poor journalism practices were linked to post-poll chaos in Kenya. Radio and television hosts were blamed of their inability to moderate political discussions and phone-in contributions from their audiences. Inadequate training of journalists reporting on elections and in conflicts also contributed in factual reporting.

¹⁰² Report, "Voices of war: Conflict and the role of the media." *International Media Support*, (2006)

The debate on whether media outlets should endorse parties or candidates is still ongoing. Opponents of media partisanship argue that there are challenges that are presented with such kinds of positions during and post-elections. Media houses may also be a target from the opposing side which undermines the primary function of the media in a society. Media owners in Kenya have in certain instances been associated with different political sides and thus accused of biased reporting.

Media should strive to remain independent and objective but in most instances this has not been the case. Media has a role to play in political conflicts by providing a platform where opposing political sides can openly express divergent views. This environment can go a long way in providing a safe space that can contribute to reduce polarization.

Media liberty should be exercised within a regulated framework. For instance, the live broadcast of violence should be restricted under a comprehensive media tool which should be developed with input from key stakeholders. Further, media collaboration with state agencies such as security agencies and with other actors in non-profit organizations and the private sector should be harnessed.

The experiences from both Kenya and Zimbabwe offer powerful lessons on how media can be used in promoting peace and democracy while shunning violence and divisions. The media's agenda setting role can focus on building democratic space by informing members of the public on politics, policies, and issues of interests.¹⁰³ Playing partisan reportage especially using local media channels can be destructive as it promotes identity politics,

¹⁰³ Nicole, Stremlau and Monroe Price. "Media, Elections and Political Violence in Eastern Africa: Towards a Comparative Framework," Oxford Occasional Paper (2009).

encourages tribal politics and bribery of media practitioners to push for a certain political narrative.

The government holds the mandate to regulate the media space. In reference to media development in Kenya, there was a mushrooming of media outlets following multi-partism in early 1990s. Private televisions and radio stations were established replacing the prominence of the then Kenya Broadcasting Corporation. The new proliferation was not strictly regulated and state efforts to regulate the stations through banning broadcast, destruction of property, and harassment of media owners and journalists was received negatively. The public expressed sympathy with the targeted media outlet and as a boycott to the national broadcaster, people would turn to others sources of news which were not regulated nor reliable. In a study conducted on media ownership impact on news reporting in Kenya, findings indicated that the Nation media and Standard media reportage of multi-party elections in 2002 and 2008 were influenced by the stakeholders.

The Herald which is a state- sponsored newspaper has always been used as the mouth piece for the government. Most content shared was controlled by relevant government agencies especially in the Ministry of Information.

In Zimbabwe, private-owned media publications such as The Standard and Daily News positioned themselves as the alternative news. The media outlets were founded by business people and media professionals who had been victims of repression under Mugabe's regime.¹⁰⁴ The private media tried to remain independent and report objectively and set the agenda especially in high political times such as the referendum of 2000, elections in 2002,

¹⁰⁴ Mano, W. 2005. Press Freedom, Professionalism & Proprietorship: Behind the Zimbabwean Media Drive. Westminster Papers in Communication & Culture, University of Westminster, London. Special Issue: 56-70

2008, 2009 political transformation and the GNU, and 2013 harmonized elections. Particularly in the founding of the Government of National Unity in 2009 following a long political skirmishes in 2008 electoral period.¹⁰⁵ The newspapers reported fearlessly using cartoons to depict prominent leaders and to pass information in a satirical manner. The period of the coalition government created an environment for more press liberty.

It is key to note that in 2003, the Daily News was forced to close down and it remained shut for a period of seven years. This gave The Herald all the space both in terms of news and commercial as no other media was challenging it in comparison to the Daily News. The state media consistently labelled opposition leaders such as Tsvangirai, members of the civil society and private media as disruptors who were out to further western donors agenda.

The press in Zimbabwe in trying to be independent to date operates under a difficult space marked by harsh media laws including AIPPA and POSA. That makes it rather difficult for media to function independently and with no fear.

Media freedom happens within a state regulatory framework. There are laws which are continuously being amended to reflect the ever changing media space. Self-regulation of the media has been encouraged but in many cases has failed forcing the government to enforce regulation.

¹⁰⁵ Arnsten, I.T. 2010. Committing journalism: A view of the Zimbabwean 2008 general elections as interpreted by internet news cartoons. *Communicare: Journal of Communication Sciences in Southern Africa*, 29, Special Edition, September 2010: 18 – 41.

2.5 Conclusion

The section was devoted to evaluating the role of the media as an enabler to political violence. A comparative analysis between media performance in conflict situations in Kenya and Zimbabwe was carried out. An analysis focused on skewed reporting, use of local vernacular stations, social media reporting, and media freedom during conflicts.

Although the two countries under comparison have different political regimes, varying electoral experiences, and different media landscape, there were similarities in media's contribution in triggering violence. There were also striking differences in regards to media involvement in the cases of Kenya and Zimbabwe.

CHAPTER THREE

COMPARATIVE BETWEEN MEDIA REPORTAGE IN CONFLICTS CASES IN ZIMBABWE AND KENYA

3.0 Introduction

In trying to establish the similarities and differences in media reporting in conflict situation in the cases of Zimbabwe and Kenya, it is paramount to understand the media landscape of the two countries. Kenya's media environment has been hailed as that of media freedom on both traditional and new media platforms. In a sharp contrast, the Zimbabwean media for decades suffered repression under the Mugabe regime. The political situation in both countries has a great influence in how media conducts their reportage and whether the press is independent or suppressed. This chapter explores the similarities and differences in media coverage during the political conflicts period in Kenya and Zimbabwe.

3.1 Media coverage of conflict in Kenya

Media in Kenya has enjoyed a great deal of press freedom although sometimes an environment that is disrupted by the state especially during heightened political periods. The traditional media especially radio and television still remains the most prominent and trusted source of news. Most households own a radio set and penetration of mobile phones with integrated radio makes access possible to majority of listeners. In the recent decade, appreciation of social media as a prominent source of information due to its openness, wide reach and real time breaking of news. A significant number of Kenyans are registered and actively engaged in at least more than two social media platforms.

Media coverage of poll related violence in Kenya has presented a thin line on how reportage has fueled conflicts on one hand and the contribution of the press in peace

building processes. The media in Kenya failed to offer an analysis on recurring violence of different degree in every electoral cycle and rather narrow the conflict to the main political party or personalities contenders in presidential elections. This has left unaddressed root causes of conflicts. The international media was quick to broadcast on the violence that was happening in Kenya thus getting the world's attention. This resulted to Kenyans in the diaspora and the international community calling for peace over the internet. Mediators such as Dr. Kofi Annan and regional leaders paid courtesy calls to Kibaki and Raila in attempts to bring the two parties negotiating for a peace settlement. The local media covered the mediation process and broadcasted news that were geared more on reconciliation. Media outlets jointly aired messages of peace and urged the two main leaders to call upon their supporters to cease violent activities.

3.1.1 Radio coverage during conflict

The liberalization of airwaves in 2004, resulted to a proliferation of radio stations. Previously, Capital FM was the only private station broadcasting in English and was perceived to be elitist. Later Kameme FM, a channel broadcasting in Kikuyu was later launched. By 2009, there had been a massive influx of radio stations estimated to be 103 in number and dominated by vernacular fm stations. Further, reports showed that around 300 frequencies had been licensed although most were not in operation.¹⁰⁶

Radio stations especially vernacular fm such as Kass radio and Kameme fm were accused of broadcasting inciting and hate messages targeted at certain tribes in the respective

¹⁰⁶ African Media Barometer, 2012, The first home grown analysis of the Media landscape in Africa, Kenya, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) p. 9.

regions. Most vernacular stations leaned more towards their ethnic candidates which can be attributed to the nature of their audience.

However, radio also played a key role during the violence and in post-conflict peace processes by advocating for co-existence and oneness. Pomona fm, Ghetto fm and other radio stations were hailed for using their channels to impact positively amidst the temptations to broadcast violence.¹⁰⁷

3.1.2 Television coverage during conflict

Television broadcasting was gaining prominence during the same period as owning a set was becoming more affordable. Television was popular for social as well as a key source of news especially at 7pm and 9pm news broadcast. By 2012, Kenya had at least 20 television channels with only five considered mainstream. In 2015, the shift from the analogue system and transfer into digital destabilized the television coverage as media owners boycotted the government regulation forcing a week's long television shutdown. This was slowly sorted as members of the public were left with no option other than to purchase set of box decoders.

In the 2008-2008 poll related skirmishes, the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation which is a national broadcast was bended on covering President Kibaki more prominently. Reports by the European Union showed that KBC covered Kibaki and his Party of National Unity at 76%, with ODM coverage at 13% and the other parties at only 5%.¹⁰⁸ On the flip side,

¹⁰⁷Lafargue et al (2008). "The General Elections in Kenya, 2007."

¹⁰⁸ Preliminary Statement, European Union Election Monitoring Mission, General Elections 2007(January 1, 2008)

private media gave slightly more coverage to the opposition leader though with attempts to keep a balance in their reportage.¹⁰⁹

Abdi and Deane noted that television coverage by large restrained from content that was inciting or that which could provoke more tensions. Rather, there was a deliberate attempt to report what was going on the ground as factual as possible.¹¹⁰ Mainstream television stations were applauded for exhibiting a level of journalistic professionalism and thus contributing in keeping things calm.¹¹¹ Nevertheless, media ownership influenced the parallel approach of political coverage though overall television broadcast provided credible information and a fair play in political representation during discussions.

3.1.3 Print media coverage of the conflicts

The print media in Kenya remains significant as a niche population of readers as still committed to buying newspapers each morning. There are an estimated six daily publications, seven weekly and a number of regional newspapers in circulation. Some of the leading mainstream dailies include: The Daily Nation by the Nation Media, The Standard, The Star and People Daily, Business Daily, and the East African which is a weekly newspaper covering the larger East African region. The foremost dailies target a certain cadre of readers and its circulated mostly with institutions and offices thus there is a guaranteed circulation. The People Daily is distributed for free to the public. There are also county pull out publications in most dailies to appeal to the 47 county regions.t

¹⁰⁹ UNDP. (2008). The Mass Media and 2007 General Election in Kenya. September Issue. Nairobi, Kenya.

¹¹⁰ Abdi, J. & Deane, J., 2008, 'The Kenyan 2007 elections and their aftermath: The role of media and communications,' BBC World Service Trust, viewed June 13, 2011, http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/trust/pdf/kenya_policy_briefing_08.pdf. 94

¹¹¹ Rambaud, B., 2009, 'Caught between information and condemnation: The Kenyan media in the December 2007 elections,' Nairobi IFRA Special Issue: The General Elections. Kenya 2007.

Due to the changing media landscape as necessitated by new media, the distribution of printed newspapers has drastically reduced over the years from an estimated 800 000 to a circulation of between 350,000-500,000 for all dailies.

To beat growing competition, print media has adopted a sensational approach to reporting with screaming headlines to encourage readers to buy the papers. The print media coverage of the 2008 post-poll chaos was also criticized for publishing gory images of victims of the violence.¹¹² The print media is reported to have displayed a consistent level of coverage for the main party contenders.

3.1.4 Social media Reportage of conflict

Social media platforms in Kenya are like a double edged sword. On one side they have been used to champion for different causes and campaigns for social rights, democracy, rule of law, good governance, calling out on corrupt individuals and whistle blowing.¹¹³ On the other hand, the new media has been abused as a tool to fuel incitement, abhorrence speech and a greater contributor to divisive politics along ethnic lines. This is a position that President Uhuru Kenyatta noted when he addressed Kenyans living in the United States to exploit social media positively and avoid spreading hate against others.¹¹⁴

Social and digital media innovations such as Facebook, Twitter and WhatsApp among others are instrumental in agenda setting. This has seen traditional media have their presence online by having social media accounts for the media channels. This had enabled

¹¹² Reporters without Borders. "How far to go? Kenya's media caught in the turmoil of a failed election (2008).

¹¹³ Castells,

¹¹⁴ "Stop hate-speech-on-social-media-uhuru-kenyatta-tells-kenyans," Daily Nation, 2018.

real time sharing of news. Old media such as radio and television in some instances take story leads from online media and follow up on the news story.

3.2 Media coverage of conflict in Zimbabwe

In Zimbabwe, the state has a lot of control over the press in comparison to Kenya which has seen the media evolve into what has been described as a free media. The private media in Zimbabwe has been highly critical of the government especially Mugabe's regime while the state media has worked tirelessly as the state's mouth piece. Since 2013, some factions of the state- owned media started reporting in a rather factual manner rather than countering propaganda.

Media in Zimbabwe caused political polarization in that the private and state press would rarely have similar views regarding most of the matters of public interest. While such division offers an opportunity for journalists to pursue a line of objectivity, the media practitioners did not appear to see the opportunity in this.

3.2.1 Radio reportage of conflict in Zimbabwe

The state sponsored radio stations mainly the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation and National FM have been used as a tool of propaganda by the government. Radio Zimbabwe has a wide coverage across the country which translates to its impact on the listeners. ZANU PF has projected in a certain way with MDC vilified most of the times.

State broadcasting outlets in Zimbabwe falls short of the media standards of fair and balanced coverage of political players. Most coverage during the campaigns only focused on the two main parties, locking other political players out of limelight. The media both private and state had endorsed political leaders as winners during the elections with state

media having endorsed Emmerson Mnangagwa and ZANU PF while the private media had preferred Nelson Chamisa as the presidential choice.

The 'pirate' stations provided a platform for their audience to connect with the opposition before, during, and post elections in an environment where media freedom was restricted.¹¹⁵ The stations provide detailed coverage on the electoral process from voting, results and updates on the violence. Encouraging to note is that the radio stations had a wide network of stringers thus managed to cover a wide area including remote regions. The journalists were well organized to ensure that any person who had a story on the ground but was unable to text or call for lack of phone airtime would send a message on a provided free number and the stations would follow up to get the story. Members of the public could also share leads on violence and a stringer in the area would follow up for a complete story coverage.¹¹⁶

'Pirate' radio stations collaborated with non-for-profit organizations that supplied radios to persons in marginalized areas to ensure they accessed alternative news. Following the loss of elections in March 29, Zanu-PF started raiding homes to confiscate the radio sets by forcing the owners to hand them in, throw them away or to use the radios in secret places like in the forest. 'Pirate' stations displayed a level of journalistic professionalism in the 2008 elections coverage.

¹¹⁵ Moyo, Last. "Participation, citizenship, and pirate radio as empowerment: The case of radio dialogue in Zimbabwe." *Piracy Cultures: How a Growing Portion of the Global Population Is Building Media Relationships Through Alternate Channels of Obtaining Content* (2013).

¹¹⁶ Admire Mare (2013) New media, pirate radio and the creative appropriation of technology in Zimbabwe: case of Radio Voice of the People, *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 25:1, 30-41, DOI:

3.2.2 Television reportage of conflict in Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation is the national broadcaster and state sponsored. Continued the Zanu-PF party propaganda with no consideration of the opposition supporters who were forced to rely on ‘pirate’ stations and on mobile phones. The alternative media platforms for those who desisted ZBC were Voice of America and Radio VOP, both of which were broadcasting outside Zimbabwe.

3.2.3 Print coverage of the Zimbabwe conflict

Daily News one of the leading private newspaper has been pro-active in reporting in accordance to public interest although many times the media outlet has suffered state restrictions.¹¹⁷ Print media in Zimbabwe did not carry out inciting messages or hate messages based on political affiliations or ethnic profiling. Political articles dominated the front pages in print media pre, during and after elections. The private dailies set the agenda for the opposition leaders as the winning candidate for the elections.

3.2.4 Social media coverage of the conflict in Zimbabwe

The emergence of new media has been exploited by an active online community as campaign platforms. In a country like Zimbabwe where media restrictive is still high, the availability of social and online media is well appreciated and utilized.

Pirate radio in Zimbabwe has demonstrated the resilience of this new media strategies and how powerful they are. The ‘pirate’ stations managed a website that was update with breaking news and this platform was accessed from across the globe by anyone who was

¹¹⁷ Ibid

interested in the unfolding events in Zimbabwe.¹¹⁸ Perpetrators of the conflict were named and shamed via SMSs which were circulated widely. Twitter was not utilized in the 2008 elections in Zimbabwe since broadband was lacking. New online media including mobile SMSs, and WhatsApp have been critical information sharing platforms in most countries with oppressive political regimes and Zimbabwe is a good study case. Zimbabweans in the diaspora exploited the use of the internet to communicate among themselves.

3.3 Conclusion

This section focused the similarities of media coverage of political conflicts between Kenya and Zimbabwe. There are significant differences owing to the media land scape in the two countries. Kenya enjoys a free and fairly independent media regime while in Zimbabwe, for a long time media restrictions have been placed on the private media. In terms of developments of media trends, both countries have experienced tremendous growth.

¹¹⁸ Admire Mare (2013) New media, pirate radio and the creative appropriation of technology in Zimbabwe: case of Radio Voice of the People, *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 25:1, 30-41, DOI:

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF MEASURES TAKEN TO CURB ETHNIC CONFLICT IN KENYA AND ZIMBABWE

4.0 Introduction

This chapter encapsulates the analysis of the study and the section includes the interpretation and implication of the findings. The chapter gives an outline on both the rate by which questionnaires were returned and the characteristics of those who provided their responses. The chapter further presents general information of the study sample population and descriptive data for the study population sample regarding media involvement in political instigated conflicts and peace processes in the case of Kenya and Zimbabwe.

4.1 Questionnaire Return Rate

A total of 140 questionnaires were shared, with 102 returned back, therefore with a 72.86 percent reaction rate. Mugenda and Mugenda states that an audience feedback rate of 50% is ample although 60% is desirable, while that of 70% is favored.¹¹⁹ In this study, a response rate of 72.86% out of a hundred is thus considered to be a fair representation.

4.2 Demographic Distribution of Respondents

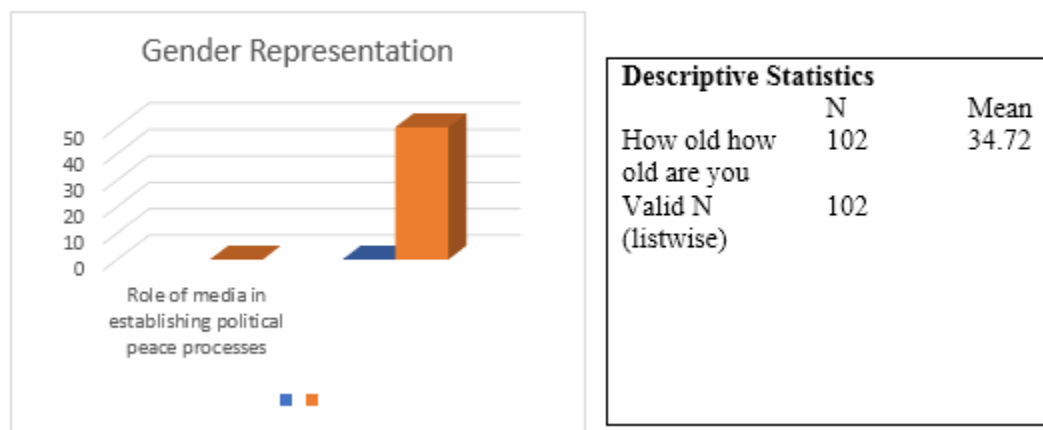
The information of respondents in terms of age, gender, academic level and employment levels were analysed and the results presented in tables and charts. A total 102 respondents were incorporated in the survey and of the 102 respondents, 64% were females while 36% were male in Kenya with a representation of 58% females and 42% male for Zimbabwe.

¹¹⁹ Mugenda, O.M. and Mugenda, A.G. *Research Methods, Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches* (2003).

In Kenya, 64% had attained university education and registered a regular source of income in contrast to 58% respondents in Zimbabwe. The average age of those who provided feedback was 35 years in both Kenya and Zimbabwe. Figure 1 and 2 below shows demographic physiognomies of the respondents.

Figure 1 and Figure 2

Figure 1 and Figure 2



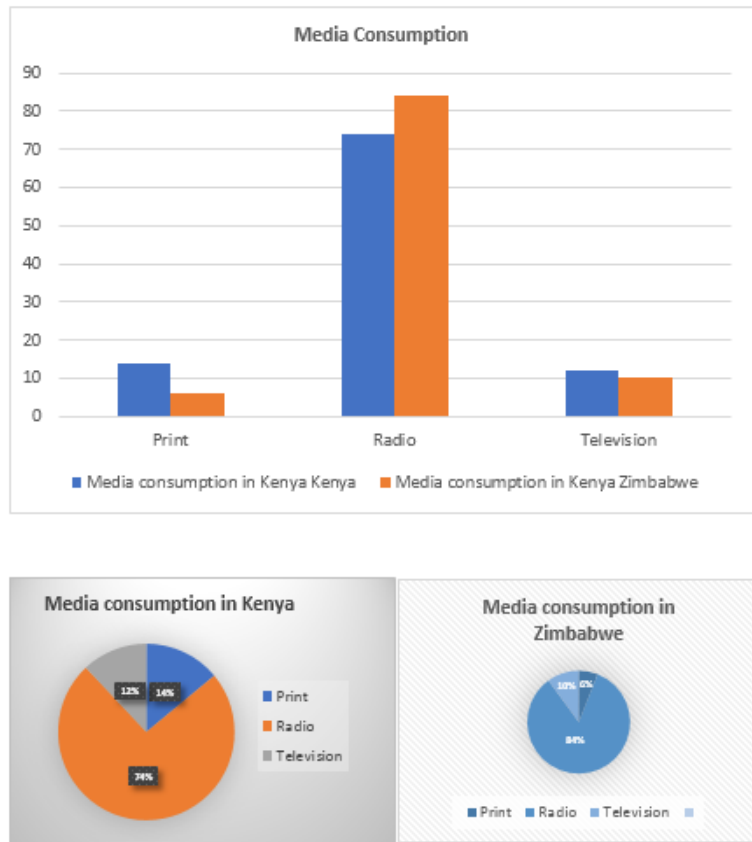
4.3 Source of media consumption

The data utilized for the study was collected from listeners of Radio Citizen, Kass FM, Inooro FM, and Ghetto Fm, Daily Nation, Standard Newspaper, Citizen TV, KBC and NTV in parts of Nairobi, Rift Valley region, Nyanza and parts of the Coast region representing Kenya. Data from Zimbabwe was collected from Nation FM, ZBC, and Daily News. From the data, majority of audience relied on radio at 74%, with 14% relying on print media and 12% on television and this was evident that most of the listeners cited Radio Citizen, Kass FM, Inooro FM, and Ghetto Fm in the sampled regions of Nairobi, Rift Valley, Nyanza, and the Coast areas in Kenya. Similarly, 84% of respondents in Zimbabwe reported to have followed news more on radio, with only 10% watching news

and 6% on print media. As indicated in the figure below, media consumption in Kenya and Zimbabwe had similar reflections.

Figure 3 and 4: Media consumption

Figure 3 and 4: Media consumption



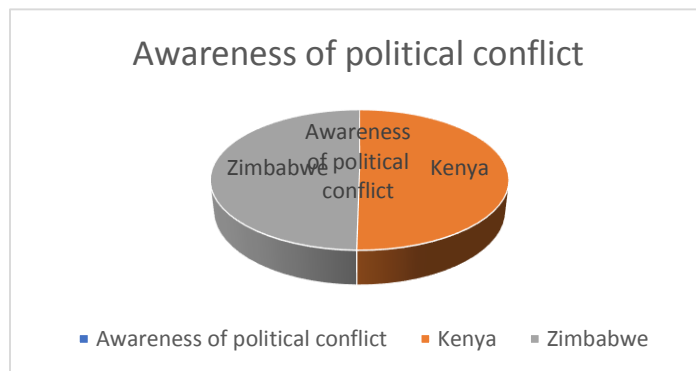
The findings designate that most of the consumers of radio content are of mature age with a mean of 34.72. The findings on age translates to the likelihood that as a result of their maturity, most listeners are mature enough to discern and be guided by information from radio reportage. It also indicates an awareness of the happenings in the society, as this mean age is capable of engaging in critical analysis. Persons who are 34 years in both urban and rural set-ups in most African societies are also likely to be married, and would therefore be

concerned about inter-ethnic and political conflicts that may affect or destabilize their families, leading to further deeper consciousness.

4.4 Episodes of political conflict in Kenya and in Zimbabwe

To investigate the level of awareness of episodes of political skirmishes in Kenya and Zimbabwe, the audience were asked to state if they were aware of episodes of political violence. 99.9% of the respondent in both cases reported of a high cognizance of conflict. The findings were presented in pie chart below.

Figure 4: Awareness of episodes of political conflict in Kenya and Zimbabwe



The findings indicate that every respondent was aware that there was politically instigated conflict. This could be attributed to the widespread media coverage in periods of political conflicts. The results show that the respondents continued to receive news and information on political conflicts during and after the incidence. The fact that all respondents reacted that they were aware of political conflict gives more confidence on the accuracy of their responses. This response points to the importance of this study that there is need to understand what this awareness means in terms of responses and attitudes to political conflicts. It further reduces the margin of error in the research findings as it confirms that

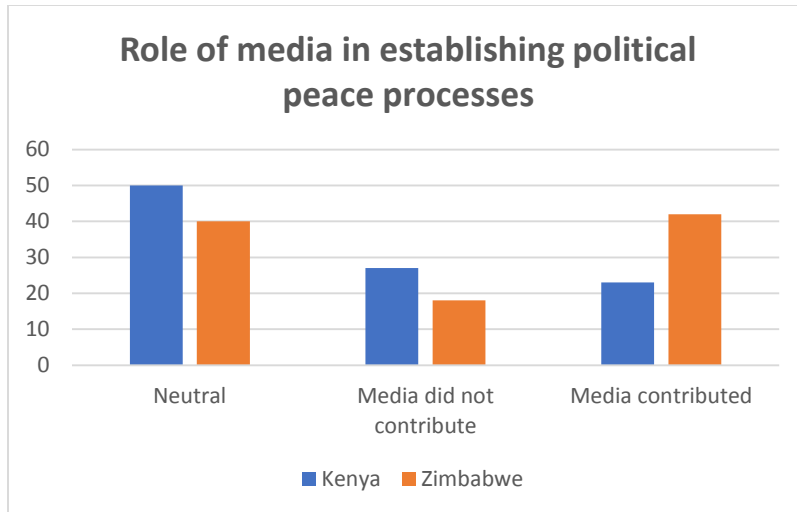
all the respondents made their views on a fairly well informed basis, and having first-hand experience of media's reportage of the during the electoral phase.

All respondents expressed knowledge of past poll conflicts with the most in Kenya mentioning the 2007-2008 after elections chaos, followed by 2013 post-poll skirmishes. Other forms of conflicts mentioned included border clashes, and pastoralists' respectively. It is key to note that most conflicts in Kenya took a tribal dimension. This knowledge placed the respondents on a foundation in which they could place context in 2007 inter-ethnic conflict instigated by a disputed elections and this was important for informed responses.

Most data responses on Zimbabwe mentioned the 2013 and 2005 as some of the electoral cycles marred by most violence with incidences in 2017 and 2018 as citizens call for ZANU PF leader President Mugabe to vacate office intensified. The political protests witnessed widespread force from security officers.

4.5 Role of media in establishing political peace processes

To establish media's engagement in political peace processes, issues such as whether the media contributed to ending/stopping political violence were considered. The findings were presented as below.

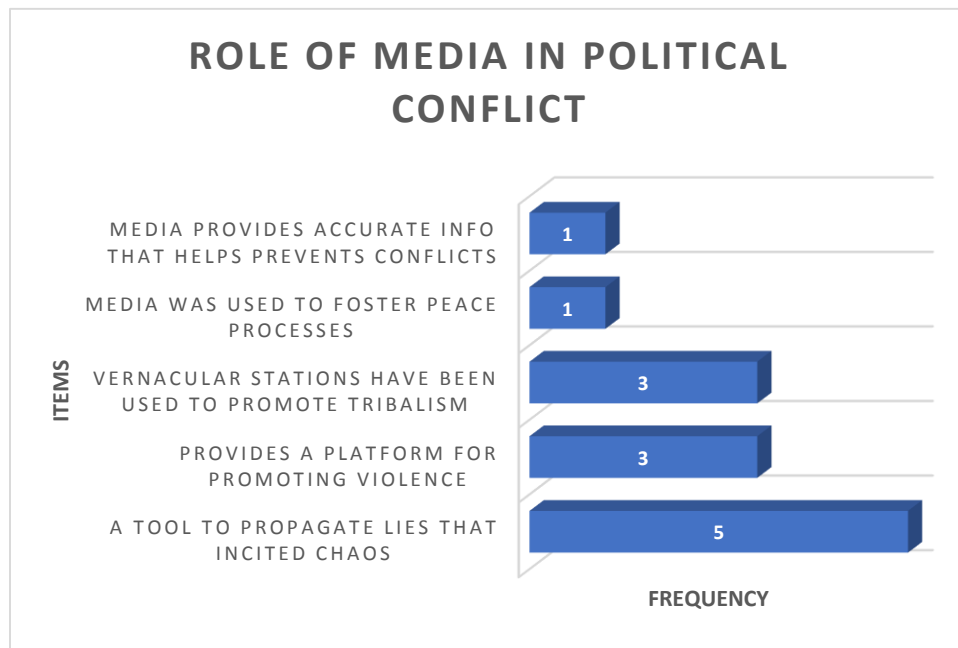


The table above reveals the core beliefs of the respondent regarding the media's input and responsibility in political conflicts. 98% of the respondents expressed opinion that the media had a role in political chaos while 75% also believed that the media had contributed to political-ethnic conflict. This shows the high percentage of responsibility that society places on the media. Being the majority's chief basis of news, respondent believe that the media can fan or end conflict.

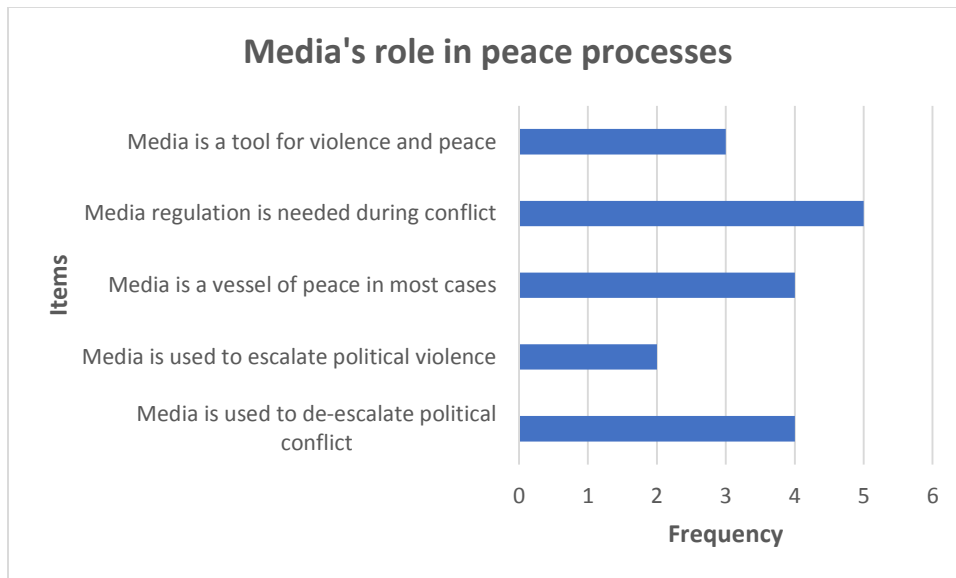
The question on how much the respondent believe the media contributed to ending or stopping the conflicts is instructive to note as there appears to be no clear conviction that the media played this role as expected. 50% of the respondent were neutral in their responses, while the rest were ambivalent, neither affirming nor dismissing media's input in ending the conflict. 27% were of the view that the media had not in any way contributed to stopping the violence. Only 23% believed that the media had contributed to ending political related conflict in the case of Kenya. In Zimbabwe, 42% mentioned that the media was critical in deescalating or stopping conflict, while 18% indicated the media did not contribute to ending the conflict with 40% remaining neutral on media's engagement. It can be inferred therefore that the media failed in this particular role. The study elicited the

respondents' views on media's contribution in establishing political peace settlement. Respondents were further probed on how media influences peace or political conflict. The below bar graphs represent the most repeated themes.

Figure 5 Media influences on political peace processes



From the table above, most respondents expressed that media has been used as a tool to propagate lies and incite the public into political conflict. Respondents also felt that the media can be a direct source of incitement to conflict, if its coverage influences a significant population. However, a few were of the opinion that the media can be used as a tool of preaching peace and especially during heightened political periods. Generally, the study shows that a big part of the population recognizes the danger of a media that allows itself to be used to propagate violence or become a source of incitement.



While most of those who gave feedback for the study indicated that media can be utilized either as a tool for peace as well as violence, there was a general consensus that media regulation is needed during political conflicts. A significant number of respondents were of the opinion that media is used in escalating and de-escalating conflicts. These results prove that with the opportunities that the media has in during conflicts, most respondents expressed that media regulation is needed as this will curtail irresponsible media practices.

4.6 A Comparison of media coverage in Kenya and Zimbabwe political conflict

4.6.1 Similarities and differences

The study examined both similarities and differences concurrently on the highlighted themes. There were occurrences where the media worked in similar ways in Kenya and Zimbabwe, while in some instances, there were key differences.

4.6.1.1 Hate and inciting messages

The media in Kenya and Zimbabwe allowed the broadcast of hate and inciting messages during their coverage particularly on radio. The use of hateful messages pitting a

community or a group against another can trigger tensions that can easily erupt to violence. Although hate speech or messages may not always lead to physical violence, in many instances they create divisions among groups. This creates such negative impact which remains long after the violence has been resolved. In Kenya, it has been observed that vernacular radio stations broadcast messages that were inciting one community against another and this triggered the profiling and attacks against the targeted ethnic group.¹²⁰ In Zimbabwe, a similar coverage was witnessed. Radio reportage in both countries fell short of journalistic ethics.

Radio personalities are influential within their target audience and thus can be powerful tools when it comes to triggering conflicts or for calling for peace.

4.6.1.2 Ethnicity in Media

Ethnic politics was a common occurrence in media coverage in Kenya and Zimbabwe. This was however not so preference in Zimbabwe. In Kenya, political contests have in most instances taken an ethnic twist as politicians galvanize their communities along tribal lines. Some communities have suffered historical injustices which politicians bring up during electoral period.

4.6.1.3 International media reportage of Kenya and Zimbabwe conflict

Media play a critical role in framing stories for their audience and set agenda for the public. The international media has been accused of bias when covering conflicts in Africa. In Kenya, the political period attracts a lot of foreign journalists representing the mainstream international media, who in many cases reported the incidences exaggeratedly. In

¹²⁰ Keith Somerville, 2011, 'Violence, hate speech and inflammatory broadcasting in Kenya: The problems of definition and identification,' *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies* 32:1, p. 235.

Zimbabwe, the international media faced intimidation from the government following pro-west reportage which in most cases profiled and vilified the ZANU PF leadership as a dictatorial regime.

4.6.1.4 Media Ownership and political conflict

Media owners were observed to take side in their reportage in both Kenya and Zimbabwe. The private media in Zimbabwe endorsed the opposition leaders and framed their news towards a perception that their candidate was the ultimate winner. The state broadcast media was biased in their coverage and much of the time the ZANU PF electoral events including campaigns and the different processes. In Kenya, the state media favors the ruling regime in most cases.

The private media in Kenya has covered political processes by giving a fair and balanced coverage for most political players. In some specific electoral cycles, some private media have endorsed a certain political party or leader not through an open declaration but by giving more attention to a candidate. In 2012 and 2017, the Royal media services were observed to have taken side in their coverage by supporting the opposition leader Raila Odinga. In a state retaliation, the media outlet has suffered raids and closure from government agencies. In both cases of Kenya and Zimbabwe, it was a common occurrence for media to take sides during the political processes. On contrast, the media unified in spreading peace messages in both cases.

4.7 Summary of the Study Objectives

This chapter studied data collected, analyzed data and made findings and discussions. From the study outcomes, most respondents expressed the opinion that media had a key role in contributing to political conflicts. However, majority remained neutral in media's

contribution in ending political conflicts. Despite negative media influence, majority still expressed that similarly the media played an essential role in peace processes. A significant number indicated that media regulation is important especially during coverage of conflict situations.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

Media is a key institution in any society. Media coverage during conflict serves as a tool for good or for evil depending on how it is used. It is the responsibility of the media to act in a fair, objective, accurate, and balanced way. Self-regulation of the media will be the ideal situation but in government regulations is also necessary as long as it's within a certain framework and does not suppress media freedom.

The study relied on data collected from media professionals including editors, journalists, media managers, media owners, members of the public, and conflict analysts from the non-profit organizations. This chapter recapitulates the outcomes of the study and in light of that highlights a conclusion and commendations necessitated by the study.

5.1 Summary

This research study examined media's role in political conflict with a focus on the case of Kenya and Zimbabwe. It did this by reviewing the theoretical role of media coverage during politically motivated conflicts. The study conducted interviews and administered questionnaires to media professionals and consumers of news for radio, print, and broadcast stations in Kenya and Zimbabwe. Anchored on the general objective of this study hypothesized that skewed media coverage during heightened electoral periods contributed to an escalation of poll conflicts. On that point of departure, the study high marked the role of the media in escalating conflicts.

Listing of literature, have established that media contributes significantly in political conflicts. This is done directly or indirectly by broadcasting content that fuels ethnic tensions which often results to partisan conflicts. In addition, the study recognized the crucial role of the media in peace processes. The findings based on existing literature are echoed by the outcomes of this study which suggests that media falls at the epicenter of politically instigated conflicts.

5.2 Conclusion

The key objective that necessitated this study was to survey media's role in political conflicts. The findings conclude that the media was responsible for contributing to triggering incitement and hate speech that erupted to political violence. This was reflected in both Kenya and Zimbabwe.

The role of media in conflict situation remains a big debate especially in the context of the developing discourse of peace journalism. The media should remain independent and free so as to fulfill its key obligations. Media practitioners should exercise professional journalism which includes reporting on factual information about a conflict, and remaining non-partisan. for future research in media's contribution during conflict situations in the case of Kenya and Zimbabwe.

5.3 Recommendations

In light of the outcomes, the study provides the following recommendations and policy suggestions:

1. Establish an independent media regulatory authority that continuously conducts media monitoring activities and profile media outlets that air inappropriate content.

2. Media practitioners must take lessons and regular professional training courses on media ethics and conflict reporting to ensure they make ethical considerations in difficult coverage situations.
3. Stern action should be taken on media owners, journalists and media outlets found to be broadcasting hate content that can jeopardize peaceful existence.
4. The government should protect media freedom and right of expression for all citizens.

5.4 Suggestion on Area for Further Study

This study suggests that further comparative study focusing particularly on online and social media and the role they play in escalating conflicts or promoting peace. This will help to get more lessons and policy implications on new media trends and to strengthen media's resilience against propaganda reporting.

REFERENCES

- Abdi, J. & Deane, J., 2008, 'The Kenyan 2007 elections and their aftermath: The role of media and communications,' BBC World Service Trust, viewed June 13.
- Admire Mare (2013) New media, pirate radio and the creative appropriation of technology in Zimbabwe: case of Radio Voice of the People, *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 25:1, 30-41, DOI:
- African Media Barometer, 2012, The first home grown analysis of the Media landscape in Africa, Kenya, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) p. 9.
- Alex Comminos, "E-revolutions and cyber crackdowns: User-generated content and social networking in protests in MENA and beyond: The internet and social movements in North Africa," *Global Information Society Watch 2011: Internet Rights and Democratisation*, APC and HIVOS, 2011.
- Anderson James A, (1996), *Communication Theory Epistemological Foundations*, the Guilford Press.
- Anderson, David and Emma Lochery. "Violence and Exodus in Kenya's Rift Valley, 2008: Predictable and Preventable?" *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 2, No. 2 (2008): 328-343.
- Arnsten, I.T. 2010. Committing journalism: A view of the Zimbabwean 2008 general elections as interpreted by internet news cartoons. *Communicare: Journal of Communication Sciences in Southern Africa*, 29, Special Edition, September 2010: 18 – 41.

- Baran Stanley J. and Davis Dennisk, 2006, Mass Communication Theory Foundations, Ferment and Future, 4th
- BBCWST, (2008), The Kenya 2007 elections and their Aftermath: The role of Media and
- Blair, D. 2002. Degrees in Violence: Robert Mugabe and the Struggles for Power in Zimbabwe. London: Continuum.
- Bond, P. & Manyanya, M. 2002. Zimbabwe's Plunge: Exhausted Nationalism, Neocolonialism and the Search for Social Justice, University of KwaZulu Natal Press: Durban.
- Bonior, D., Champlin, S., & Kolly, T. (1984). The vietnam Veteran - A History of Neglect. New York: Preager.
- Buric, A. (2000). Media, War and peace in Bosnia. In E. David (Ed.), Regional Media in Conflict (p. pp 64). London: Institute for War and Peace Reporting.
- Chretien, S., Spurk, L., & Christopher, J. (1995). Media and Peacebuilding, Concepts, Actors and Challenges. KOFF: SwissPeace.
- Chuma, Aeneas, and Ozonnia Ojielo. "Building a Standing National Capacity for Conflict Prevention and Resolution in Kenya." Journal of Peacebuilding & Development 7, no. 3 (2012): 25-39.
- Claudine Pache, "Content curators: The DJs of the web" in Journal of Digital Research & Publishing, 2011 pp 19 – 25.
- Cohen B.C. (1963), The Press and Foreign Policy, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, p.13.

Communication for Peacebuilding: Practices, Trends and Challenges, prepared by Search for Common Ground, for the United States Institute of Peace, 20 June 2011. P. 15.

Cooper, D. and Schindler, P. S. (2006). Business research methods. London: McGraw-Hill.

Cooper, D. R., & Schindler, P. S. (2008). Business research methods (8th Ed). New Delhi: Tata McGraw-Hill Publishing Company. India.

Crosswell, N. (2009). Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches. (3rd, Ed.) London: Sage.

Dagne, Ted. "Kenya: The December 2007 Elections and the Challenges Ahead." Congressional Research Service Report for Congress (P CRS-4), September 17, 2008.

Dallaire Romeo, the media dichotomy, 2007, in Thomson Allan (ed), The Media and Rwanda Genocide, 2007, p42

edition, Thompson Wadsworth, p.316.

Edström-Frejman, Anders. "Diversity of offerings—A profit making strategy for media content?" Building the knowledge economy, IOS Press, Amsterdam (2003): 238-245.

Ekwo, Uchenna, 2001, "Nigeria's media in crisis-prone democracy", In Reporting Conflicts, Lagos: Mass

Electoral Reform International Services. (2011). Broadcasting a peaceful future. London.: 6 Chancel Street Press.

European Union Election Observation Mission. "Kenya General Election Preliminary Statement," January 1, 2008.

Evgeny Morozov, *To Save Everything, Click Here: The Folly of Technological Solutionism*, New York: Public Affairs, 2013.

Eytan Gilboa, "Media and Conflict Resolution: A Framework for Analysis," (2009).

G. Bock, *the Technology of Nonviolence*, Cambridge, MIT Press: 2012.

Gilboa, Eytan. "Media and conflict resolution: a framework for analysis." *Marq. L. Rev.* 93 (2009): 87.

GoK. (2008). *Report of the Commission of inquiry into post-election violence in Kenya*. Nairobi: Government Printers.

Gowing, N. (1994). *Real-Time Coverage of Armed Conflicts and Diplomatic Crises: Does it Pressure or Distort Foreign Policy Decisions?* US Security - Working Paper 94-1.

Hass, Rabea. "The role of media in conflict and their influence on securitization." *The International Spectator* 44, no. 4 (2009): 77-91.

Heiber, A. (2001). *Elections campaigns, balance and the mass media*. World Bank, Workshop Report, Washington

Howard, R. (2003). *The Power of the media: A handbook for peacebuilder*. Utrecht, Netherlands: European Centre for Conflict Prevention.

Iyengar, S. (1991), *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues*, Chicago, University of

Iyengar, S. and D.R. Kinder (1987), *News that matter: Television and America opinion*, Chicago, University of

- Jaffe, Louis L. "The Editorial Responsibility of the Broadcaster: Reflections on Fairness and Access." (1972) 85(4) *Harvard Law Review* 768-92 <doi:10.2307/1339992> accessed 5 July 2019.
- Joseph G. Bock, *The Technology of Nonviolence*, Cambridge, MIT Press: 2012, and *Peacebuilding in the Information Age: Sifting Hype from Reality*, ICT4Peace Foundation, 2011.
- Joyner, Christopher C. "Broadcasting for Peace and Human Rights." (2003) 5 (2) *International Studies Review* 239-41.
- Juliana, (2008). 'Report on Post-Election Violence in Kenya'. Un Human rights team, March 20, 2008.
- Kaldor, S. (2001). *Canada and International Peacekeeping*. Washington DC: Center for Strategic and International Studies.
- Keith Somerville, 2011, 'Violence, hate speech and inflammatory broadcasting in Kenya: The problems of definition and identification,' *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies* 32:1, p. 235.
- KNCHR <http://nipate.com/omar-s-knchr-definition-of-hate-speech-t8927.html>, accessed on 10th March 2019.
- Kothari, C.R,2004, *Research methodology, methods and techniques: Rajasthan*, New age International Publishers
- Kuhn, T.S (1970), *The Structure of scientific revolutions*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, p.111.

- Lang, K and G.E. Lang, (1983), *The Battle for public Opinion: The President, the press and the Polls during*
- Larfague, J, (2009): *The General Elections in Kenya*, Nairobi: IFRA.
- Lenhe, S. (2012). *The Big Three in EU Foreign Policy*. Carnegie Europe. Accessed on 15th December, 2016 from <http://carnegieeurope.eu/2012/07/05/big-three-in-eu-foreign-policy-pub-48759>
- Making peace, not war: the role of the media in Kenya,” *The Guardian*, July, 23, 2009, retrieved September 9, 2019.
- Mano, W. 2005. *Press Freedom, Professionalism & Proprietorship: Behind the Zimbabwean Media Drive*.
- McCombs, M. E and D.L. Shaw (1972), *The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media*, *Public Opinion Quarterly*
- McQuail, M (2005), *McQuail’s Mass Communication Theory*, 5TH edition, New Delhi, Vistaar Publications.
- Media Foundation for West Africa. (2011, April 18). *Ban on international media lifted by Ouattara government*. Retrieved March 18, 2013, from *International Freedom of Expression Exchange*: <http://www.ifex.org/>
- Mehrota, R. “Effects of Media Sensationalism.” (2014)
<http://www.buzzle.com/articles/effects-of-media-sensationalism.html>.
- Metzl, J. (1997). *Information intervention: When switching channels isn’t enough*. *US Foreign Affairs*, 76 (6), pp. 17-20.

- MFAF. (2009, April). Media Focus on Africa Foundation Centre for Independent Research (CIR). National Integration and Cohesion Report
- Morgenthau, H., & Thompson, K. (1985). Politics among nations. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Moyo, Last. "Participation, citizenship, and pirate radio as empowerment: The case of radio dialogue in Zimbabwe." Piracy Cultures: How a Growing Portion of the Global Population Is Building Media Relationships Through Alternate Channels of Obtaining Content (2013).
- MRG. (2013). Annual survey: Hate crime towards minorities and indigenous peoples in Africa. Minority Rights Group International. London: Commercial Street Press.
- Mugenda, O. M., and Mugenda, A. G. (2003). Research methods: Quantitative and qualitative approaches. Nairobi: Acts Press.
- Mutua Ekzekiel, thesis 2010, Media and Social Responsibility: an investigation into Post-Election violence
- Mwagiru, M (2008), The Water's Edge: Mediation of violent Electoral Conflict in Kenya, Nairobi, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies
- Ndlela, Nkosi, 2005. The African Paradigm: The Coverage of the Zimbabwean Crisis in the Norwegian Media, University College of Hedmark, Norway
(http://www.wmin.ac.uk/mad/pdf/zim_art5.pdf (accessed November 2007)
<https://www.peaceinsight.org/conflicts/zimbabwe/>

Nicole, Stremlau and Monroe Price. "Media, Elections and Political Violence in Eastern Africa: Towards a Comparative Framework," Oxford Occasional Paper (2009).

number of internally displaced people in Kenya ranging from around 150,000 to 600,000.

OCHA, Kenya Weekly Humanitarian Update, vol. 8, 28 Feb – 03 March, 2008. There are various estimates of the

Osborn, Michelle. "Fuelling the Flames: Rumour and Politics in Kibera." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 2, No. 2 (2008): 315-327.

Patrick Meier, *Early Warning Systems and the Prevention of Violent Conflict, in Peacebuilding in the Information Age: Sifting Hype from Reality*, ICT4Peace Foundation, 2011.

Political Communication, Mass Communication and Society, p.309.

Preliminary Statement, European Union Election Monitoring Mission, General Elections 2007(January 1, 2008).

Prunier, G., (2008). Kenya: The Roots of Crisis. 7th January 2008http://www.opendemocracy.net/article/kenya_roots_of_crisis

Rambaud, B., 2009, 'Caught between information and condemnation: The Kenyan media in the December 2007 elections,' Nairobi IFRA Special Issue: The General Elections. Kenya 2007.

Report of the Findings of the Commission of Inquiry into Post-Election Violence. Oct 15, 2008.

Report, "Voices of war: Conflict and the role of the media." International Media Support, (2006).

- Reporters without Borders. “How far to go? Kenya’s media caught in the turmoil of a failed election (2008).
- Robinson, P. (1999). ‘The CNN Effect: can the news media drive foreign policy’, *Review of International Studies* 25(2): 301-9.
- Romeo Dallaire is a retired Lieutenant-General. He led the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda
- Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung, “A media monitoring Report on the coverage of the Kenya General Elections 2017.”
- Rugumanu, T. (2002). *Studies in Reconstruction and capacity building in post conflict countries in Africa: some lesson of experience from Uganda and Harare*. Africa capacity building foundation, Vol IV
- Sacha Wunsch, Vincent and Graham Vickery, “Participative Web: User-created Content,” OECD Directorate for Science, Technology and Industry. (2007).
- Scheufele, D.A (2000), *Agenda-Setting, Priming and Framing revisited: Another look at Cognitive Effects of*
- Serani, D. “If It Bleeds, It Leads: Understanding Fear-Based Media.” (2011).
- Sheldon Himelfarb and Megan Chabalowski, *Media, Conflict Prevention and Peacebuilding: Mapping the Edges*, USIPeace Briefing. United States Institute of Peace, October 2008.
- Spurk, M. (2002). *Multi-Party Politics in Kenya*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Srivastava, S. (2009). *The Role of the Media in Foreign Policy: A Decision-Making*. 7th AMSAR Conference on Roles of Media during Political Crisis. Bangkok

- Stauffacher, Drake, Currión and Steinberger, *Information and Communication Technology for Peace: The Role of ICT in Preventing, responding to and Recovering from Conflict*, United Nations ICT Task Force 2005. p. 42.
- Struges, D. (2007). *Third-Party Techniques for Preventing Conflict Escalation and Promoting Peaceful Settlement*. *International Organization*, No. 4: 653-681.
- Taylor, P. M. (1997). *Global Communications, International Affairs and the Media since 1945* (1st ed.). (N. I. Series., Ed.) London: Routledge
- Terzis, G., & Melone, S. (2002). *Using the Media for Conflict Transformation*, London: Pluto Press.
- Thompson, A. (2007). *The media and the Rwandan Genocide* (Ed). London: Pluto Press.
- UNDP. (2008). *The Mass Media and 2007 General Election in Kenya*. September Issue. Nairobi, Kenya.
- Viggo, M. (2011). *Forging Peace: Intervention, Human Rights and the Management of Media Space*. (P. M. Taylor, Ed.) Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press
- Vladimir, B., & Schirch, L. (2007). *Why and when to use media for conflict prevention and peace building*. European Centre for Conflict Prevention (Issue No. 6
- Wallace, Chuma. "The Role of Radio and Mobile Phones in Conflict Situations; The Case of the 2008 Zimbabwe Elections and Xenophobic Attacks in Cape Town." Carleton University Canada (2013).
- Watergate, New York, Columbia University, pp.58-59.
- Westminster Papers in Communication & Culture, University of Westminster, London. Special Issue: 56-70.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 : INTRODUCTION LETTER TO QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONDENTS

To Whom It May Concern;

I am a student at the University of Nairobi. I am conducting a study on the ‘Role of media in political conflict: A comparative study of Kenya and Zimbabwe’. The objective of this study is to investigate media’s role in political conflict: a comparative study of Kenya and Zimbabwe. Through your participation, this study hopes to identify the media’s contribution in times of politically motivated conflicts.

Enclosed is a brief questionnaire that inquires about the subject of study. Kindly review, complete and send back the questionnaire to me in the enclosed postage envelope. I undertake to keep all the information provided by you and your identity as confidential.

Kindly channel any questions or concerns about the study or the questionnaire to (Insert contact number) or at (Email)

You may also contact the University of Nairobi.

Yours Sincerely,

Ongeto.....

APPENDIX 2: QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Are you aware of episodes of political conflict in Kenya (.....)/ Zimbabwe (.....)?
.....

2. Which one are you aware of?
.....

3. Does the media have a role of media in triggering political conflicts and establishing peace during conflicts?
.....

4. On a scale of one (1) to five (5) with One being not at all and Five being very much, how much do you think the media contributed to political conflict?

I

II

III

IV

V

5. On a scale of One (1) to Five (5), with One being not at all and Five being very much, how much do you think the media contributed to ending/stopping political violence?

I

II

III

IV

V

6. What are the roles of the media if any in fostering politically motivated conflict or peace

processes?.....

.....

.....


7. Should the freedom of the media be absolute or limited? Why?


.....

.....

.....


APPENDIX 3: NACOSTI Research License


REPUBLIC OF KENYA


**NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR
SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION**

Ref No: **386541** Date of Issue: **10/October/2019**


RESEARCH LICENSE




This is to Certify that Mr.. Gideon Ogeto of University of Nairobi, has been licensed to conduct research in Nakuru, Narok, Uasin-Gishu on the topic: ROLE OF MEDIA IN POLITICAL CONFLICT IN AFRICA: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF KENYA AND ZIMBABWE for the period ending : 10/October/2020.

License No: **NACOSTI/P/19/2097**

386541
Applicant Identification Number


Director General
**NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR
SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY &
INNOVATION**

Verification QR Code



**NOTE: This is a computer generated License. To verify the authenticity of this document,
Scan the QR Code using QR scanner application.**