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THE EFFECTS OF MEDIA IN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY: A CASE OF MEDIA DURING AND AFTER THE 2007/08 PEV IN KENYA

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DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been presented in any other university for any purpose of examination

……………………..   ……………………….

Signature   Date

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R51/63344/2010

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

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Signature   Date

DR. MALUKI

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my entire family, all my lecturers and my classmates for their support, encouragement and patience during the entire period of my study and their continued prayers towards successful completion of my course.

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ABSTRACT

Public diplomacy is the effort of one nation to influence public or elites of the next nation for the purpose of using foreign policy to its target. In a democratic state the media ought to be reliable, trustworthy and share diverse unbiased information. In essence most media houses in Kenya have standards, code of conducts, and editorial ethics that underline and promote these values. It is observable today that the media plays a key role, positive or negative, in the world's affairs such as conflict, policy making and humanitarian response. The aim of this research was to critically analyse the effects of media in public diplomacy during and after the 2007/08 post-election violence in Kenya. This research used a descriptive research design. The study was conducted in Nairobi County. The study primary research entailed visits to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government to conduct personal interviews with the staff. Purposive sampling was used to choose those to be interviewed to help get the right information. Data was mainly derived from secondary and primary sources. Interview guides were used to collect primary data. Content analysis was used to analyze the collected data by arranging it in common themes. The qualitative data was analysed using content analysis method. The study found that the role played by the media were both positive and negative. The media was accused of being a source of conflict through propaganda and bias in their reporting. The study established that the media could have strived to become a bridge between government and the public. The study also concludes that the media significantly influenced public's perceptions and actions towards the 2007/08 PEV. The study recommends that the media should minimize cases of making violent language more animated and exciting as it can spark people's fears and aggression.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

FARA: Foreign Agent Registration Records

NGO: Nongovernment Organisation

PR: Public Relations

U.S: United States

PEV: Post-Election Violence

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

Public diplomacy can be defined as the efforts of one nation to influence public or elites of the next nation for the purpose of using foreign policy to its target.[1] In the present contemporary world, the spread of democracy has created a new environment in the international system to win hearts and minds of people by governments.[2] This is what public diplomacy does by trying to influence foreign nationals and the public with values, policies and actions of their governments to be supported. Public diplomacy as a distinctive late twentieth-century form of systematized government communication with foreign audiences, was not only born out of the Cold War but is also a direct descendent of the media communication practices and institutions developed during World War I and World War II.[3]

The media can be defined as a channel through which messages are passed to an audience. The intention of passing this message is always to inform, persuade, or provoke response among others.[4] In addition, the power of the media has been recognized, perhaps leading to areas of study such as media literacy and censoring, commercialization among others. Moreover, it is observable today that the media plays a key role, positive or negative, in the world's affairs such as conflict, policy making and humanitarian response. That is to mean, the media's power can put forth a critical pressure whether destructive or constructive in any given situation. In

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[1] Padolski, C. & Eron, L. (2013). Longitudinal relations between children's exposure to TV violence and violent behavior in young adulthood. *Developmental Psychology*, 39(2), 201–222

[2] Johnson, T. J., & Kaye, B. K. (2008). Cruising is believing?: Comparing Internet and traditional sources on media credibility measures. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly,* 75(2), 325–340.

[3] Krcmar, M. (2013). The contribution of family communication patterns to children's interpretations of television violence. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media,* 42(2), 250–264.

[4] Hilker, A. (2009). Agenda-setting influence in an off-year election. *ANPA Research Bulletin,* pp. 7–10.

situations of conflict, without the media you can do nothing.[5] Governments always try to communicate with foreign public to export their ideas, its institutions and culture, as well as national goals and current policies.

In a democratic state the media ought to be reliable, trustworthy and share diverse unbiased information. In essence most media houses in Kenya have standards, code of conducts, and editorial ethics that underline and promote these values.[6] In some cases however where the media is controlled by the government or the rich in the society these standards are not observed to the letter. These codes of conducts call for every Kenyan journalist to be responsible for the news they share. This means they have an obligation to their audience. They also have the responsibility to protect their audiences, especially their sources of sensitive information or reputation of spreading hate messages.[7]

Kenya held general election in 2007.[8] The Kenyan media was conspicuous, at the live center stage, highlighting the developments of the electioneering process and irregular vote counting among other anomalies. As witnessed the election results were later released on 5th of January 2008. Anxiety and tension grew in the country as vote tally and announcement of results was delayed; different results were being reported from various polling stations. The government was notably silent on the developments of the election with most of the information often coming from the commercial (not state owned) media who reported the growing public anxiety, few episodes of violence, apparent loop holes in the voting exercise and vote rigging. The public therefore

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[5] Gatlung,J. (2010). *Media; Peace Journalism* ;www.nicr.ca/programs/peace journalism.htm(access 25 September 2015)
[6] Amutabi N. (2009), *"Challenging the Orthodoxies: The Role of Ethnicity and Regional Nationalism in Leadership and Democracy in Africa"*, UNESCO Seminar, 28 – 30 September at Kisumu Sports Ground
[7] Murungi, K. (2010), *Ethnicity and Multi-Partism in Kenya. Thoughts of Democracy*: Series III Kenya Human Rights Commission Publication, February.
[8] Leo, C. (2012), *Land and Class in Kenya*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

found the commercial media as the only source of updated information.[9] From nowhere and unexpectedly, the commercial media stations ran announcements that the government had banned live broadcasting or coverage of the election. For a country struggling to achieve democracy banning of the media was indeed a set back to the many decades of fighting for press freedom.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Today, it is widely believed that an affirmative state image allows a nation to accomplish a more beneficial position in international monetary and partisan rivalry. A progressive state image may drive other nations' foreign policies in errand of a country, upsurge revenues from goods, and attract tourists and foreign venture. Media has a monumental responsibility in today's world and especially in the 20th century where it has emerged as the key channel for disseminating information during conflict in their neighbourhoods as well as the distant lands.[10] Kenya as a nation has been viewed as an exemplary democracy in Africa and has on many occasions been described as an island of peace in Africa. The over 42 ethnic communities that make up the country have co-existed relatively well since attaining independence in 1963.[11] Kenya also boasts of practicing free media. Free media enables the voters to be well informed and make wise decision.

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[9] Castells, M. (2012). The new public sphere: Global civil society, communication networks, and global governance. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 616 (1), 78-93.

[10] Hans, J. (2014) Another 'Great Debate': The National Interest of the United States. *The American Political Science Review* , 46: 972.

[11] Kinaro, E. (2013). *Determinants of Foreign Direct Investment in Kenya*. Institute African de Development Economique et de planification. Dakar

Kenya witnessed post-election violence in a magnitude that shocked many who depend on Kenya for tourism, education, export and import of goods and services.[12] Above all, the lives lost and property destroyed has left many baffled to date. In once considered to be the most politically secure society, the aftermath of a blameable election in Kenya did more harm than just a fight between ethnic groups, media and public institutions that hold different political stands. This ignited the long hidden ethnic tensions, resulting in violence.[13]

Moreover, the 2008 post-election broadcasted showed severe antagonistic feelings from foreign public's threatened public diplomacy.[14] Kenya's media was not spared either predominantly the community-based radio stations played acute roles before and after the Kenya's general elections. While in some cases they delivered significant evidence on the election, in other cases, they have been accused with enflaming violence through the propagation of hate speech.[15]

1.3 Objectives of Study

The main objective of the study was to critically analyse the effects of media in public diplomacy during and after the 2007/08 post-election violence in Kenya.

More specifically, the study aims to:

i.   Evaluate public relations on news content during and after the 2007/08 post-election violence in Kenya

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[12] Macharia, H. (2011).Reflections on Kenya's national and security interests. *Journal of Language, Technology & Entrepreneurship in Africa* Vol. 3 No. 1

[13] Olins, W. (2015) *Making a National Brand, The New Public Diplomacy* – Soft Power in International Relations, Jan Melissen (ed.) pp. 169-179, Palgrave Macmillan: London

[14] Ross, C. (2010). Pillars of Public Diplomacy – Grappling with International Public Opinion, *Harvard International Review*, summer 2003 pp. 22-27

[15] Wetangula, E. (2013). The influence of media violence on youth. *Psychological Science in the Public Interest,* 4(3), 81–111.

ii. Examine strategic communications during and after the 2007/08 post-election violence in Kenya

iii. Determine relationship building during and after the 2007/08 post-election violence in Kenya

1.4 Literature Review

The literature review is organized in four parts: The first part examines public relations of news content. The second part explores the strategic communications. The third section examines relationship building and finally the literature gap.

1.4.1 Public Relations on News Content

Public diplomacy differs from education, journalism, advertising, branding, and public relations. Public diplomacy operates though actions, relationships, images, and words in three time frames: 24/7 news streams, medium range campaigns on high value policies, and long-term engagement.[16] Its tools range from electronic media to cultural diplomacy to the last three feet of personal communication. According to Anderson and Dill (2000), public diplomacy is now part of a global conversation. But it has many different meanings.[17] The term strategic communication also has gained traction in recent years. Some see it as more inclusive than public diplomacy and more descriptive of a multi-stakeholder environment. However, it imports methods and discourse norms from civil society and it depend on deep and diverse relationships with civil society to succeed.

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[16] Comstock, G., Chaffee, S. & Katzman, N. (2008). *Television and human behavior.* New York: Columbia University Press.
[17] Anderson, C. & Dill, K. (2000). Video games and aggressive thoughts, feelings, and behavior in the laboratory and in life. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology,* 78(4), 772–791.

In many studies such as in the area of media sociology, scholars have come up with a number of aspects that influence news content.[18] Specifically, five categories of factors have been identified as influencing news content. According to scope of influence, these factors include individual attributes (this include; media professionals' education and gender); media routines (this includes; gatekeeping, beat system, and pack journalism); organizational characteristics (this includes; political endorsements, editorial positions, and corporate policies); extra-media variables (this includes; advertisers' and news sources' interventions); and ideological influences (this includes; standard social values).[19]

Gormley also argued that external factors, including the strategic public relations efforts of news sources, may affect decisions about whether a topic is included or discarded in the news media agenda.[20] According to Gerbner (2006), in addition to contending media groups, advertisers, audiences, and government controls, the public associations activities of a variety of news sources, such as interests groups and corporate organizations, can be considered extra-media organizational factors can significantly influence news content.[21]

Kagen and Brook explains that public relations activities affect news content directly by providing story ideas to the media that support an organization's position or indirectly by using the media to project organization-related issues onto the public

[18] Eyal, C., Winter, J. & DeGeorge, W. (2011). The concept of time frame in agenda setting. In G. Wilhoit & H. deBock (Eds.), *Mass communication review yearbook* (Vol. II). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
[19] Funk, J. & Buchman, D. (2010). Playing violent video and computer games and adolescent self concept. *Journal of Communication,* 46(2), 19–32.
[20] Gormley, W. (2011). Newspaper agendas and political elites. *Journalism Quarterly,* 52(2), 304–308.
[21] Gerbner, G., Gross, L., Jackson-Beeck, M., Jeffries-Fox, S., & Signorielli, N. (2006). Cultural indicators: Violence profile no. 9. *Journal of Communication,* 28(3), 176–207.

agenda.[22] Many organizations consider their own appearance in the news media as a cost-effective way of reaching their publics.[23] Press releases from different sources also assist journalists in identifying news items and fill news holes under tight deadlines.

Public relations (PR) practitioners also create pseudo-events, such as demonstrations and protests, to gain media attention and, subsequently, public attention, and these events serve move news content toward the direction intended by the source organizations.[24] Weir pointed out that public relations are a motivating force behind what gets on television and into print.[25] He notes that many news stories come from press releases, signifying the devastating reputation of PR materials for the present press. In the process, public relations specialists allude their notions into hard news stories with the aim of enticing the attention of policymakers' and try to cover up their own governmental agenda from both the media and the community.

In spite of its significant influence on the flow of news, however, the field of public relations has received limited attention from scholars. This neglect becomes more problematic considering the potential impact of public relations on international news content. The empirical evidence that demonstrates public relations' effect on news content is sometimes contradictory. For example, Milgram and Shotland found that a public relations drive enhanced Rhodesia's image in the U.S. press.[26] Mullins, on the other hand, suggested limited effects of PR activities by saying that PR activities often

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[22] Kagen, S. & Brook, J. (2012). Television viewing and aggressive behavior during adolescence and adulthood. *Science*, 295(5564), 2468–2472.

[23] Herzog, H. (2014). What do we really know about daytime serial listeners? In P. Lazarsfeld & F. Stanton (Eds.), Radio research, 1942–43. New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce.

[24] Hegelson, V. & Crawford, A. (2014). Internet paradox revisited. *Journal of Social Issues,* 58(1), 49–75.

[25] Weir, R. (2014). Third person effect, gender, and pornography on the Internet. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media,* 46(1), 13–34.

[26] Milgram, S., & Shotland, R. (2013). *Television and antisocial behavior.* New York: Academic Press.

do not go beyond news value.[27] An issue's news value, Stocking suggests, is a more powerful predictor that an issue will appear in the news media agenda.

According to Nie and Erbring, professional and systematic public relations efforts in the U.S. on behalf of foreign governments noticeably increased in the 1970s, as suggested by the Foreign Agent Registration Records (FARA) of the Department of Justice.[28] Since then, fostering a country's positive and favorable image in the news media has been an important goal that international clients try to achieve by contracting with PR firms. Testing the effect of public relations intervention on the visibility and valence of news coverage about a foreign country, Potter found that national image, as portrayed in the news media, improved after the signing of contracts with PR firms.[29] This finding suggests that public relations can change how countries are portrayed in the news media of a target country.

1.4.2 Strategic Communication

The emergence of the new public diplomacy has created a vast array of conundrums for the established diplomatic community and their ministries of foreign affairs. One of the biggest challenges in this regard is how to integrate this new area in the diplomatic organization.[30] Xigen (2015) points out that this strategic communication dimension of public diplomacy represents the medium-term strategy which lasts for months at a time.[31] This approach emphasizes on setting the news agenda instead of

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[27] Mullins, E. (2009). Agenda setting and the younger voter. In D. Shaw & M. McCombs (Eds.), *The emergence of American political issues.* St. Paul, MN: West.
[28] Nie, N. & Erbring, L. (2000). *Internet and society: A preliminary report.* Palo Alto, CA: Stanford Institute for the Quantitative Study of Society.
[29] Potter, W. (2005). Perceived reality and the cultivation hypothesis. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media,* 30(2), 159–174.
[30] Yun, D., Nah, S. & McLeod, D. (2008). Framing effects of news coverage of the embryonic stem cell controversy. *Communication Research Reports 25,* (1-4), 312-315.
[31] Xigen, L. (2015). "Factors Influencing the Willingness to Contribute Information to Online Communities". *New Media Society.* XX.X (2010): 1-18

just responding to what is happening and can be done through events or organizing advertisement campaigns where public diplomacy begins to overlap towards its related concept of nation branding.

The strategic communication strategy can be aimed at improving relations in either political, economic and cultural areas or any combination of these.[32] The very nature of public diplomacy is to seem open and outreaching which historically has not been one of the strongest suits of the diplomatic corps who always has had an aura of secrecy and inapproachability about it. This is because as mentioned earlier partly because it has previously been necessary for them to conduct negotiations with counterparts and to investigate situations of the countries they are stationed in neither of which is an area conducive to a culture of openness.[33] The reason openness is a necessity for successful public diplomacy is not only that it targets foreign publics but also that it is useful to include other organizations in parts of the public diplomacy strategies[34].

In a democratic electioneering process, rivalling politicians must enjoy their freedom of media campaign exposure as they try to lure voters. Failure to exercising this freedom then their ideologies will not be heard.[35] In some cases undemocratic ruling political class can inhibit directly or indirectly the avenues for this free expression by rival parties. Having noted the importance of exposure, politicians or government officials must appreciate and respect the media as they perform this function indiscriminately. So for a larger degree of satisfaction with the election process, the

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[32] Howard, P. (2012). *Network Ethnography and the Hypermedia Organisation: New Media, New Organisations, New Methods.* In New Media and Society, Vol. 4.4: 550-574. London: Sage
[33] Windahl, S. (2011). Uses and gratifications at the crossroads. In G. Wilhoit & H. deBock (Eds.), *Mass communication review yearbook.* Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
[34] Wallstein, K. (2007). Agenda setting and the blogosphere. *Review of Policy Research 24*, (6), 567-587.
[35] Sweetser, K., Golan, G. & Wanta W. (2008). Intermedia agenda setting in television, advertising and blogs during the 2004 presidential election. *Mass Communication and Society 11*, (2) 197-216.

government/politicians and the media must have rules that govern them as well as measures in place to counter any attempts to bar their respective freedoms.[36] These rules must be availed to both the government and the media as well as respected and adhered to. The body that can possibly keep both of these sides in check is the judicial system.

Sparks and Ogles assert that this leads to the point of independency of the judicial bodies that are free from influence of either the media or the government.[37] It is the duty of the judiciary to ensure there are no loop holes in the rules and ensure they protect the citizens and the media from unfair trial or elections results. These rules are well spelt out for perpetrators of violence; such as repercussion of spreading hate speech or incorrect information through the state owned media or commercial media.[38] This help keep at bay any election malfunction and violence. If the media practitioners are aware of possible prosecution, then the journalist will be compelled to report objectively without prejudices.

According to Rasanen the public who are voter should not be forced to vote for or support a particular agenda, in the event of this happening then the elections fails to be transparent and the voters feel cheated.[39] The persuasion venues such as the government officials or the media should therefore avoid such election malpractice. This feeling often results in election violence as a way of expressing their dissatisfaction and sometime they try to establish their own government with their

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[36] Stempel, G. H., Hargrove, T., & Bernt, J. (2010). Relation of growth of use of Internet to changes in media use from 1995 to 2010. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly, 77*(1), 71–79.

[37] Sparks, G. & Ogles, R. (2010). The difference between fear of victimization and the probability of being victimized. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media, 34*(3), 351–358.

[38] Roe, K., & Vandebosch, H. (1996). Weather to view or not. *European Journal of Communication, 11*(2), 201–216.

[39] Rasanen, P. (2008). The persistence of information structures in Nordic countries. *Information Society, 24*(4), 219-228.

chosen leader. All in all these actions deter growth and realization of democracy. The voters therefore appreciate transparency and being informed by the media through non-partisan context.[40]

According to Paik and Comstock the media act as a gatekeeper that holds both the government and politicians accountable to fulfill their promises to the public.[41] Investigative journalism complements the questions in the society that the voters might need in order to make sound election judgments. A comparison of the government's practical work versus their manifestation can be an agenda of the media. This would inform the voter on how to vote which means that the media should have the freedom to do this investigative and comparison reports without fear of the government. They are able to blow whistles in areas where things are not right such as corruption. In other words the media look at the government's promises to build schools, roads, and five years down the lane, the media look at this and see if these promises were kept.[42] Therefore a journalist ought to look at this and report on the politician's response and build on public diplomacy before, during and after the elections.

1.4.3 Relationship Building

Waldner and Huesmann asserts that probably the most important relationship building scheme is educational exchange. If governments set up beneficial conditions for foreigners to come to their country to study for months or years they are sure to get a

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[40] Quick, B. (2009). The effects of viewing Grey's Anatomy on perceptions of doctors and patient satisfaction. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 53*(1), 38-55.
[41] Paik, H. & Comstock, G. (2004). The effects of television violence on antisocial behavior: A meta-analysis. *Communication Research, 21*(4), 516–546.
[42] Nathanson, A. (2009). Identifying and explaining the relationship between parental mediation and children's aggression. *Communication Research, 26*(2), 124–143.

nuanced picture of the country they are staying.[43] These will possibly then function as de facto ambassadors for the country they had been towards their friends or families. An added bonus is that some of these people who had been enjoying the benefits of such an exchange program might rise to prominent positions within their own countries. It is estimated that 1500 cabinet-level ministers and 200 current and former heads of state has been participating in the American International Visitors Program.[44]

A truly successful relationship building public diplomacy effort will be very costly as it will have to administer, plan and sponsor the exchange of a significant amount of people in order for it to have a decent impact.[45] The relationship building programs stretches over years and is aimed at giving deep insight to a select group of people of one's country through various schemes such as scholarships and network creation.[46] A notable element to this approach is that the planning governmental organization plays a secondary/facilitating role as the approach is mainly focused on establishing networks between likeminded people across borders be it politicians, academics, artists or businessmen.

Because a positive national image is regarded as national capital, many governments are starting to improve their national image by directly communicating with foreign publics. Kamhawi and Weaver argue that national reputation is an indication of a nation's power and strength.[47] Public diplomacy is one way by which governments

[43] Waldner, L. & Huesmann, L. (2012). Television violence and child aggression. In G. Comstock & E. Rubinstein (Eds.), *Television and social behavior: Vol. III. Television and adolescent aggressiveness.* Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

[44] Kaid, L. & Pfau, M. (2013). The impact of web campaigning on traditional news media and public information processing. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 80(3), 528–548.

[45] Linz, D., Donnerstein, D. & Penrod, S. (2013). The effects of multiple exposure to film violence against women. *Journal of Communication,* 34(3), 130–147

[46] Nabi, R. & Riddle K. (2008). Personality traits, television viewing and the cultivation effect. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media 52* (3), 327-348.

[47] Kamhawi, R. & Weaver, D. (2002). Mass communication research trends from 1980 to 1999. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly,* 80(1), 7–27.

can improve their soft power by going directly to foreign publics. Over the past decades, government-to-government interactions through political leaders such presidents, prime ministers, and ambassadors had typically been considered the most efficient form of diplomacy. Many governments are now experimenting with various ways of reaching foreign publics through the media and through other ways because they recognize that the positive opinion of foreign publics can improve national image and, consequently, influence favorable foreign policies toward their countries.[48]

Stanley and Salwen assert that new forms of media evolve; new questions are posed as to their effect on public diplomacy.[49] Kenya's media fraternity has not only seen growth, but it has also gone through growth to an extent that now Kenya enjoys press freedom. With the evolution various forms of media have come up and licensing has been made easier. This is to say; virtually every Kenyan can access at least one form of the media.[50] The public diplomacy has on the other hand been modified with the western culture, pop culture, and universal human rights being known by this population. In other words, if the media does have an influence on its audience, then the Kenyan audience is not immune. By exposing the governments'failures to this public, the media voluntarily or involuntarily causes the public to revolt or oppose the government on account of their failure.

To show this causal-effect relation of the media and its audience, Mcleud explores the nature of the relationship between television images and those affected by conflict.[51] According to Bienien news coverage of conflict or war often appeals to emotions

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[48] Hogben, H. (2013). Factors moderating the effect of televised aggression on viewer behavior. *Communication Research,* 25(2), 220–247.

[49] Stanley, C. & Salwen, M. (2009). Agenda-setting by electronic text news. *Journalism Quarterly,* 66(1), 101–106.

[50] Owino, C. (2011), Divide and Rule: *State -sponsored Ethnic Violence in Kenya, Human Rights Watch*, New York, Washington, November.

[51] Mcleud, H. (2010). Framing Effect of Television News Coverage of social protest; *Journal of communication* 49:3 – 23

hence the questions such as what do we do when we receive media words or images.[52] In addition, Mcleud discusses the role of media contents and notes that the media makes spectators feel that they operate generously on their own and are endowed with spontaneous civic or humanitarian feelings that makes them react.[53] In other words the media when used unethically can be used to create an uprising against the government or various authorities.

Gatlung in his investigation of the impact of media on public diplomacy'also notes that exposure to the media can alter the receivers perception.[54] This, he says, is created by an amalgamation of the personal and public spheres hence there is no clear separation of the two spheres in an individual's internal process of thinking and decision making. In other words as a result of this merge, an audience watching a video clip of the government spokesperson justifying banning the media, find himself (personal sphere) in touch with the war/tension (public sphere) that is ongoing in the government offices and media houses.[55] The resultant amalgamation is the action of agreement or revolting, demonstrating or fighting.

The main idea behind this approach is that when something happens in the world which might affect people's perception of a government it is necessary to react fast and ensure the government's official positions are explained and clarified to the public.[56] According to Castells this dimension of public diplomacy includes a short

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[52] Bienien, H. (2014), Kenya: *The Politics of Participation and Control*. Princeton University Press, New Jersey

[53] Mcleud, H. (2010). Framing Effect of Television News Coverage of social protest; *Journal of communication* 49:3 – 23

[54] Gatlung, J. (2010). *Media; Peace Journalism* ;www.nicr.ca/programs/peace journalism.htm(access 25 September 2015)

[55] Murungi, K. (2010), *Ethnicity and Multi-Partism in Kenya. Thoughts of Democracy*: Series III Kenya Human Rights Commission Publication, February

[56] Hans, J. (2014) Another 'Great Debate': The National Interest of the United States. *The American Political Science Review* , 46: 972.

term rapid response strategy.[57] One major obstacle for this approach is that it is very difficult to tailor a message to a certain group of people as most people around the world will have access to more or less the same information and will also hear what government officials has to say about an issue.

By funnelling the messages which is in correlation with the public diplomacy strategy through local media with a limited audience, it is easier to tailor a message which will provide a satisfactory result in relation to this local audience.[58] This approach can be enhanced further if one of the locals convey this message as the audience will believe more in one of their own than in foreign government representatives especially in areas hostile towards the sending government. According to Kinaro a way to direct the correct communication to a chosen foreign public or grouping in another country to the fullest effect is to increase support and potentially funding for local media.[59]

1.4.4 Literature Gap

Having looked at this literature the author believes that the media can be used positively or negatively in an electioneering process. The Kenyan situation is a good example of this scenario; especially on how exposure to the media can shape the audiences decisions, reaction and impact on public diplomacy. Basically, the human process of gathering information, examining it, making decisions, and acting upon these decisions, based on media disclosure, remains a vibrant intricate subject of study and conception.

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[57] Castells, M. (2012). The new public sphere: Global civil society, communication networks, and global governance. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 616 (1), 78-93.

[58] Macharia, H. (2011).Reflections on Kenya's national and security interests. *Journal of Language, Technology & Entrepreneurship in Africa* Vol. 3 No. 1

[59] Kinaro, E. (2013). *Determinants of Foreign Direct Investment in Kenya*. Institute African de Development Economique et de planification. Dakar

Understanding interceded public diplomacy is dominant due to profuse evidence that media framing can have a significant effect on the public's support for war and peace. Yet despite increasing interest in mediated public diplomacy, empirical examination and theoretical understanding of the field are still limited. The relevance of these three notions to the concept of public diplomacy has not been wholly overlooked in public diplomacy literature locally. There is need to address this knowledge gap hence the need for this study.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

Two theories one from a communications background and the second one borrowed from public diplomacy underpinned this study. Marshall McLuhan's media determinism theory and the Inglehart's theory of post-materialism were used to investigate whether the use of social media by the Kenyan youth influences their interest in politics.[60] While the media determinism theory focuses on the channels through which political information reach the youth, the post-materialist theory was used to understand information-seeking habits among the youth and what the results of such habits might be especially when political messages are involved. Overall, the study used these two theories to investigate whether messages sent to the youth via social media have any more impact than those sent through traditional media.[61]

Marshall McLuhan's media determinism has experienced resurgence and gained tremendous influence in the last 15 years following the meteoric growth of the

[60] Olins, W. (2015) *Making a National Brand, The New Public Diplomacy* – Soft Power in International Relations, Jan Melissen (ed.) pp. 169-179, Palgrave Macmillan: London
[61] Anderson, C. & Dill, K. (2000). Video games and aggressive thoughts, feelings, and behavior in the laboratory and in life. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology,* 78(4), 772–791.

Internet and mobile telephony globally.[62] The theory holds that the communication channel is critical for media effects, basically arguing that the medium is the message. Even though his work was developed three decades before the Internet, McLuhan strongly believed that technological development could drive social change.[63] He proposed a framework for understanding how technology may work to enhance the meaning of a message and how this may then influence how audiences react. Hence, one message can be transmitted using different channels to the same audience with different effects. In this perspective, therefore, technology is seen to be an autonomous force that changes society.

This study used this framework to interrogate whether political information that has always been transmitted through traditional media would attract different effects if transmitted via social media.[64] Technological determinists hold that particular technical developments, communication technologies or media are the sole or prime antecedent causes of change in society, and they see technology as the fundamental condition driving social organisation. Indeed, media determinists persuasively posit that individuals feel and think the way they do because of the messages they receive through available technology, so that the radio helps develop a better sense of hearing and the television affects both hearing and seeing.[65] The medium is therefore seen to be at the centre of things.

[62] Eyal, C., Winter, J. & DeGeorge, W. (2011). The concept of time frame in agenda setting. In G. Wilhoit & H. deBock (Eds.), *Mass communication review yearbook* (Vol. II). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

[63] Stanley, C. & Salwen, M. (2009). Agenda-setting by electronic text news. *Journalism Quarterly,* 66(1), 101–106.

[64] Kagen, S. & Brook, J. (2012). Television viewing and aggressive behavior during adolescence and adulthood. *Science*, 295(5564), 2468–2472.

[65] Hegelson, V. & Crawford, A. (2014). Internet paradox revisited. *Journal of Social Issues,* 58(1), 49–75.

Followers of McLuhan's theory make three main claims.[66] The first is that the medium which carries a message has its own powerful social effects regardless of the content (its load). Second, those social effects are universal and are due to interaction between the inherent (physical) properties of the medium and the inherent (psychological) properties of human beings. Third, that the most fundamental difference is oral versus written cultures, so that speech is natural, keeps senses balanced and harmonious, brings people closer to each other and closer to nature, while writing is artificial, detached, and encourages lying, social fragmentation and alienation. [67]This theory therefore emphasises the means of transmitting a message than the load itself, suggesting that a message may be successful or not depending on what vehicle is used to deliver it. For example, traditional mass media have taken to repurposing and redistributing their 'old media' messages through new media channels, this study explore whether the success of either channels are comparable in affecting public interest in politics.

The second theory, post materialist, holds that individuals and society are ever in a state of transformation in a trajectory that gradually frees them from the stress of basic acquisitive or materialistic needs.[68] It is a theory of change which sees post-materialists as more concerned about the quality of life, the environment, democracy, and human rights. Post-materialism is measured by asking respondents to rank four possible goals maintaining order in the nation; giving people more say in important government decisions; fighting rising prices; and protecting freedom of speech. Those who prefer items one and three are then seen as being post-materialist. Nathanson

[66] Waldner, L. & Huesmann, L. (2012). Television violence and child aggression. In G. Comstock & E. Rubinstein (Eds.), *Television and social behavior: Vol. III. Television and adolescent aggressiveness.* Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
[67] Weir, R. (2014). Third person effect, gender, and pornography on the Internet. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media,* 46(1), 13–34.
[68] Milgram, S., & Shotland, R. (2013). *Television and antisocial behavior.* New York: Academic Press.

uses Inglehart's post materialist theory to argue that young people brought up in periods of high economic and physical security, surrounded by better opportunities for education, are more likely to prioritise post materialist values.[69] These include being strongly inclined to support new forms of collective action and extra-institutional activity.

Internet users tend to be young, well educated and affluent, thus denoting a similarity to the demographic characteristics of post materialists.[70] Theocharis found a trend on the part of young people to display a post materialist orientation, accompanied by a disinterest in traditional forms of political participation. The study therefore tested whether youths who use social media can be classified as post materialists using this theory as opposed to those who do not use social media.[71]

1.6 Justification of the Study

A study that analyses the effect of media in public diplomacy is of great importance, as it not only helped in achieving national interests but also regional one. This study is therefore significance that it provided facts on the role of media in pursuit of Kenya's national interest.

The finding of this study were of great importance to a number of actors. First and foremost, the Kenyan government, more so the public diplomacy policy makers used the study findings as a benchmark for evaluating the role of the Kenyan media in pursuit of Kenya's national interest. Study findings and recommendations aided

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[69] Nathanson, A. (2009). Identifying and explaining the relationship between parental mediation and children's aggression. *Communication Research,* 26(2), 124–143.
[70] Potter, W. (2005). Perceived reality and the cultivation hypothesis. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media,* 30(2), 159–174.
[71] Rasanen, P. (2008). The persistence of information structures in Nordic countries. *Information Society, 24*(4), 219-228.

policy makers in designing and redesigning public diplomacy policies towards national interests.

The outcome of this research therefore explained the various facets of government and media participation and consequences, prior to and through and past electioneering period. This research also informed stakeholders who wished to have basic knowledge on using the media in conflict intervention.

An analytical perspective that this research sought to share was added to the body of knowledge in setting precedence on who is the credible source of information during elections. This was especially, useful to law makers who were guided on what clauses to include or remove in the constitutional clause that permits press freedom and media licensing. Last but not least, study findings contributed to the body of literature on the effects of media in public diplomacy besides making suggestions for further researches in the area.

1.7 Hypotheses

This study tested the following hypotheses:

i.   There have been increased public relations on news content during and after the 2007/08 post-election violence in Kenya

ii. There have been increased strategic communications during and after the 2007/08 post-election violence in Kenya

iii. The media has ensured relationship building during and after the 2007/08 post-election violence in Kenya

1.8 Research Methodology

This section provided a discussion of the outline of the research methodology that was used in this study. It focused on the research design, data collection methods and came to a conclusion with the data analysis and data presentation methods that were used in this study.

1.8.1 Research Design

This research used a descriptive research design. Descriptive research is the investigation in which quantitative data is collected and analyzed in order to describe the specific phenomenon in its current trends, current events and linkages between different factors at the current time.

1.8.2 Study Site

The study was conducted in Nairobi County. The choice of Nairobi County is motivated by the fact that it houses all of the media houses headquarters.

1.8.3 Study Population

The study primary research entailed visits to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government to conduct personal interviews with the staff. This enabled the researcher get a snapshot understanding of the effects of media in public diplomacy by media during and after the 2007/08 post-election violence in Kenya as well as the steps being undertaken towards achieving that.

1.8.4 Sample Size

Therefore purposive sampling was used to choose those to be interviewed to help get the right information.

1.8.5 Data Collection Methods

Data was mainly derived from secondary and primary sources. Interview guides were used to collect primary data. To establish the validity of the research instrument, the researcher sought opinions of experts in the field of study especially the supervisor. This facilitated the necessary revision and modification of the research instrument thereby enhancing validity. Content analysis was used to analyze the collected data by arranging it in common themes. The data collection tool for the secondary data was in-depth information gathering, and document analysis. This technique mainly involved literature research from electronic journals, book, periodic reviews and articles. Data to be collected in this procedure included; quotations, opinions and specific knowledge and background information relating to the effects of media in public diplomacy by media during and after the 2007/08 post-election violence in Kenya.

1.8.6 Validity and Reliability of Data Collection Instruments

The content validity of the instrument was determined in two ways. First, content validity of the instrument was determined through piloting, where the responses of the subjects checked against the research objectives. This also gives a reason as to why content was to be used. For a research instrument to be considered valid, the content selected and included in the questionnaire must be relevant to the variable being investigated.

The researcher performed the pilot test outside the study area. Appropriate changes were made on the research instruments depending on the responses. Secondly, the researcher discussed the items in the instrument with the supervisors, lecturers from the department and colleagues. Advice given by these people helped the researcher

determine the validity of the research instruments. The advice included suggestions, clarifications and other inputs. These suggestions were used in making necessary changes.

The pilot data collected was analysed to determine how much time was taken on each interview and decide whether the instruments should be revised for length. Reliability, testing the extent to which the measures were without bias were done using the Cronbach's alpha coefficient, which ranges in value from 0 to 1.

1.8.7 Data Presentation and Analysis

The qualitative data was analysed using content analysis method. This involved developing a classification system to record information collected, the frequency with which an idea or issue appears was interpreted as a measure of importance, attention or emphasis. The qualitative analyst's effort at uncovering patterns, themes, and categories were included using both creative and critical faculties in making carefully considered judgments about what is really significant and meaningful in the data.

First step was developing some manageable classification or coding schemes. Content analysis, involved identifying, coding, categorizing, classifying, and labelling the primary patterns in the data. Data frequencies were run for the quantitative data to draw the trends.

Second step was to interpret data from the trends that occur. Objectivity was adhered to by triangulating with multiple data sources, observers, methods, and/or theories to make substantial strides in overcoming the skepticism that greets singular

1.8.8 Scope and Limitations

The study took a period of one month in order to collect the needed data. The study was faced with some limitations which included respondents suspecting that the research findings were used for other purposes. The researcher however used a cover letter from the University to mitigate the outcome as soon as the proposal was approved.

1.9 Chapter Outline

The study is organized in five chapters. The foregoing chapter gave the background of the study and its objectives; it comprises the back ground of the study, statement of the problem and justification of the study. The hypothesis and objectives are clearly specified as well as the research methodology. Chapter two focused on theoretical underpinning of public diplomacy. The chapter also examined a perspective on public relations on news content during and after the 2007/08 post-election violence in Kenya.

Chapter three analysed strategic communications during and after the 2007/08 post-election violence in Kenya. Chapter four gave a comparative critical analysis of relationship building during and after the 2007/08 post-election violence in Kenya. Chapter five drew conclusions to this study and also made recommendations for policy implications emanating from the study and finally areas for further research were suggested.

CHAPTER TWO

PUBLIC RELATIONS ON NEWS CONTENT AND POST-ELECTION

VIOLENCE

2.1 Introduction

Today, it is widely believed that a positive national image enables a nation to achieve a more advantageous position in global economic and political competition. A positive national image may drive other nations' foreign policies in favor of a country, increase revenues from products, and draw tourists and foreign investment.[72] In many studies in the area of media sociology, scholars have identified a number of factors that influence news content. Specifically, five categories of factors have been identified as influencing news content. According to scope of influence, these factors include individual attributes (e.g., media professionals' education and gender); media routines (e.g., gatekeeping, beat system, and pack journalism); organizational characteristics (e.g., political endorsements, editorial positions, and corporate policies); extra-media variables (e.g., advertisers' and news sources' interventions); and ideological influences (e.g., standard social values).[73] In addition to competing media organizations, advertisers, audiences, and government controls, the public relations activities of a variety of news sources, such as interests groups and corporate organizations, can be considered extra-media organizational factors can significantly influence news content. Castells also argued that external factors, including the

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[72] Anderson, C. & Dill, K. (2000). Video games and aggressive thoughts, feelings, and behavior in the laboratory and in life. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology,* 78(4), 772–791.

[73] Ibid

strategic public relations efforts of news sources, may affect decisions about whether a topic is included or discarded in the news media agenda.[74]

The empirical evidence that demonstrates public relations' effect on news content is sometimes contradictory. For example, Albritton and Manheim found that a public relations campaign improved Rhodesia's image in the U.S. press. Stocking on the other hand, suggested limited effects of PR activities by saying that PR activities often do not go beyond news value. An issue's news value, Stocking suggests, is a more powerful predictor that an issue will appear in the news media agenda.

According to Bardhan, the growth of public relations is viewed with fear and some loathing by many journalists. US PR firms grew by an average of 32% in 2000.[75] The US Council of PR Firms reported that global revenues of the top 25 US PR firms reached almost US$3.5 billion in 2000. Internal PR departments are growing even more rapidly. An annual survey of over 4,000 US PR executives reported that in-house PR budgets grew by 80% in 2000.

The British royal family has been a central element for public relations in the UK for much of the present monarch's reign, and this is likely to become more crucial for her successor. Castells states that the media sophistication of Britain's royal family is a barometer of how clients for all types of reputation management are now changing their approach to media-engagement.[76] Reputations are no longer won or lost in a

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[74] Castells, M. (2012). The new public sphere: Global civil society, communication networks, and global governance. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 616 (1), 78-93.

[75] Bardhan, P. (1997). Method in the madness? A political-economy analysis of the ethnic conflicts in less developed countries, World Development, 25(9): 1381-98.

[76] Castells, M. (2012). The new public sphere: Global civil society, communication networks, and global governance. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 616 (1), 78-93.

daily dialogue between PR agents and their media counterparts. Instead, in the second decade of the twenty-first century, both sides are redefining their roles and their business models for a new information age in which neither exercises the strategies and tactics they deployed in the past.

Many organizations consider their own appearance in the news media as a cost-effective way of reaching their publics. Press releases from different sources also assist journalists in identifying news items and fill news holes under tight deadlines). Indeed, Gatlung, explains that public relations activities affect news content directly by providing story ideas to the media that support an organization's position or indirectly by using the media to project organization-related issues onto the public agenda. [77]

Public relations practitioners also create pseudo-events, such as demonstrations and protests, to gain media attention and, subsequently, public attention, and these events. Hans pointed out that "public relations is a driving force behind what gets on television and into print". He notes that many news stories originate from press releases, indicating the "overwhelming importance of PR materials for the contemporary press".[78] In the process, public relations practitioners "insinuate their ideas into hard news stories with the aim of attracting lawmakers' attention" and try to disguise their own political agenda from both the media and the public. In spite of its significant influence on the flow of news, however, the field of public relations has received limited attention from scholars. This neglect becomes more problematic considering the potential impact of public relations on international news content.

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[77] Gatlung, J. (2010). *Media; Peace Journalism*; www.nicr.ca/programs/peace   journalism.htm(access 25 September 2015)
[78] Hans, J. (2014) Another 'Great Debate': The National Interest of the United States.   *The American Political Science Review* , 46: 972.

2.1.1 Public Relations

According to Hilker public relations (PR) is the practice of managing the spread of information between an individual or an organization (such as a business, government agency, or a nonprofit organization) and the public.[79] Public relations may include an organization or individual gaining exposure to their audiences using topics of public interest and news items that do not require direct payment. This differentiates it from advertising as a form of marketing communications.

Public relations is the idea of creating coverage for clients for free, rather than marketing or advertising. An example of good public relations would be generating an article featuring a client, rather than paying for the client to be advertised next to the article.[80] The aim of public relations is to inform the public, prospective customers, investors, partners, employees and other stakeholders and ultimately persuade them to maintain a certain view about the organization, its leadership, products, or political decisions. Public relations professionals typically work for PR and marketing firms, businesses and companies, government, government agencies and public officials as PIOs and nongovernmental organizations and nonprofit organizations. Jobs central to Public according to relations include account coordinator, account executive, account supervisor and media relations manager. [81]

Much of the news people read or watch on television is manufactured by PR firms and specialists, rather than discovered by journalists. Media and press releases include

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[79] Hilker, A. (2009). Agenda-setting influence in an off-year election. *ANPA Research Bulletin,* pp. 7–10.

[80] Hogben, H. (2013). Factors moderating the effect of televised aggression on viewer behavior. *Communication Research,* 25(2), 220–247.

[81] Hogben, H. (2013). Factors moderating the effect of televised aggression on viewer behavior. *Communication Research,* 25(2), 220–247.

news, feature stories, bulletins, media advisories and announcements, all of which flood media offices. Their purpose is to develop and maintain public goodwill for the organisation sending them as well as favourable government policies. Most journalists rely on these sources to supply the 'raw material of their craft, regular, reliable and useable information'.

This flow of 'free' information saves the journalist time and effort finding stories to write about. Yet it is very difficult for the public to be able to distinguish real news from news generated by public relations.[82] Howard says that often news stories are copied straight from news releases; at other times they are rephrased and sometimes they are augmented with additional material.[83] This practice does not vary much between large and small papers as larger papers need more stories and smaller papers have fewer staff to write their stories. According to various studies,[84] [85]press releases are the basis for 40–50 per cent of the news content of US newspapers.

The reliance of journalists on sources such as PR personnel and government officials is referred to as 'source journalism'. By providing the news feedstock, they cause reporters to react rather than initiate. Journalists who are fed news stories are less likely to go looking for their own stories, which could bring negative publicity. In this way source journalism displaces investigative reporting. By being the primary source of a journalist's information on a particular story, PR people can influence the way the story is told and who tells it.

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[82] Ibid

[83] Howard, P. (2012). *Network Ethnography and the Hypermedia Organisation: New Media, New Organisations, New Methods.* In New Media and Society, Vol. 4.4: 550-574. London: Sage

[84] Howard, P. (2012). *Network Ethnography and the Hypermedia Organisation: New Media, New Organisations, New Methods.* In New Media and Society, Vol. 4.4: 550-574. London: Sage

[85] Leo, C. (2012), *Land and Class in Kenya*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Good PR is rather like the placement of a fish-eye lens in front of the reporter. The facts the PR man wants the reporter to see front and center through the lens appear bigger than normal. Other facts, perhaps opposing ones, are pushed to the side by the PR fish-eye lens and appear crowded together, confused, obscured. The reporter's entire field of vision is distorted by the PR lens. One of the ways PR experts enhance the image of their clients and show that they care is by emphasizing and publicizing their positive actions, no matter how trivial, and downplaying any negative aspects, no matter how significant. [86]

2.2 Journalists and Public Relations

Journalists' conceptions of professional roles generally lead them to considering themselves as having professional characteristics that include a full commitment to the profession, service to society and a high degree of autonomy and ethics. Linz, Donnerstein, Penrod, have outlined the types of roles they believe journalists have been playing in carrying out their work.[87] Each type of role means different way of handling news sources or news materials. In writing or producing news, journalists must winnow down a large volume of potential information from sources to a few before shaping them into news stories. Because journalists deal with this issue and face other limits within their organizations on day-to-day basis, they form news routines that become integral to their profession. Journalists'' ability to select questions, as well hard and soft stories, has become a significant part of their professionalism, one worth looking at in itself.

In their attempt to make their news gathering more efficient, journalists make choices. They rely on authoritative points of view or those they can trust better. The news

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[86] Ibid

[87] Linz, D., Donnerstein, D. & Penrod, S. (2013). The effects of multiple exposure to film violence against women. *Journal of Communication,* 34(3), 130–147.

routine leads journalists to develop news judgment that provides the "yardsticks of newsworthiness and constitute an audience-oriented routine" because the work of the news media are an audience-oriented product.[88] News judgment allows journalists to discern what an audience deems important and appealing, and empowers journalists to make consistent story selections. In the process, journalists use agreed-on news values as the basis to evaluate and make decision about stories.

Organizational limitations could stand in the way of a journalist's work. In carrying out their work journalists face time and resource constraints. This situation contributes to journalists' use of information subsidies from sources. Macharia, found that journalists were often caught between their professional ideals and the fact that news organizations must always operate as profit generators for their corporate owners.[89] Nathanson, argued that economic rationalism could weigh more than journalistic norms as the reasoning underlying the media's choices.[90] In studying the public relations-journalist relationship in Asian countries, mass communication Nie and Erbring, underlined the significance of taking the impact of culture into account.[91] Shin and Cameron underscored the differences between the ways public relations were practiced in Asia and the United States. Although each Asian country, as with any other country, has its own cultural character, cultural studies scholars agree that informal relations are important across Asian societies.[92]

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[88] Mcleud, H. (2010). Framing Effect of Television News Coverage of social protest; *Journal   of   communication* 49:3 – 23.

[89] Macharia, H. (2011).Reflections on Kenya's national and security interests. *Journal of Language, Technology & Entrepreneurship in Africa* Vol. 3 No. 1

[90] Nathanson, A. (2009). Identifying and explaining the relationship between parental   mediation and children's aggression. *Communication Research,* 26(2), 124–   143.

[91] Nie, N. & Erbring, L. (2000). *Internet and society: A preliminary report.* Palo Alto,   CA: Stanford Institute for the Quantitative Study of Society.

[92] Ibid

2.2.1 Moulding and Manipulating the News

The concentration of media ownership into the hands of a few people is of concern to people at both ends of the political spectrum.[93] The media can effectively remove issues from public discussion. The analysis of media content of what we are told and not told is therefore a prime concern. But the relationship of media content to audiences is not singular or one-way. Policymakers, for example, can both feed information into the range of media, and also attempt to anticipate audience response to the manner in which policy is shaped and presented. According to Olins media are accused of bias by people from both ends of the political spectrum, but journalists, editors and owners maintain that they provide an objective source of news.[94] In terms of shaping content, it is argued that apart from the journalists, a number of privileged groups contribute to the production of media accounts, including social and political institutions and other interest groups such as lobbyists and the public relations industry.[95] These different groups intersect to shape the issues open to discussion, but the outcome can also severely limit the information to which audiences have access.

Most journalists tend to use, as sources, people from the mainstream establishment, whom they believe have more credibility with their audience. The news is shaped by the choice of people journalist's interview for research, quotes and on-air appearances. The conventions of objectivity, depersonalization and balance tend to transform the news into a series of quotes and comments from a remarkably small number of sources. Highly placed government and corporate spokespeople are the safest and easiest sources in terms of giving stories legitimacy. When

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[93] Mcleud, H. (2010). Framing Effect of Television News Coverage of social protest;   *Journal   of communication* 49:3 – 23
[94] Olins, W. (2015) *Making a National Brand, The New Public Diplomacy* – Soft Power   in International Relations, Jan Melissen (ed.) pp. 169-179, Palgrave   Macmillan: London
[95] Ibid

environmentalists are used as sources they tend to be leaders of the 'mainstream 'environmental groups that are seen as more moderate. Those without power, prestige and position have difficulty establishing their credibility as a source of news and tend to be marginalized.

Unofficial information, or leaks, give the impression of investigative journalism, but are often strategic maneuvers on the part of those with position or power. 'It is a bitter irony of source journalism … that the most esteemed journalists are precisely the most servile. For it is by making themselves useful to the powerful that they gain access to the "best" sources'. [96] Journalists who have access to highly placed government and corporate sources have to keep them on side by not reporting anything adverse about them or their organisations. Otherwise they risk losing them as sources of information. In return for this loyalty, their sources occasionally give them good stories, leaks and access to special interviews.

Balance means getting opinions from both sides (where the journalist recognizes two sides) but not necessarily covering the spectrum of opinion. More radical opinions are generally left out. Government environmental authorities can be used as an environmental source in one story and as an anti-environmentalist source in another. Nor are opposing opinions always treated equally in terms of space, positioning and framing. Balance does not guarantee neutrality even when sources are treated fairly, since the choice of balancing sources can be distorted.

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[96] Quick, B. (2009). The effects of viewing Grey's Anatomy on perceptions of doctors   and   patient satisfaction. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 53*(1),   38-55.

2.3 Influence of public relations on public perceptions

The economic, social, political, and geographic attributes of a country can affect how often and how favorably that country is described in another country's news media. The critical role of the news media is image-projectors, a linear process of image formation through news coverage.[97] The public's perception of a country is created through a series of steps although each step may introduce image distortions. National image is shaped not only by the news media but also by a variety of information channels, such as personal contacts. The news media, however, remain "first-rate competitors for the number-one position as international image-former" because of their "regularity, ubiquity, and perseverance".

Individuals generally rely on the media for the best available information to understand issues and to form their perceptions about them, especially when the issues are beyond their personal experience. Paik and Comstock also argue that the news media are often the major sources of the most up-to-date information regarding international affairs. However, the news media have a limited capacity in terms of covering all parts of the world. Thus, countries receive varying levels of coverage in the news media. [98]

Political, geographical, economic, and cultural considerations force the news media to assign different "weights" in their coverage of other countries. This imbalance in the coverage of foreign countries in international news reporting may influence the public's perception of the salience of each country to their own countries and to their political lives and, consequently, public opinion toward them. The news media not

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[97] Ibid

[98] Paik, H. & Comstock, G. (2004). The effects of television violence on antisocial behavior: A meta-analysis. *Communication Research,* 21(4), 516–546

only report foreign policy but also help shape foreign policy by galvanizing public opinion through their coverage.

2.3.1 Media as mobilisers

In conflict situations, the public is desperate for information, for assurance and for guidance and leadership, while sometimes conflict may push the public together in pursuit for peaceful solutions. In other cases, conflicts could present opportunities for further tensions. The public relies on the media for information, while the media depends on authorities to provide updates on the situation. However, Quick point out that the media in Africa has failed to be critical and analytical on conflicts and shaping the peace genda.[99] In so far, reporting on conflicts in Kenya lacks concise explanation of root causes of problems and only mirrors simplistic causal effect features, which do not offer adequate answers to consumers.

The essential role of the media in reporting conflicts is to accurately present events in a fair and balanced manner. Usually, these values are used interchangeably and simply mean, giving each side an opportunity to express its opinions. However, there are contradicting views on the social responsibility role of the media. Wallstein[100] and Rasanen[101] separately criticize this role as too idealistic in the absence of free and democratic structures. In short, the media can inflame conflicts by circulating "negative messages" in society, but it can also be a messenger of peace, reconciliation and unity of people by being sensitive to inherent conflicts.

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[99] Quick, B. (2009). The effects of viewing Grey's Anatomy on perceptions of doctors and patient satisfaction. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 53*(1), 38-55.
[100] Wallstein, K. (2007). Agenda setting and the blogosphere. *Review of Policy Research 24*, (6), 567-587.
[101] Rasanen, P. (2008). The persistence of information structures in Nordic countries. *Information Society, 24*(4), 219-228.

2.3.2 Media as agents of public order

The media bears the responsibility to inform the public and politicians about national issues and suggest ways to promote and protect human rights situations in any country. In their capacity as watchdogs, the media are the "eyes and ears" of the public. They are defenders against possible abuses of rights in the society.[102] While the mainstream media endeavours to achieve these roles, it cannot ignore competition from the alternative or sensational media. Alternative press is sometimes characterized with the manufacture of misinformation and falsehoods. Leo, avers that a responsible media can judge whether the power used by opposing parties to a peace process, is legitimate and consistent with people's aspirations for peace, democracy and social justice or just resisting each other's power to enact national strength.[103] In a situation of political uncertainty, what is critically important is how political actors achieve common good together, not what they oppose. Essentially, how the information is gathered, processed and disseminated in a political system becomes a matter of great public concern.

In essence, by reporting on conflicts and ills in society, the media provides a synthesis to the social problem and opportunity to correct errors. Thus, the media can be utilized to bridge the gap between violent conflicts and peace and in turn promote human rights. media preservation of human rights is only possible in the presence of a legitimate government, which acts as an instrument of public

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[102] Kamhawi, R., & Weaver, D. (2002). Mass communication research trends from 1980 to 1999. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly,* 80(1), 7–27.
[103] Leo, C. (2012), *Land and Class in Kenya*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

power and helps media to assume its responsibility.[104] Rather than a state which coerces the media to manufacture consent or threatens to limit its freedom of choice.

2.4 Mass Media's Use of Public Relations News Materials

It is only truism to say the mass media rely on the use of informed, credible sources in their production of news content. Castells, who described sources as "external suppliers of raw material".[105] Sources provide journalists with information materials including public relations-generated information such as press releases, press conference, corporate and government reports and copies of speeches. Such news materials generated by public relations practitioners have been found to directly or indirectly contribute to journalists' news production. Estimates are that 45 to 50% or more of content in daily newspapers originated from press releases although journalists have been hesitant to acknowledge their reliance on public relations.[106] An earlier study found that about 80 percent of environmental reports originated from or were initiated by press releases and other public relations materials. Less is known is the extent to which public relations materials are included in television news. The video new releases, however, have increasingly become a standard tool in the practice of public relations.[107]

Gatlung noted the "overwhelming importance" that public relations materials had for the news media.[108] He contended that corporate and governmental entities had the

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[104] Anderson, C. & Dill, K. (2000). Video games and aggressive thoughts, feelings, and behavior in the laboratory and in life. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology,* 78(4), 772–791.

[105] Castells, M. (2012). The new public sphere: Global civil society, communication networks, and global governance. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 616 (1), 78-93.

[106] Ibid

[107] Funk, J. & Buchman, D. (2010). Playing violent video and computer games and adolescent self concept. *Journal of Communication,* 46(2), 19–32.

[108] Ibid

ability to shape their agenda in the news. Comstock Chaffee and Katzman [109] underscored the conceptual importance of public relations by suggesting that public relations materials serve as information subsidies for their users.

The reasons public relations practitioners could either insert their agenda or their ideas into news stories, is that the media need subsidized news materials to reduce the labor and technological resources necessary to create them. Public relations practitioners often make their best efforts to cultivate a symbiotic relationship with journalists. Because public relations practitioners are the ones with greater stakes in the relationship, according to Turow, they can afford to depart from journalistic key norms criterion in their push for the use of any news material such as hiding the origins of sources to the detriment of a story's credibility.[110] Turow suggested that it was a public relations practitioners' job to convince newspapers that their information originated from sources with no stake in the issue. Gandy stated that public relations practitioners could resort to a gamut of manipulative approaches in their efforts to target the media they expect to carry their messages. [111]

Citing self-interest and other reasons, primarily a lack of trustworthiness and the perceived lower status of public relations profession, journalists themselves generally hold negative attitudes toward public relations practitioners. Journalists also tend to describe public relations in negative connotations when they use the term in their stories. Henderson found that more than 80 percent of articles in The New York Times and 240 periodicals covering current events between January 1995 and December 1996 that have mentioned "public relations" in their articles carried the

[109] Comstock, G., Chaffee, S. & Katzman, N. (2008). *Television and human behavior.* New York: Columbia University Press
[110] Ibid
[111] Ibid

connotations of public relations being a corrupter of journalism, unattempt to direct attention away from the real issue, an effort by an organization to deal with a disaster, and other negative associations. Gormley, rejected an entirely negative view of public relations, urging researchers to examine the bad and the good. [112] Gormley, argued that public relations did not only involve persuasive communications but also informative communications. The pervasive perception that public relations involved only persuasive communication contributed significantly to negative attitudes toward public relations. The fact that journalists have continued to make use of information materials generated by public relations staffs suggests that journalists may simply be hesitant to acknowledge their uses and acceptance. In a study by Herzog "More than most readers realize, and many editors care to admit, newspapers depend upon information brought to them voluntarily".[113]

2.5 The Post-Election Crisis and the Media

The post-election crisis raised concerns over the ability of the state to protect citizen's rights, and whether the media in Kenya reflects the human rights agenda. The role of the media in Kenya's political processes places it at a central position to guard the society against state infringements. During conflicts, a democratic media serves to encourage dialogue, tolerance and interaction among communities hence reducing inherent conflicts and building lasting peace. But, the media can either report negatively on political opponents, or raise the legitimacy of those supporting peaceful negotiations.

These roles are sometimes inseparable and were applied constantly before, during and after the election crisis. For instance, some forms of references in

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[112] Gormley, W. (2011). Newspaper agendas and political elites. *Journalism Quarterly,* 52(2), 304–308.
[113] Ibid

the media and political platforms went against principles of media freedom and democracy. The UN based Humanitarian News Agency, IRIN for example reports that: Kikuyus, who have settled in traditionally Kalenjin and Luo areas, were called "mongooses" wanting to "steal the chickens" of other tribes. "People of the milk'', meaning the cattle herding Kalenjin, were told they must "take out the weeds in their midst" ... the Kikuyu's. In turn, Kikuyu stations referred to the "animals from the west" wanting to take over the "kingdom" ... a reference to Luo and Kalenjin threats to Kikuyu homes and businesses.[114]

This excerpt demonstrates multiple ethnic issues embedded in the country's social, political and economic set up. Ethnic centred messages can infringe not only on the right to information, but other related human rights. In the context of the crisis, a series of human rights violations flowed from one violation to another. In this way, it was easy to see that human rights are indivisible, universal, and inalienable.[115] As such, media freedom is an element of "freedom of expression". It also directly connects to linguistic rights, freedom of assembly and association, right to privacy and freedom from state interferences.

While some sections of the media, particularly ethnic language radio stations allegedly disseminated ethnic centred information, some media houses bridged gaps between warring ethnic groups. For instance, independent radio and television used interactive shows to engage audiences in peace dialogue.[116] Journalists across the country joined efforts to call for peace. According to the Committee for the Protection of Journalists (CPJ), a group of 40 Kenyan female journalists launched a

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[114] Hogben, H. (2013). Factors moderating the effect of televised aggression on viewer behavior. *Communication Research,* 25(2), 220–247.
[115] Ibid
[116] Kagen, S. & Brook, J. (2012). Television viewing and aggressive behavior during adolescence and adulthood. *Science*, 295(5564), 2468–2472.

"white ribbon" campaign to encourage peace and ethnic harmony. A similar track was evident in leading newspaper's uniform headline "Save our beloved Nation" as the crisis worsened. [117]

2.5.1 Power and Counter-power in the Media

Kenya has experienced serious outbreaks of political motivated violence at each of the elections from 1992 and onwards. But the ferocity, rapid escalation and scale of the violence after the 2007 election took many Kenyans and international observers by surprise, shattering the idea of Kenya as a principally politically stable country. However, despite the reports, the 2013 elections proved to be one of the most peaceful in history. [118]

Kenya's democratization process, in comparison to the majority of Sub-Saharan countries, has been described as spectacular and rapid. Even during the Moi regime which was described as dictatorial, there was a level of tolerance and even encouragement in some cases of public expression. However, pre-electoral violence, a recurring occurrence after the beginning of multipartyism, became a tool used by the government to stamp its dominance in the Kenyan society. Ethnic confrontations, land battles, livestock theft or banditry occurring in local frameworks had an agenda of terrorizing local populations that that were suspected of supporting the opposition. [119] There are conditions that structure participation in cyber culture because only certain languages and certain cultural norms of communication are

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[117] Kaid, L. & Pfau, M. (2013). The impact of web campaigning on traditional news media and public information processing. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 80(3), 528–548.
[118] Ibid
[119] Kaid, L. & Pfau, M. (2013). The impact of web campaigning on traditional news media and public information processing. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 80(3), 528–548.

embedded in cyberspace's technology.[120] Cyber-pessimists have regarded digital media as a Pandora's box unleashing new inequalities of power and wealth, reinforcing deeper divisions between the information rich and poor, the tuned-in and the tuned-out, the activists and the disengaged. This account stresses that the global and social divides means that internet politics will disproportionally only benefit the elite.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the literature on public relations on news content and post-election violence. It can be concluded that news content is influenced by individual, media routines, organizational characteristics, extra-media variables and ideological influences. The aim of public relations is to inform the public, prospective customers, investors, partners, employees and other stakeholders and ultimately persuade them to maintain a certain view about the organization, its leadership, products, or political decisions.

Much of the news people read or watch on television is manufactured by PR firms and specialists, rather than discovered by journalists. Media and press releases include news, feature stories, bulletins, media advisories and announcements, all of which flood media offices. By being the primary source of a journalist's information on a particular story, PR people can influence the way the story is told and who tells it. News judgment allows journalists to discern what an audience deems important and appealing, and empowers journalists to make consistent story selections. In carrying out their work journalists face time and resource constraints. This situation contributes to journalists' use of information subsidies from sources.

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[120] Milgram, S., & Shotland, R. (2013). *Television and antisocial behavior.* New York: Academic Press.

The concentration of media ownership into the hands of a few people is of concern to people at both ends of the political spectrum. The critical role of the news media is image-projectors, a linear process of image formation through news coverage. Unofficial information, or leaks, give the impression of investigative journalism, but are often strategic maneuvers on the part of those with position or power. The essential role of the media in reporting conflicts is to accurately present events in a fair and balanced manner.

Public relations practitioners often make their best efforts to cultivate a symbiotic relationship with journalists. Because public relations practitioners are the ones with greater stakes in the relationship they can afford to depart from journalistic key norms criterion in their push for the use of any news material such as hiding the origins of sources to the detriment of a story's credibility. The fact that journalists have continued to make use of information materials generated by public relations staffs suggests that journalists may simply be hesitant to acknowledge their uses and acceptance.

CHAPTER THREE

**STRATEGIC COMMUNICATIONS DURING AND AFTER THE 2007/08
POST-ELECTION VIOLENCE IN KENYA**

3.1 Communication and Politics

The mass media forms the backbone of democracy as they provide voters with political information which they use in electing their leaders. According to Dye and Ziegler[121] the mass media serves four political functions that include: news making, interpretation, socialization, persuasion and agenda setting. Through these functions, the mass media create political issues they consider of importance to the public, define their meanings and consequences and ultimately cause the shift of public opinions and attitudes.[122] An example is when the media gives more coverage to elections than to ongoing cases in the supreme courts.

News making is all about making decisions of "who" and "what" will appear in the news. Media coverage helps the general public know about personalities whom they have little direct encounters, events or organization. Viewers are also likely to believe news on distant figures such as the president since they have no personal experience with them. However, their opinions on religions or ethnicity are not likely to be influenced by media coverage because they have their own personal experience of them.[123]

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[121] Dye and Ziegler (2003). Votes, Money and Violence: Political parties and Elections in Sub-Saharan Africa. (Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Sweden, University of Kwazulu-Natal:South Africa 2007)

[122] Collier, P. (2000). Rebellion as quasi-criminal activity, Journal of Conflict Resolution, 44(6): 839-53

[123] Bardhan, P. (1997). Method in the madness? A political-economy analysis of the ethnic conflicts in less developed countries, World Development, 25(9): 1381-98.

At the same time, Bratton says that politicians understand that a high amount of media coverage tells people what is important and this explains why they struggle to get the attention of the media. They achieve this by coming up with what is referred to as media events which among other qualities should attract an unusual audience.[124]

According to a survey by Pew Research Center in the year 2000 on the Americans attitude towards the credibility of newsmakers showed that 57 percent believed that news media professionals are influenced by their political preferences in their news reporting while 32 percent believe this happens at times.[125]

With regard to the influence of news media, a 2004 poll conducted by Harris in America revealed that only 17 percent of the respondents had confidence in the television news while 15 percent in the press. According to Maupeu this evidently shows that a minority of viewers believe everything they see on TV as true.[126]

Quantin posits that not only do newsmakers decide what appears in the news but also interpret it by placing an event in a context and thereafter speculate the causes and consequences.[127] Newsmakers normally take an angle on a story which they give to reporters before assigning them news dockets.[128] Films and also video tapes are edited for selections of different segments to be aired during news. A good example is the Iraq war in 2003 where American media reported the attack on Iraq by the United States as a defensive act against terrorism as it was alleged that Saddam Hussein had

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[124] Bratton, M. (2008). Vote buying and violence in Nigerian election campaigns, Electoral Studies, 27(4): 621-32

[125] ollier, P. and Dominic R. (2008). Democracy, Development, and Conflict, Journal of the European Economic Association. 6(2-3): 531-40.

[126] Maupeu, H. (2008). Revisitng post-election violence. Lafargue, J. (Ed.). The general elections in Kenya, 2007. (pp. 187-223). Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers, Ltd

[127] Quantin, P. (1998), 'Pour une analyse comparative des élections africaines', Politique Africaine 69,

[128] Ibid

weapons of mass destruction.[129] However, these weapons were not found and this prompted the media to shift its focus to the poor planning of the attack which caused a decrease in public support of the war.[130]

Another function of the mass media is political persuasion which is an attempt to change people's behavior and attitude through communication.[131] Political parties and candidates try to convince the public to accept their political beliefs. According to Dye and Ziegler propaganda is a form of persuasive communication which involves transmission of opinions, facts and information that are aimed at benefiting the communicator. Political leaders use persuasion and propaganda as their most important tools in their profession.[132] Presidents have control over the time that is allocated for their speeches and announcement. Also, presidential candidates can create their own campaign organizations, separate from that of their party, which deploy persuasion and propaganda techniques. [133]

The mass media is responsible for the creation of public opinion through agenda setting. That news media shape public opinion through priming is one of the most widely accepted results in political behavior.[134] Politicians are more likely to pay attention to public opinion when it offers an opportunity for political advantage over their competitors. In the event that they fail to respond to public opinion due to conflicting convictions, they risk losing voter support and subsequently the elections.

[129] Linden Mayer E and Kaye J.L, (2009). A Choice for Peace? The Story of Forty-One Days of Mediation in Kenya, (New York: International Peace Institute, August 2009)

[130] Ksoll, C. Macchiavello, R., and Morjaria. A. (2009). Guns and Roses: The Impact of the Kenyan Post-Election Violence on Flower Exporting Firms. Working Paper 2009-06. Center for the Study of African Economies, Oxford University.

[131] Mutua, A. N. (2001). A study of Propaganda and the Press in Africa. Retrieved JAN 8th, 2012, from http://www.geocities.com/a_mutua/propaganda.html#references

[132] Ibid

[133] Metzl, J. (1997). Information intervention: When switching channels isn"t enough. US Foreign Affairs , 76 (6), pp. 17-20.

[134] Koni, D. (2012). African media and conflict. Retrieved Jan 18, 2013, from ttp://www.cr.org/occ_papers/af_media/

Shea et al. note that one of the marks of first-rate political leader he knows when to support or resist public opinion.[135]

3.2 Perceived Role of communication in Kenya

The Kenyan mass media has played a significant role in economic, social, political and educational issues affecting the nation thus contributing immensely towards development. However, this has come with disgust especially in political issues resulting into violent conflicts.[136] The invisible role of media in Kenya cannot be assumed given its influential power. For instance, mass media could have played a positive role during the 2007 general elections by supporting the efforts of the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK) towards the realization of free and fair elections.[137] Indeed, the media shaped national and global public opinion, attitudes and practices towards various political parties, presidential candidates and critical issues during election campaigns in Kenya through their extensive coverage and broadcasts.[138] In addition, Mbeke indicates that mass media could have also played a critical role as a tool for education by supporting the civic education programs conducted by various civil society organizations.[139]

Apart from the positive roles, media could have played negative roles towards the cause and escalation of election violence. As would be deduced from Kenya during 2007 general election coverage, media portrayed a volatile political environment marred with abhorrence, violence, and a stiff race between two protagonists through biased coverage. Furthermore, major media houses such as NTV and KTN predicted a

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[135] Ibid

[136] Mbeke, P. (2009). The role of media in conflict and peace building in Kenya. Nairobi: InterNews Network.

[137] Musungu, Sisule F. Kenya. 2008. "Media´s Role in the Election Fallout". IPS News: http://ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews=40908

[138] UNDP, 2008

[139] Ibid

flawed and highly manipulated election to favor the ruling party. Therefore, the perceived attempt to bungle the vote tallying exercise by ECK only served to confirm the prediction of the media.[140] This certainly could have prompted the PEV.

KNCHR report posits that another media misrepresentation was witnessed during the Majimbo (federalism) debate, which really defined the 2007 elections.[141] According to media supportive to ODM, federalism meant devolution of power and resources to grassroots while to media supportive to PNU, federalism meant eviction of Kikuyus from the Rift Valley and other parts of the country.[142] According to ODM supporters, federalism would guarantee them access to power to correct historical wrongs committed by all powerful governments since independence while according to PNU supporters, federalism would threaten their land ownership in the former Rift Valley Province and other parts of the country thereby undermining their economic and business interests.[143] Therefore, the media could have laid the foundation for a high-stakes political duel that stimulated ethnic emotions and passions through misinterpretation of facts.[144]

Some media houses, especially the FM radio stations, seemed to have encouraged hate speech that elicited ethnic hatred and animosity that burst into open postelection violence.[145] Among the stations that were most mentioned included Inooro FM, Kameme FM, Kass FM, and Lake Victoria FM. While mainstream media houses like KBC, Nation Media and Standard Group were much more cautious, FM radio

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[140] KNCHR, 2008
[141] Ibid
[142] GoK, 2008
[143] ibid
[144] Ongiri, I. (2008). Kenya: I Acted Under Pressure, Says Kivuitu, The Standard, January 2.
[145] BBCWST. (2008) The Kenya 2007 Elections and their Aftermath: The Role of the Media and Communication

stations especially those broadcasting in ethnic languages appeared to fuel ethnic hatred and animosity through the use of hate and unsavoury language. For instance, KASS FM radio station broadcasting to Kalenjins in the former Rift Valley Province referred to their Kikuyu neighbours as „foreigners", while a popular Kikuyu radio station, Kameme FM, often referred to Luos as „fishermen".[146]

Generally it seemed there was absence of professional conduct in most media prior to and during the post-election violence.[147] Most media reports initially seemed inaccurate, unbalanced and unfair. Verification of facts was always wanting and victims of the conflict were treated merely as statistics without identities.[148] In addition, the media houses also seemed unprofessional in the manner they handled the release of election results. They released varying, piecemeal and speculative results that caused anxiety and confusion among already anxious voters across the country. This could have also spurred the perception that the election was rigged, fuelling the postelection violence.

3.3 Political Communication and Kenya's Election in December 2007

The use of new media as a means of political communication was nothing new for the East African country in the Kenyan presidential elections in December 2007. Even before the election in 2002, the major parties and some individual politicians had an online presence.[149] The obvious advantage of direct communication with the voter was readily accepted, as the Kenyan media were, and are, for the most part, partisan and aligned along ethnic or political boundaries. Indeed, many forms of media, in particular radio stations that broadcast in the local language, are even owned

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[146] Report from OHCHR Fact-finding Mission to Kenya, 6-28 February 2008 Studies 6, pp.135–17
[147] Howard, R. (2008) My Tribe is Journalism: Nairobi, IMS.
[148] Kenya National Commission of Human Rights (2008) A human rights accounts of Kenya's post-2007 election violence: On the Brink of precipice, Nairobi, KNCHR.
[149] Kenya National Commission on Human Rights, (2008) Behaving Badly: Nairobi, KNCHR.

stations especially those broadcasting in ethnic languages appeared to fuel ethnic hatred and animosity through the use of hate and unsavoury language. For instance, KASS FM radio station broadcasting to Kalenjins in the former Rift Valley Province referred to their Kikuyu neighbours as „foreigners", while a popular Kikuyu radio station, Kameme FM, often referred to Luos as „fishermen".[146]

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[148] Kenya National Commission of Human Rights (2008) A human rights accounts of Kenya's post-2007 election violence: On the Brink of precipice, Nairobi, KNCHR.
[149] Kenya National Commission on Human Rights, (2008) Behaving Badly: Nairobi, KNCHR.

by politicians.[150] The new media trend continued in 2007. Again, all of the parties used the opportunity to present themselves. Those expecting deeper insights, hoping for an interactive discussion of the political objectives or even seeking party political support for democracy and development, were disappointed.[151]

The parties in Kenya, a structurally weak state and, as such, particularly dependent on the leadership, promoted a personality cult on their party political and candidate web pages, thereby continuing their standard political approach in the online sphere.[152] A visit to the official websites of the eight main candidates quickly made clear the kind of Internet-based political communication the parties in Kenya had in mind.

While attempts were made to target young voters with online content, the parties and candidates were not interested in any form of real communication with the electorate. None of those involved provided interactive functions: only half had an e-mail feature and only two published their e-mail addresses; five of the sites stated a contact phone number. Evidently, those responsible were not entirely convinced of the benefits of online communication.[153]

According to Ervasti and Helaakoski this use of the Internet as a party voting machine is, however, not a peculiarly Kenyan phenomenon, but is found in the majority of the countries in the region.[154] Another characteristic of these party sites is their inherent 'expiry date'. None of the eight Kenyan candidate websites was maintained and

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[150] Makali, D. (Ed.) (2008) Is the Media to blame publication: Nairobi, The Media Institute.

[151] Okombo, O. (Ed.) (2009) Discourses on Kenya's 2007 General Election Perspectives and prospects for a Democratic society: Nairobi, Typedesign Ltd.

[152] Ibid

[153] Ervasti, M. and Helaakoski, H. (2010)."Case study of application-based mobile service acceptance and development in Finland". Int. J. Information Technology and Management, 9 (3), 243-259

[154] Ibid

updated any longer than just after the actual election date. All bar one have now disappeared from the Internet. Short-term political calculations are given priority over the long-term voter base in many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. This can also be seen in digital election campaigns, as a mirror image of the party-political reality.[155] The parties become very active just before the elections, introducing typical campaign measures. After the election, however, the parties very soon return to the autocratic patterns that dominated prior to the election. Kenya's elections in 2002 and 2007 are exemplary of this.[156]

3.3.1 Media Communication During 2007/2008 Election Violence

The fallout of the presidential election and the violence that followed the announcement of Kibaki´s win over Odinga questioned the basis of Kenya´s democracy. In contrast to institutions like parliament and the courts that have never enjoyed much public trust, the media has been trusted as a democratic institution.[157] A majority of people interviewed also seemed to trust the local media.

Although the Kenyan media is relatively free compared to many African countries, the government has showed a tendency to controlling news organizations[158]. During the last years, there have been numerous arrests and prosecutions of journalists, and the police shut down a newspaper. Many of the cases involved prosecution for publication of, what the government deemed, "alarmist information".[159] Although there are signs of improvement such as the growth of the radio stations and increased

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[155] Anholt, S. (2008). Place branding: Is it marketing, or isn't it? Place Branding and Public Diplomacy, (4), 1-6.

[156] Aparaschivei, P. A. (2011). The use of new media in electoral campaigns: Analysis on the use of blogs, facebook, twitter and YouTube in the 2009 Romanian presidential campaign. Journal of Media Research, 4(2), 39.

[157] Kimani, M. (2008). East Africa feels blows of Kenyan crisis, Africa Renewal, 22(1): 3.

[158] Ibid

[159] World Press Freedom Review 2006

freedom to air different views in broadcast media, the lack of proper legislation and regulation raises concerns.[160]

The post-election situation raised discussions about the performance of the media. Many observers asked whether the media did a proper job as watchdog and unbiased observer, or instead, contributed to the crisis. According to Reporters without Borders the media failed to perform an adequate role by being too careful and self-censoring.[161] Journalists had not pushed to find out the truth about the rigged results. Fears of making things worse obsessed journalists who, according to several reports and our interviews, were willing to act as peacemaker's more than critical reporters.

The Kenyan media was accused of pro-government bias during the election crisis, and some analysts partially blamed the media for the violence.[162] Journalists gathered at a media workshop in January 2008 agreed that the media failed short from during the crisis. Local radio stations propagated and spread ethnic hate which, arguably, incited violent acts.[163]

Ongiri posited that many Kenyan bloggers were critical of the role of the mainstream media.[164] After the elections, several media reviewed that violence was due to "long-simmering ethnic tensions". However, many bloggers argued that the tensions had been consciously stoked by political parties, while the nation had been largely free of serious ethnic tension for most of its history.[165] They also accused the national media of reducing the problem to simply a Kibaki-Raila game, while failing to tackle

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[160] Ibid
[161] Reporters without Borders (2008),
[162] Mwiandi, S, (2008). "Moving Beyond Relief: The Challenges of Settling Kenya's Internally Displaced," USIP Peace Briefing (Washington, DC: USIP, August 2008)
[163] Ongiri, I. (2008). Kenya: I Acted Under Pressure, Says Kivuitu, The Standard, January 2.
[164] Ibid
[165] Lindenmayer E and Kaye J.L, (2009). A Choice for Peace? The Story of Forty-One Days of Mediation in Kenya, (New York: International Peace Institute, August 2009

seriously the extra-judicial killings by police and criticized the international media for showing Kenya as a desperate and violent country, and ignoring the voices of people who were not interested in violence.[166]

The social media offered narratives by "citizen reporters" and digital activists that were more diverse than the views presented in the mainstream media, and represented grassroots reactions during the crisis.[167] While the international media only scratched the surface of what was happening, and the traditional media partly resigned to [168]censorship due to fears of repression, the social media acted offered swifter, more subjective, and more detailed coverage during a fast-moving and changing situation.

3.4 Political Communication in Developed Versus Developing Countries

Political behaviors of the people living in the developed and the developing countries are totally different. For example, regarding election campaigns and voting process, there seldom happens an incident of fraud or violence in the developed countries like America, Germany, France, Italy etc.[169] but this is a very common feature in developing countries in Asia and Africa. Even in countries like Pakistan every election campaign takes lives of several dozen people. The final day of the election campaign of 2008 elections in Pakistan was a bloody day in which 37 people were killed in a bomb blast and disturbances across the country. On the other hand, the

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[166] De Smedt, J. (2009). 'No Raila, no peace!' Big man politics and elections violence at the Kibera grassroots, African Affairs, 108/433, 581-98.

[167] Ibid

[168] Cussac, A. (2008). "Kibaki tena?" The challenges of a campaign Lafargue, J. (Ed.). The general elections in Kenya, 2007. (pp. 55-104). Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers, Ltd.

[169] Collier, P. and Dominic R. (2008). Democracy, Development, and Conflict, Journal of the European Economic Association. 6(2-3): 531-40.

editor of one of the Germany's most popular newspaper 'Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung' states the situation of their country's election coverage in these words. [170]

"We plan our election coverage without worrying about how to deal with violence – because election-related violence has never occurred in the Federal Republic of Germany. We also plan our election coverage without concern for fraud – because we know the process will be transparent and clean. Anybody who wishes to do so can walk into a polling station at election night and see what is going on"

Gerchermann believes that the ideal democratic and completely peaceful society perhaps does not exist in the world. However, the media institutions can play their role in strengthening democratic societies. Keeping in view this huge difference of political communication, we must acknowledge that the situation of political communication is quite different in developed and developing countries.

Political communication is based on freedom of choice and only the freedom of information can make freedom of choice possible.[171] Only a well informed and civilized public can make the rule of constitution possible. Only some strong legislative bodies and the independent judicial system can lead to the responsible governmental administration. These are the reasons why developed countries have a different kind of political communication without a fear of fraud or violence. On the other hand, in most of the developing countries, fraud, corruption and violence are integral parts of political communication.[172] Even the general elections in these countries take lives of several dozen people and sometimes hundreds of people in

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[170] Ibid

[171] Basedau M., Erdmann G. and Mehler A. (eds) (2009). Votes, Money and Violence: Political parties and Elections in Sub-saharan Africa. (Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Sweden, University of Kwazulu-Natal:South Africa

[172] Joel D. Barkan, (2008). "Hearing on the Immediate and Underlying Causes and Consequences of Flawed Democracy in Kenya," Testimony, Prepared for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's Subcommittee on African Affairs, February 7, 2008

clashes between political parties and sometimes with the police or the law enforcing agencies.

3.4.1 Effects of the Mass Media on Conflict

Mbeke indicate that mass media can contribute to conflict by inciting violence, failing to highlight emerging conflicts, delaying to report conflicts, journalists taking part in killings, highlighting hate speech during conflicts, downplaying genocide during conflicts, acting irresponsibly, and deliberately creating misrepresentations in reporting.[173]

According to Howard, the effects of the media can be viewed in terms of the negative repercussions that inadvertent or overt propagandistic or one-sided reporting may have in terms of fuelling tensions and provoking conflict.[174] Conversely, the media may potentially have a positive impact if based upon basic professional standards, combined with diverse access to information, reasonable financial resources and adherence to ethical codes.[175] Such media can contribute to societal reconciliation, alter misperceptions and broaden understanding of the cause and consequences of conflict.

According to Collier the effects of the media on conflict and vice-versa are dependent on the context in which the interaction takes place. Such contextual factors dictate the role and scope of the media to influence root causes, patterns of violence and current or future dynamics of conflict.[176]

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[173] Ibid

[174] Ibid

[175] Ksoll, C. Macchiavello, R., and Morjaria. A. (2009). Guns and Roses: The Impact of the Kenyan Post-Election Violence on Flower Exporting Firms. Working Paper 2009-06. Center for the Study of African Economies, Oxford University.

[176] Collier, P. (2010). Rebellion as quasi-criminal activity, Journal of Conflict Resolution, 44(6): 839-53

The media in conflict situations often use "dehumanization" and "depersonalization"15 to incite hatred against individuals and communities. In the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, the Tutsi were portrayed by radio (RTLM) as "cockroaches" or "lesser creatures" that deserved extermination.[177] As stated by BBCWST, in Kenya, the media especially the FM radio stations encouraged hate speech that elicited ethnic hatred and animosity.[178] Some ethnic radio stations broadcasting to Kalenjins in the Rift Valley used to call their Kikuyu neighbours Kenyambi (weeds), while a popular Kikuyu radio station often referred to Luos as fishermen.[179]

According to Mwiandi the media may also incite violence through manipulative, negative and pessimistic presentation of facts that create the impression that the situation is worsening.[180] This more often than not provides a justification for people or groups to take decisive action, including violence In Rwanda, Radio-Television Libres des milles collines (RTLM) made the Hutus believe that they must strike first in order to save themselves from the Tutsis. Therefore, the media created fear, thereby laying the foundation for taking violent action through self defence.[181]

The plurality of certain media can also have a significant impact, because if there is only one outlet in the most popular and/or easily accessible from, then its influence will be significantly enhanced due to the lack of competition . Furthermore, the access that the media has to timely and provide accurate

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[177] Ibid

[178] Ibid

[179] Report from OHCHR Fact-finding Mission to Kenya, 6-28 February 2008Studies 6, pp.135–170.

[180] Mwiandi, S, (2008). "Moving Beyond Relief: The Challenges of Settling Kenya's Internally Displaced," USIP Peace Briefing (Washington, DC: USIP, August 2008.

[181]

information from primary sources is essential for balanced, objective and reliable reporting. In this regard, linkages and cooperative relations with local authorities, civil society, academia and the development aid community are of significant importance.[182]

3.5 Relationship building during and after the 2007/08 post-election violence in Kenya

Castells states that communication processes haven been widely recognized as vital in times of conflict, specifically in its pre-escalation phases, when propaganda and psychological preparation for hostilities, or even genocide, have been widely documented and analysed.[183] In recent times, especially since the documentation and wide publication of infamous Radio Mille Collines' sinister role in the preparation and execution of genocidal violence in Rwanda, the media's role in conflict escalation has been firmly re-established on the research as well as policy agenda. When also in former Yugoslavia, media were widely and systematically used to propel the flames of hatred and violence, the call for the international community to address the issue of the media in conflicts (as an option somehow in between armed intervention and merely talking within the political fora) became yet more audible; famously summed up by Jamie Metzl's call to establish an 'information intervention unit' within the UN, which would combine the tasks of monitoring, peace broadcasting as well as jamming broadcasts in 'extreme cases' in order to prevent escalations.[184]

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[182] IMS, 2004

[183] Castells, M. (2012). The new public sphere: Global civil society, communication networks, and global governance. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 616 (1), 78-93.

[184] Ibid

3.5.1 Social media tools and relationship building

In Kenya, the social media has proved to have a remarkable role during the media ban and the national crisis. Social media tools have opened up new possibilities for citizens to share their views in public and discuss the situation with other citizens and people globally. Mobile phones and web applications have enabled many Kenyans to contact and help relatives in risky areas. Okollah states that Kenyan bloggers have also tried to work towards more accessible information and transparency in decision making.[185]Social media tools supplement rather than replace conventional media. Because they serve as channels of expression that cannot be easily controlled by the ruling power, they widen and diversify public discussion. They offer critical assessments and unmediated perspectives. However, the issue of whether discussions flowing from the grassroots affect power and the state of democracy remains unexplored. Ideally, social media tools could increase transparency in politics and enhance citizens' participation through enabling people to follow decision-making processes and hold discussions about issues of common concern. For most Kenyans, however, tapping the internet for the latest news in crisis is not a real option. Internet access is prohibitively expensive for the majority. There is a need for making new media tools more accessible to those who are less fortunate.

In situations of crisis when the mainstream media suffer restrictions and do not cover many events and grassroots opinions, new social media offer opportunities for a diversity of voices to be heard and connect with each other.[186] Rather than speaking for Kenyan people affected the situation.

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[185] Ibid
[186] Bienien, H. (2014), Kenya: *The Politics of Participation and Control*. Princeton   University Press, New Jersey

3.5.2 Effective communication in relation building

Effective communication means that people can express themselves, both verbally and non-verbally, in ways that are appropriate to their cultures and situations. This means not only being able to express their opinions and desires, but also their needs and fears and to ask for advice and help.[187] Communication is done by merely looking, by speaking, by posture, or by gestures. If used properly, communication can inform, educate, reassure, evoke sympathy, arouse interest in, or acceptance of, situations as and when they occur.[188] It is also through communication that disputes are solved.

Kagen and Brook defined communication as the mechanism through which human relations exist and develop all the symbols of the mind, together with the means of conveying them through space and preserving them in time.[189] The art of Communication includes the facial expressions, attitude and gesture, the tones of the voice, words, writing, printing, telephones, telegraphs, and whatever maybe the latest achievement in the conquest of space and time.[190] According to Kinaro an important characteristic of communication is that it is purposive and goal directed, both from the point of view of the sender of the message and the receiver. Both parties participate in the transaction expecting a return for their efforts.[191]

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[187] Hegelson, V. & Crawford, A. (2014). Internet paradox revisited. *Journal of Social Issues,* 58(1), 49–75.

[188] Hilker, A. (2009). Agenda-setting influence in an off-year election. *ANPA Research Bulletin,* pp. 7–10.

[189] Kagen, S. & Brook, J. (2012). Television viewing and aggressive behavior during adolescence and adulthood. *Science*, 295(5564), 2469–2473.

[190] Kamhawi, R., & Weaver, D. (2002). Mass communication research trends from 1980 to 1999. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly,* 80(1), 7–27.

[191] Kinaro, E. (2013). *Determinants of Foreign Direct Investment in Kenya*. Institute African de Development Economique et de planification. Dakar

Milgram and Shotland argues that the major objective of communication is to preserve existing relationships.[192] Information is transferred from the communicator to the receiver so that the message can be recalled. Transmitting information is taught by the communicator so that it can be used in the subsequent performance of legitimate tasks. The communicator persuades the receiver to accept new attitudes and behaviour; the communicator gratifies, that is, ensures the satisfaction of the receiver's needs. Sometimes the receiver may need information for enjoyment or entertainment.[193]

Milgram and Shotland further argues that people and social institutions communicate for surveillance, where communities are informed about threats and opportunities by scanning the immediate and far-away environment. Surveillance function today is often attributed to the mass media.[194] People also communicate for correlation and transmission of the social inheritance. For a community to survive its members must share common values and must agree on what behaviours and roles are appropriate.

According to Nathanson ccommunication is necessary in this socialization process. The mass media in many modern societies attempt to fulfil this correlation function by providing their publics with a free market place of ideas, or with a discussion of the day- to-day issues.[195] Inadequate communication can impose a number of costs including bad decision making, misunderstanding among one another, leading to

[192] Milgram, S., & Shotland, R. (2013). *Television and antisocial behavior.* New York: Academic Press.
[193] Ibid
[194] Ibid
[195] Nathanson, A. (2009). Identifying and explaining the relationship between parental mediation and children's aggression. *Communication Research,* 26(2), 124–143.

costly mistakes, incorrect perceptions and personal objectives, the possible emergence of grapevines, conflicts and disputes.[196]

3.6 Strategic communications and the Kenya 2008 Post election Mediation Process

Both formal and informal diplomacy were carried out simultaneously in response to the conflict which resorted to Violence after the 2007 Kenya Presidential elections. While the formal mediation process took place in a single location which was the Serena hotel in Nairobi, many informal groups held meetings countrywide and some including the same venue as the formal mediation.[197]

Kenya applied different communication strategies to attain peace. Various political and influential people around the world including former presidents visited Kenya aiming to be potential mediators in the post-election conflict in Kenya. Several diplomats came together and resolved to push for a debate between the principals of the conflicting parties.[198] These diplomats even used third parties to conversation to the principals in an effort to convince them to hold dialogues among themselves but were not successful. The diplomats at times used the media to call for the principals to talk to each other.[199] They largely supported the leader of the mediation team, Kofi Annan, and were ready to provide him with any assistance that he may have needed in terms of leverage. A number of ambassadors gave EU statements which basically called for a speedy resolution of the conflict.

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[196] Ibid
[197] Krcmar, M. (2013). The contribution of family communication patterns to children's interpretations of television violence. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media,* 42(2), 250–264.
[198] Ibid
[199] Ibid

A mediation process then began in Kenya on 22nd January 2008 which was three weeks after the post-election violence erupted across Kenya. The mentioned mediation process consisted of former Tanzanian President Benjamin Mkapa, former South African First Lady Graça Machel, and former UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan as Chairperson. The Panel was charged with helping the parties to the conflict ensure that an escalation of the crisis was avoided and that the opportunity to bring about a sustainable peace was seized as soon as possible. The unique team was mandated by the African Union (AU) and relied on worldwide diplomatic support as well as the technical support of the United Nations, including the Department of Political Affairs (DPA), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and United Nations Office in Nairobi (UNON), as well as the Geneva-based Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (HD Centre).

As stated by [200] Owino the informal mediation process started well before the formal process led by the Panel of Eminent African Personalities, since violence following the 2007 elections saw a very concerned group of individual Kenyans come together. They were all greatly concerned by the lack of willingness of the principals (both PNU and ODM) to reach an agreement which would see a ceasefire yet the country was `burning´. These concerned individuals were mainly from the middleclass and included business people, professionals, a few civil servants, religious figures, some government officials both retired and those still in practice and other individuals from various walks of life.[201] They all came together and held meetings which served as an avenue of expressing their views and coming up with a

[200] Owino, C. (2011), Divide and Rule: *State -sponsored Ethnic Violence in Kenya, Human Rights Watch*, New York, Washington, November.
[201] Ibid

united voice and demand for a speedy resolution of the violent conflict which threatened the livelihood of Kenyans. [202]

The Civil society as a whole was pivotal in creating an environment that was favourable for negotiations by preaching calm in the grassroots. They were active in improving relations and restoring trust among the different people in the society. This role would then stretch on after the formal mediation, where they would offer peace building and reconciliatory activities in the grassroots so as to bring about healing and forgiveness amongst Kenyans.

The formal mediation process adopted the use of "outsiders" as part of the dual diplomacy strategy in the mediating room. The outsiders input was given by organizations such as Kenya Red Cross Society (KRC) Research and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) representatives who gave a briefing on the situation on the ground reporting that 923 people had been killed and more than 250,000 displaced, with genuine protests rapidly shifting to activities by gangs and criminal groups that predated the election violence and across the country, people were still being forced to leave their homes. Kofi Annan seemed to reciprocate by actively involving the media to disseminate flowing positive information to Kenyans on the formal mediation process.[203]

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed literature on strategic communications during and after the 2007/08 post-election violence in Kenya. The mass media serves four political functions that include: news making, interpretation, socialization, persuasion and

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[202] Ibid

[203] Potter, W. (2013). Perceived reality and the cultivation hypothesis. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media,* 30(2), 159–174

agenda setting. Media coverage helps the general public know about personalities whom they have little direct encounters, events or organization. Viewers are also likely to believe news on distant figures such as the president since they have no personal experience with them.

The media shaped national and global public opinion, attitudes and practices towards various political parties, presidential candidates and critical issues during election campaigns in Kenya through their extensive coverage and broadcasts. Apart from the positive roles, media could have played negative roles towards the cause and escalation of election violence.

The effects of the media can be viewed in terms of the negative repercussions that inadvertent or overt propagandistic or one-sided reporting may have in terms of fuelling tensions and provoking conflict. Mass media can contribute to conflict by inciting violence, failing to highlight emerging conflicts, delaying to report conflicts, journalists taking part in killings, highlighting hate speech during conflicts, downplaying genocide during conflicts, acting irresponsibly, and deliberately creating misrepresentations in reporting.

In Kenya, social media tools have opened up new possibilities for citizens to share their views in public and discuss the situation with other citizens and people globally. Mobile phones and web applications have enabled many Kenyans to contact and help relatives in risky areas during the 2007 elections. For most Kenyans, however, tapping the internet for the latest news in crisis is not a real option. Internet access is prohibitively expensive for the majority. There is a need for making new media tools more accessible to those who are less fortunate.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF THE EFFECTS OF MEDIA IN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY DURING AND AFTER THE 2007/08 POST-ELECTION VIOLENCE IN KENYA

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents analysis and findings of the study as set out in the research methodology. The study findings are presented on the effects of media in public diplomacy: with specific reference to 2007/2008 post-election violence in Kenya. The data was gathered using interviews. The instruments were guided and designed in line with the objectives of the study.

4.1 Role played by media during and after the 2007/08 PEV in Kenya

Conflicts are inherent in any given society. It is very important to seek ways in which conflicts do not degenerate into war or massive destruction of property and loss of life, through giving timely and accurate information about them. The media can play a role in accomplishing this objective. The interviewees in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated that the Kenyan media failed below public expectations during this period. The public expected the media to be truthful, to prove that their first loyalty is to citizens, maintain independence from those they cover, monitor power and give

voice to the voiceless, provide a forum for public criticism and problem solving. In the case of the post-election violence in Kenya, the role played by the media were both positive and negative.

4.2.1 Conflict escalation

Media is a critical tool for communication and development in society. Generally speaking, media coverage of conflicts is critical as it helps shape the conflict. Through the study, the interviewees in the ministry of foreign affairs indicated that the media is accused of being a source of conflict through propaganda and bias in their reporting. The results of the study are in line with a previous study by Suleimani who argued that the media takes part in promotion of propaganda.[204] In addition to that, the result of the study is in agreement with a previous study done by Felson.[205] According to his study, there is a positive correlation between massive exposures to the media increase of violent behaviours among media audiences. Therefore, the results of the study are in line with those of Posner who asserts that journalists and scholars write about politics of ethnic divide on societies and competition but fail to question reasons there under.[206]

4.2.2 Balanced reporting

Balanced reporting of conflicts and clashes is very critical in minimizing the effects of the conflicts. This argument is supported by Graber who argued that the media coverage is the very lifeblood that shapes the perceptions that form the reality on

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[204] Suleimani, S. E., Horowitz, J., & Rojo-Mendoza, R. T. (2012). Civic education and democratic backsliding in the wake of Kenya's post-2007 election violence. *The Journal of Politics*, *74*(01), 52-65.
[205] Felson, A. A., & Martin, B. L. (2013). Influences of media on social movements: Problematizing hyperbolic inferences about impacts. *Telematics and Informatics*, *30*(3), 275-288.
[206] Posner, M. (2011). More than political tools: the police and post-election violence in Kenya. *African Security Review*, *20*(4), 11-20.

which people base their actions.[207] However, the interviewees indicated that there was balanced media reporting during the post-election violence in Kenya. They also stated that the conflicts were not reported accurately because the majority of journalists lacked knowledge on conflict reporting. Education and training of journalists is therefore very important in covering about the knowledge of the conflict, its root causes and history of the conflicts. According to the interviewees, journalists must interrogate through research, the different dynamics involved in the conflict to better inform their audience.

The interviewees also stated that some journalists reported from the powerful political side while others reported from the people's side. In addition to that, journalists did not report from either those fighting the war, struggling for their lives in war or those that were victims of the war. According to Kempf, when conflicts are involved, the reporting may be escalation oriented or de-escalation oriented.[208] According to the interviewees, the media played a role in the escalation of the post-election violence. The interviewees also revealed that some journalists allowed certain information to be said without critiquing the storyline. This might have led to the escalation of the conflict; in a same way as the conflict covered by Cottle. Posner asserts that journalists and scholars write about politics of ethnic divide on societies and competition but fail to question reasons there under.[209]

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[207] Graber, S. D. (2014). Kenya and the International Criminal Court (ICC): politics, the election and the law. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, *8*(1), 25-42.

[208] Kempf, K. (2009). *Healing the wound: Personal narratives about the 2007 post-election violence in Kenya*. African Books Collective.
[209] Ibid

4.2.3 Framing of the conflict

Another shortcoming experienced by the Kenyan media during the post-election violence lies in the manner in which the media framed issues surrounding the conflict. According to the interviewees, various media houses amplified the sound of guns rather than muting them. The interviewees stated that the conflict was escalated by poor framing of the conflict making violent language more animated and exciting, which in turn sparked people's fears and aggression. Interviewees said that adjectives such as "brutal, cruel, heinous and barbaric" were used during the reporting of the post-election violence. In addition to that, victimizing words such as devastated, defenceless and pathetic were used during the reporting. By use of such words, the emotion of the journalist takes centre stage and is viewed to be taking sides in the conflict. Therefore, the results of this study agree with a prior study done by Keever who argued that making violent language more animated and exciting can lead to escalation of violence.[210] Hodgson says that the language used must be with care to get the maximum effect.[211] It must be clear, unambiguous and to the point. This is to avoid misinterpretation of the information passed across. Some words that were reported by the journalists were not accurately captured as stated by the leaders.

4.2 More responsible form of media used for fuelling 2007/08 PEV

The interviewees stated that media was directly involved in conflict Kenya. They said that radio stations were more involved in spreading hate messages compared to other forms of the media like the print and television. The interviewees believed that Radio fanned violence in their programs and the way they covered the violence. Media

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[210] Keever, K. (2013). Building a Political Settlement: The International Approach to Kenya's 2008 Post-Election Crisis. *Stability: International Journal of Security and Development*, *2*(2).

[211] Hodgson, J. (2013). Fragile states: the role of media and communication. *London, UK: BBC Media Action*.

personalities took community sides while broadcasting. This is because radio has a wider reach of its audience compared to the print and the television. Some interviewees stated that the radio stations often the vernacular took sides during politically charged moments like elections, referendum. Some media personalities went out of their way to improve ratings by pleasing their communities. Media houses used coded language to divide people.

The interviewees revealed that radio is the main source of disseminating conflict information in Kenya. This is due to their ability to reach even the most remote corners of state, inexpensive broadcasting and cheap to acquire as compared to other mass media, thus eliminating the barrier of illiteracy to spreading news, information or propaganda. With an exceptionally high illiteracy rate, especially in rural areas, respondent's attitudes are influenced by the radio broadcasts appealing to them on the basis of their ethnic identities. These findings collaborate with the findings of the study by Forges who showed that a large number of Rwandans could not read or write and, as a result radio was an important way for both the government and the rebels to deliver messages to the population.[212] In addition, Bonior findings on the role of media in Vietnam War shows that roughly 50 million in the US watched television news each night and read newspapers on Vietnam War.[213] These findings are contrary to Kenyan situation where preferred media is radio. This can be explained by the fact that radios are cheaper and portable compared to televisions. Equally, batteries, which are used to power radios, are readily available in shops and are relatively cheap and affordable compared to electricity and solar power which is expensive.

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[212] Forges, G. R. (2011). Spontaneous or Premeditated?: Post-election Violence in Kenya.

[213] Bonior, J. M., Githinji, P., & Karuoya, K. (2010). *Internal Displacement and Local Peacebuilding in Kenya*. US Institute of Peace.

4.3 Social media contributions to the 2007/08 PEV in Kenya

The interviewees stated that in 2007/08 post-election violence, usage of the internet was still minimal. Internet usage was not as rampant as today. During that period, social media platforms like blogs were a significant source of information and advocacy, but not generally officially associated with campaigns. However, the bloggers managed to spread hate messages. Short message service (SMS) technology was also used to ask people to vacate their premises.

The interviewees from the ministry of foreign affairs stated that social media, particularly Facebook and Twitter were extensively utilized by Kenyans. Due to its sheer affordability and easy accessibility, thanks to the proliferation of affordable smart phones in the Kenya market (majority of Kenyans access internet through their phones), many Kenyans relied on Social media for news updates since it provided timely and up-to-the-minute news tit bits on especially issues related to the elections. Political candidates also used media to connect with their supporters, especially the youth.

Mobile phone text messages aided in mobilizing vigilante groups and mobs, according to the National Human Rights Commission.[214] To curb this and prevent another possible mayhem, Kenya issued an order to deregister all lines that cannot be traced to a known user in an attempt to clamp down on people sending out provocative texts. However, such noble and well-intentioned efforts by Kenyan authorities to halt the use of mobile phones to incite violence could be painfully thwarted by the arrival of affordable smart phones on the Kenyan Market which has increased internet use on cell phones and generated an explosion of social media.

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[214] Ibid

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Even if they succeeded in preventing unknown mobile phone users from sending out provocative text messages, stopping those people from using social media to advance their diabolic intention would be more of a herculean task. Consequently, some feared Facebook and Twitter would take the place of the SMS text this time around.

The findings are in line with Oliver who critically notes that the passive relationships of social media do not provide the rules, regulations, and procedures necessary for democratic government.[215] According to Keever, social networking has proven difficult to sustain political interest and activism online over time and move electronic engagement from campaigns to governance despite its track record for generating democratic engagement.[216]

The findings concur with Munyuas findings who stated that even though elections in Kenya have been associated with violence for almost two decades, tensions escalated as mobile phones and the internet became additional means used for political discussions that took on an ethnic dimension and a political bias on a scale that had not been experienced before.[217] But she was also quick to add that the use of media to spread violence and encourage a particular ideology is not new to Kenya.

4.4 Escalation and de-escalation of violence by the media during the 2007/2008 PEV

According to the interviewees, the media policy and regulatory environment in Kenya was the subject of considerable review and debate within Kenya during the 2007/2008 PEV elections. They stated that the media played a pivotal influence in conflict

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[215] Oliver, S., & Raddatz, R. (2014). Dire consequences or empty threats? Western pressure for peace, justice and democracy in Kenya. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, *8*(1), 43-62.
[216] Ibid
[217] Munyua, G. K. (2009). The Political Economy of Cash Transfers in Kenya. *Internal Displacement and Local Peacebuilding in Kenya*. US Institute of Peace.

escalation. Ideally, with its professional objectives of accuracy, impartiality and public responsibility, media should be a contributor to peace building. However, these findings proved the contrary that during the 2007/08 PEV, the media played a negative role of conflict escalation. As argued by Wolfsfeld media sensationalizes conflict with simplistic reporting which reinforces stereotypes that reinforce elite consensus, and reflects its own environment of shared or isolated context.[218]

In comparison to other studies, the findings are in line with the findings of Posner who stated that the local media was literary used as a weapon to incite the killings in Rwanda.[219] These results were also supported by the analysis of media reporting and secondary data. Conversely, the study by International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) on role of media affirms that media can not only help to defuse conflicts, but is also uniquely positioned to encourage coexistence and co-operation between people of different origins. This was not the case with the Kenyan media during 2007 PEV, according to these research findings. Posner asserts that practicing objective, fact-based reporting that avoids stereotypes or stirring up rumours, individual journalists and the media as a whole have a tremendous potential to contribute to understanding and bridge-building.[220]

These findings from the interviewees stated that media played a role in conflict escalation which negates the postulation of social responsibility theory of media reporting, which requires that media needs to assume both moral and legal responsibilities for all that they publish for the general good of the society without causing any harm. This escalation role caused conflict which led to destruction of

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[218] Wolfsfeld, V., & Wisor, S. (2014). The Role of Kenya's Private Sector in Peacebuilding: The Case of the 2013 Election Cycle. *One Earth Future Research Report*.
[219] Ibid
[220] Ibid

properties and loss of lives. Even though the social responsibility theory requires mass media to highlight injustices within the community and enlighten people on their rights and privileges, the predicament is that as people become more enlightened, the push for their rights through whatever means available, could lead to conflict as witnessed during the 2007 general elections.

The interviewees from the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government stated that media escalated conflict through promoting partisan interests and taking political sides and incitement among others. Some of the interviewees said that media escalated violence by involving listeners in the day to day announcements relating to chaos, playing music that could trigger violence and incite members of the community. Conversely, media too played roles in de-escalating conflict through preaching peace, calling for unity, airing of peace negotiations, among others. As argued by Wolfsfeld, media sensationalizes conflict with simplistic reporting which reinforces stereotypes that reinforce elite consensus, and reflects its own environment of shared or isolated context.[221]

4.5 Propaganda use by media during the 2007/08 PEV in Kenya

On the question on whether media promoted or provided a platform for propaganda during the 2007/08 general election, the interviewees said that media fairly promoted political propaganda. The interviewees corroborated this fact and claimed that media used exaggerations and favouritism in reporting. These results were also supported by the analysis of media reporting and secondary data. As witnessed during 2007/08 general election, significant sections of the media houses were co-opted into political schemes of various political parties. They acted as propaganda mouthpieces for

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[221] Ibid

getting the messages of preferred candidates out to demonizing the opponents. The interviewees stated that the media portrayed a volatile political environment marred with abhorrence, violence, and a stiff race between two protagonists which were the PNU and ODM parties.

Interviewees from the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government stated that some media houses ran advertisements that were in bad taste and elicited public outcry about ethics in advertising. For instance, the media mishandled the federalism debate which really defined the 2007 elections. Media stations aligned to ODM urged its supporters to back federalism as it would guarantee them access to power to correct historical injustices committed by former regimes. On the other hand, media stations aligned to PNU urged its supporters to denounce federalism, as it would threaten their land ownership in the Rift Valley and other parts of the country thus undermining their economic and business interests.

From the interview results, there are conflicting views. Interviewees from the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government said that media encouraged or promoted controlled propaganda and this fact could have caused conflicts. Conversely, the interviewees argued that there could be factual accuracy in a single story that could not be substituted for the total truth. They stated that factual accuracy can be misleading and thus can be used to promote political propaganda. The findings of the study that media fairly promote propaganda corroborate with the findings of Christopher who revealed that from the opening days of the political war,

the government understood the importance of using media to rally the citizens around the regime and used it to carry out a vigorous propaganda campaign.[222]

4.6 Escalation of conflicts by unprofessionalism of journalists

Despite professional training, some journalists sided with their tribal roots first before acknowledging other tribes within the spectrum of ethnic division. The interviewees stated that this led to biased reporting of events that unfolded before, during and after the post-election violence. The journalists sided with their people instead of pushing for a national agenda setting role. Journalists believed that siding with their community offered a protected layer of solidarity. Some radio stations played war and liberation songs in local languages. Journalists stopped pushing for the national agenda of togetherness and sided with their ethnic group. This was seen in the call by journalists to eliminate the opposing ethnic group.

The interviewees stated that some presenters in Radio still need training on the journalism ethics. This is because many presenters are essentially entertainers and are handpicked for radio jobs for their talent. Employers have kept overlooking the training of such media personalities in favour of profits and other commercial interests. There is need for more training in peace journalism and conflict sensitive coverage.

The interviewees stated that investigative journalism has not been an integral part of the journalism syllabus in Kenya. Investigative journalism can help unearth both perceived issues and real concerns of a people leading to the conflicts. However, it has been neglected by many media houses in Kenya. It can help unearth both

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[222] Christopher, A., & D'Arcy, M. (2014). Plus ça change? County-level politics in Kenya after devolution. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, *8*(1), 173-191.

perceived issues and real concerns of a people leading to the conflicts. Many alluded to high financial costs and time in doing investigative stories and features that either discouraged them or led their editors to decline to approve them in doing investigative stories. This paradigm of reporting can help the parties to a conflict realize the truth of why they could be in a conflict, especially the type of conflict witnessed in 2007/2008 PEV elections.

Analysis of the 2008 post-election violence period revealed that the headlines of the articles covered were provocative and alarming. However, the interviewees stated that all the other items on the adherence of journalists' code of conduct showed that they adhered to the code of conduct. For example all the articles did not contain propaganda messages, hate speech or vulgar messages. Only few of the article demeaned other ethnic communities were slanted towards a particular ethnic communities, clearly showed in-house bias or support for a particular political side while just few articles were a condemnation of election violence based on ethnic considerations.

The findings are in line with Kosgei who stated that following the 2007 post-election violence there has been a paradigm shift on conflict reporting, although the findings highlighted that both sides of conflict should be covered, they indicated that the unwritten rule was to avoid Inciting Communities by Using or Mentioning the tribes of those party to the conflict in the Story.[223] With no stipulated policies, the unwritten policies vary from reporter to reporter, hence the fear of not having a uniform framework to govern the media house.

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[223] Kosgei, J. J. (2015). *The role of peace journalism in the management of Conflict: case study of citizen television, 2007-2013* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Nairobi).

4.7 Constructive roles played by media in peace building in the aftermath of 2007/08 PEV

According to the interviewees, the print media in particular played a role in shaping the Kenya politics by stepping in to inform the citizens on what was happening in various parts of the country. The print media also engaged in frequent production of their papers, to even five times daily. This could have either increased or reduced the effect of the conflict hence remains an answered question whether it was a positive or negative action. The dilemma is created by whether the media would have used it tools to spread more peace or more war. The interviewees from the ministry of foreign affairs stated that media houses in Kenya began to spread the peace message in the wake of displacement, destruction of property and death. Competition in both print and electronic media took a backstage as the encouraged the restoration of peace in the country.

Broadcast media also appealed for peace through music, patriotic poetry. Media spent hours talking about peace and love for the neighbour. The interviewees from the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government said that some media houses gave a black out to politicians and messages that wanted to divide the nation. Newspapers like the Daily Nation refused the carry adverts that were inflammatory. The electronic media stopped talk shows where politicians were often invited and instead called peaceful means of resolving conflict. This effort brought down tensions and passions of killing and property destruction.

The private sector and media companies including the Standard Group, the Nation Media Group, and the Royal Media Services worked extensively to train and sensitize media owners, journalists, and community radio hosts in how to report on political

issues in a way that would not lead people to turn to violence. This included reporting on social and political issues, rather than on ethnic loyalties, and not rebroadcasting political rallies where hateful messages were spread. KEPSA met independently with media owners and media personalities to ensure that reporting during the campaign would be done in a way that would foster democratic outcomes.

In addition, a democratic media encouraged dialogue, tolerance and interaction among communities hence reducing ongoing conflicts and building lasting peace. The findings are in line with Wolfsfeld who asserted that media can either report negatively on political opponents or raise the legitimacy of those supporting peaceful negotiations.[224]

4.8 Ways that the media could have covered conflict in 2007/08 PEV

According to the interviewees, the media could have strived to become a bridge between government and the people. The media should have ensured transparency in governance; recognition of public opinion in the policy formulation, and offer citizens an opportunity to discuss policies and issues without fear of intimidation, and thereby helping to create the foundations of good governance and prevention of conflicts. Rather than just looking at the media initiatives before, during and after conflict, the media should have looked at it as a set of phases and initiatives. In this case, the media could have been involved in conflict prevention, management, resolution and reconciliation.

The interviewees stated that ethnic radio stations need to recognize their role in society if the media is to live up to its peace building role. This is because radio is the most widely disseminated form of mass media in Kenya. The media is well placed to

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[224] Ibid

facilitate peace building. It can advocate for the protection of human rights which are likely to be abused during conflicts, including protection of women and children against abuse; health and control of epidemics; law and order, specifically exposing and preventing arbitrary arrests, torture and inhuman treatment, and so on. Furthermore, the media's role, if well executed, should aim at the creation of an environment conducive for free and fair elections through voter education and a defusing of political tensions.

The findings concur with O'Sullivian and Flanagin who observed that because it is so influential, the media can be a two-edged sword; it can be negative for the society if it is selective, biased, sensational and inclined to propaganda and media vices (pornography, violence and many more).[225] Some of these characteristics are visible in the so-called "gutter press." Although the ideal situation would be for the media to be free and independent, in order for them to effectively play their role in peace building and development, the double-sided nature of media influence calls for a certain degree of regulation, to limit hate speech and other vices. Media freedom is a crucial aspect in the performance of the media, but this freedom is not boundless.

According to Bratic, if the media is often found to support forces that lead to violent conflicts, it should also have power to support forces to peace.[226] Therefore, any discussion that examines the role of the media in promoting specific types of behaviour must consider how the media affects audiences. Public discourse, disseminated through the media, shapes the way governance is conducted and also influences policy-making within institutional frameworks. Thus the media contributes to public good by articulating, defending, protecting and promoting human rights.

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[225] O'Sullivian, J. A., & Flanagin, J. (2008). The 2007 general election in Kenya and its aftermath: The role of local language media. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *13*(3), 319-327.
[226] Ibid

Thus the media has a duty to defend the public discourse and consensus against state oppression, and to highlight abuses of the law and human rights by corporate powers.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents conclusions and recommendations on the effects of media in public diplomacy during and after the 2007/08 post-election violence in Kenya. The chapter also presents recommendations for further studies.

5.2 Summary of Findings

The study aimed to assess the effects of media in public diplomacy during and after the 2007/08 post-election violence in Kenya. The study revealed that it is very important to seek ways in which conflicts do not degenerate into war or massive destruction of property and loss of life, through giving timely and accurate information about them. With its professional objectives of accuracy, impartiality and public responsibility, media should be a contributor to peace building. The media play should not play a negative role of conflict escalation.

The media played a role in the escalation of the conflict in many ways such as lateness in reporting of the conflicting, imbalance reporting of the conflict, poor language and framing of the conflict, lack of training on conflict reporting, lack of skills on investigative journalism and the use of local and vernacular radio stations in reporting of the conflict. The study also revealed that the media did not take any part

in peace building until the conflicts worsened. Instead, some media houses collaborated with politicians in airing inciting messages. The impact of their reporting was lack of clear picture on what caused the violence, an escalation of the violence and lack of proper knowledge on the players and issues informing the conflicts.

During and after the 2007/08 PEV, the private sector and media companies including the Standard Group, the Nation Media Group, and the Royal Media Services worked extensively to train and sensitize media owners, journalists, and community radio hosts in how to report on political issues in a way that would not lead people to turn to violence. The findings revealed that a democratic media encourages dialogue, tolerance and interaction among communities hence reducing ongoing conflicts and building lasting peace.

5.3 Discussion of the Findings

5.3.1 Role played by media during and after the 2007/08 PEV

The study found that the role played by the media were both positive and negative. The media was accused of being a source of conflict through propaganda and bias in their reporting. The findings showed that the conflicts were not reported accurately because the majority of journalists lacked knowledge on conflict reporting. In addition, various media houses amplified the sound of guns rather than muting them. Study findings revealed that conflict was escalated by poor framing of the conflict making violent language more animated and exciting, which in turn sparked people's fears and aggression.

The study findings revealed that the media escalated conflict through promoting partisan interests and taking political sides and incitement among others. The media escalated violence by involving listeners in the day to day announcements relating to

chaos, playing music that could trigger violence and incite members of the community. Conversely, media too played roles in de-escalating conflict through preaching peace, calling for unity, airing of peace negotiations, among others.

5.3.2 More responsible form of media used for fuelling post-election violence

The findings revealed that radio stations were more involved in spreading hate messages compared to other forms of the media like the print and television. The Radio fanned violence in their programs and the way they covered the violence. Media personalities took community sides while broadcasting. This is because radio has a wider reach of its audience compared to the print and the television. Radio stations often the vernacular took sides during politically charged moments like elections, referendum. Some media personalities went out of their way to improve ratings by pleasing their communities. Media houses used coded language to divide people.

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

5.3.3 Social media contributions to the 2007/08 post-election violence in Kenya

The study established that during that period, social media platforms like blogs were a significant source of information and advocacy, but not generally officially associated with campaigns. However, the bloggers managed to spread hate messages. Short

message service (SMS) technology was also used to ask people to vacate their premises. Social media, particularly Facebook and Twitter were extensively utilized by Kenyans due to its sheer affordability and easy accessibility. Many Kenyans relied on Social media for news updates since it provided timely and up-to-the-minute news tit bits on especially issues related to the elections.

The findings revealed that mobile phone text messages aided in mobilizing vigilante groups and mobs. To curb this and prevent another possible mayhem, Kenya issued an order to deregister all lines that cannot be traced to a known user in an attempt to clamp down on people sending out provocative texts. However, such noble and well-intentioned efforts by Kenyan authorities to halt the use of mobile phones to incite violence could be painfully thwarted by the arrival of affordable smart phones on the Kenyan Market which has increased internet use on cell phones and generated an explosion of social media.

5.3.4 Propaganda use by media during the 2007/08 PEV

The study found that media fairly promoted political propaganda. It used exaggerations and favouritism in reporting. It was revealed that during 2007/08 general election, significant sections of the media houses were co-opted into political schemes of various political parties. They acted as propaganda mouthpieces for getting the messages of preferred candidates out to demonizing the opponents. The media portrayed a volatile political environment marred with abhorrence, violence, and a stiff race between the political parties.

Some media houses ran advertisements that were in bad taste and elicited public outcry about ethics in advertising. Media stations aligned to political party's supporters and urged them to denounce federalism, as it would threaten their land in

the country thus undermining their economic and business interests. Media also encouraged or promoted controlled propaganda and this fact could have caused conflicts. The study found that factual accuracy can be misleading and thus can be used to promote political propaganda.

5.3.5 Ways that the media could have covered conflict in post-election violence

The study established that the media could have strived to become a bridge between government and the public. The media should have ensured transparency in governance; recognition of public opinion in the policy formulation, and offer citizens an opportunity to discuss policies and issues without fear of intimidation, and thereby helping to create the foundations of good governance and prevention of conflicts.

It was also established that ethnic radio stations need to recognize their role in society if the media is to live up to its peace building role. This is because radio is the most widely disseminated form of mass media in Kenya. The media is well placed to facilitate peace building. It can advocate for the protection of human rights which are likely to be abused during conflicts, including protection of women and children against abuse; health and control of epidemics; law and order, specifically exposing and preventing arbitrary arrests, torture and inhuman treatment, and so on. Furthermore, the media's role, if well executed, should aim at the creation of an environment conducive for free and fair elections through voter education and a defusing of political tensions.

5.4 Conclusion

The study notes that one of the most critical institutions in shaping any given conflict is the media. The public expected the media to be truthful, to prove that their first loyalty is to citizens, maintain independence from those they cover, monitor power

and give voice to the voiceless, provide a forum for public criticism and problem solving. However, the media is accused of being a source of conflict through propaganda and bias in their reporting. Conflicts were not reported accurately because the majority of journalists lacked knowledge on conflict reporting.

The study also concludes that media greatly played conflict escalation roles during the 2007 general election and subsequent 2007/08 PEV. Some of the roles included; encouraging hate speeches to greater extent; running parallel tallying centres, withholding of vital information about conflict, misrepresentation of information, incitement, partisan or taking political sides, and corruption. Some positive roles played by media were preaching peace and calling for unity, public awareness and fair coverage of political campaigns and airing of contentious issues during negotiations.

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

5.5 Recommendations

The study makes the following recommendations:-

5.5.1 Recommendation for Further Studies

The study has been conducted on the effects of media in public diplomacy during and after the 2007/08 post-election violence in Kenya. This study was based on every type of media including the radio, print, television. The study suggests research to be undertaken in areas of social media in public diplomacy. Further analysis in the research topic should be done using questionnaires so as to rate the responses. Lastly,

the study suggests further study to be carried out to determine why the study area has always been the PEV electoral conflicts.

5.5.2 Policy Recommendations

The media can be the channel of communication between the parties to the conflict, provide information about the parties to the conflict and issues at hand and offer education on the different ways to peaceful resolution of the conflict. They can also help in building trust among parties to the conflict and the public, counteract misinformation, analyse the conflict, help identify the underlying interests of issues, allow parties to express their emotions, empower the parties like marginalized groups and help in consensus building.

The media should minimize cases of making violent language more animated and exciting as it can spark people's fears and aggression. Furthermore, words used by leaders and politicians should accurately be reported without distortion because such may lead to exacerbating the conflict. In case of conflicts, Media stations should develop a series of public service announcements reminding fighting communities about their traditional collaboration and advising restraint, informing security officers of the affected areas promptly and educating the fighting communities on the importance of peace in the society.

The study also recommends that local media reporters or journalists be trained on conflict reporting. Since conflict reporting is more challenging, most journalists were very unprofessional in the manner they handled the PEV reports as per the findings and therefore media training institutions should design study units on conflict reporting. The Media Society of Kenya should organize workshops and training on conflict reporting and management for its practitioners.

Since media played both conflict escalation and conflict de-escalation roles during the 2007 general election and subsequent 2007/08 PEV as per the findings of the study, the study recommends that media regulatory and law enforcers should design stern laws, rules and penalties for both media houses and personalities who use media for negative purposes.

In addition, the regulatory authorities should design a tailored regulatory mechanism for vernacular FM stations different from the conventional ones. This is so because of their immense influence and popularity especially amongst the less educated members of society.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. In your view what role did the media play during and after the 2007/08 post-election violence in Kenya?

2. Which form of media (Radio, Television or Print) was more responsible for fuelling post-election violence in Kenya? How?

3. In your view did social media contribute to the 2007/08 post-election violence in Kenya? If yes how?

4. In what ways could media have escalated and/or de-escalated violence during the 2007/2008 PEV?

5. In what ways did the Kenyan media use propaganda during the 2007/08 post-election violence? (Both print and broadcast).

6. Do you think that unprofessionalism of journalists could have led to or escalated conflict during the 2007/08 PEV in Kenya?

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

8. In your own opinion, what ways would the media have covered conflict in post-election violence?