THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN CONFLICT MANAGEMENT: A CASE OF 2017 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN KENYA

BY

WINFRED WANGECHI MWANGI
R52/11779/2018

SUPERVISOR: DR. PATRICK MALUKI

RESEARCH THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF MASTERS OF ARTS DEGREE ININTERNATIONAL CONFLICT MANAGEMENT AT THE INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

2020

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this research thesis is my original work and has not been presented for academic award or qualification in any institution of higher learning

Signature ……………………….. ………… Date ……………………………………

WINFRED WANGECHI MWANGI

R52/11779/2018

Supervisor

This research thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as the assigned University Supervisor.

Signature………………………………… Date……………………………………….

Dr. Patrick Maluki Senior Lecturer,

Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies

University of Nairobi

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my family for their encouragement and moral support as well as cooperation in all that I want to achieve in my career path and life

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Special thanks goes to my supervisors Dr. Patrick Maluki, for his support, advice, guidance and their continuous evaluation and supervision of my work. I would also like to extend my gratitude to the administration of University of Nairobi through the university's library and the library staff that enabled me to access the various materials used in compiling this work. Special attribute goes to my class members and friends who through their persistence assistance and hard work saw the achievement of this study. Last but not least, I would like to give my most special tributes to our almighty Lord for all His blessings.

ABSTRACT

The main purpose of this study was to establish the role of media in conflict management: a case of 2017 general elections in Kenya. Specifically, the study was set to determine the role media played in dispute resolution before, during and after 2017 general elections; the extent to which media escalated or deescalate violence during the 2017 general elections and analyze the challenges encountered by the media towards conflict management activities. The study used libertarian theory and the social responsibility theory. The study employed descriptive research design where it targeted 22 media firms in Nairobi City County. The study used 46 respondents as the sample size whereby primary data was gathered by the aid of interview guide. Secondary information was gathered from newspapers, TV productions and officials, and media and fighting management reports from non-governmental sources. Content analysis was employed to analyze the data. According to the analysis of the findings, it was revealed that the Kenyan media remained as the main source of information on economic, political and social matters, hence, media coverage gave new forms of citizen participation in providing an alternative platform for open discussion on the conflict situation. It was also concluded that media played a role of escalation and de-escalation of conflict of the 2017 general elections where on escalation the media Journalists reported in a manner that would place them in favor of the constituencies and constituents that they had political interest which compromised the way they reported the conflict. On de-escalation of conflict, the media spread positive messages and encourage viewers to remain calm and patient as the election results were announced. The study also concluded that the media faced a myriad of challenges which included among other things lack of necessary tools and skills to monitor and detect online activity which make it difficult for government and non-state actors to respond to activity that may lead to or propel violence, professionalism among journalists among inexperienced local journalists, where they break down misleading and potentially dangerous stereotypes which may erupt into violence and danger involved for the media in a modern conflict situation where journalists are murdered with impunity in crossfires. Therefore, from the findings of the study, it was recommended that precautions must be taken both by the media houses and journalists in ensuring that their reporting of conflicts is of high standards that is realistic, bias free and news worthy. Also, the media can bring opportunities beyond their role in accelerating social movements by providing upgraded forms of communication. The broadcasting media should be seen as an agent of social change and should discuss the social mobilization which may be able to bring about. On media escalating or deescalating violence, it was recommended regulatory and law enforcers in the media industry should design stern laws, rules and penalties for both media houses and personalities who use media for negative purposes. To overcoming of the challenges faced by the media, it was recommended that the media as an employer to give priority on the safety journalists. This means providing both safety training and lobbying the relevant authorities to be aware of their responsibility to protect journalists and pursue those suspected of killing journalists. The study suggested that a study to be carried out to cover various strategies employed by the media in the post-conflict societies in encountering the effects of the conflict.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABBREVIATION AND ACRONYMS

AU   African Union

BBC   British Broadcasting Corporation

CAR   Central African Republic

CNN   Cable News Network

FM   Frequency Modulation

IDPS   Internally Displaced Persons

IEBC   Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission

IHL   International Humanitarian Law

KRC   Kenya Red Cross

KTN   Kenya Television Network

LRA   Lord Resistance Army

MCA   Member of County Assembly

MCK   Media Council of Kenya

MINURCA   United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic

MONUC   United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo

NACOSTI   National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation

NASA   National Super Alliance

NGO   Non-Governmental Organization

NTV   National Television

OBN   Open Broadcast Network

ODM   Orange Democratic Movement

OHR   Office of the High Representative

PEV   Post-Election Violence

PNU   Party of National Unity

RNL   Radio Ndeke Luka

RTI   Radio Télévision Ivoirienne

RTLM   Radio Rwandese- Television Libre des Milles Collines

SFCG   Search for Common Ground

SMS   Short Message Service

TCI   Television Côte d'Ivoire

TV   Television

UN   United Nations

UPDF   Uganda People's Defense Forces

US   United States

USA   United States of America

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

Nowadays, the significance of a professional, free, skilled and plural media is imperative as it contribute to good governance to the global community. A lively and vibrant media offers individuals with a free access and flow of information that will empower them to have dialogue, enlighten individuals to be bold in expressing of their views which will stimulate largely to both public and political participation thereby contributing to overall accountability in the community and society at large. The prominence of the media started in the years of 1980s and 1990s through development programmes that fortified capacities of the local media organizations during the end of the era of Cold War and failure of Soviet Union. Therefore, to some degree, the development of workers and civil society organization was accredited to the termination of communism to the overview of voices of the rebels on stations of radio for example the Radio Free Europe and subversive production and circulation of the publications which were restricted.[1]

At that era, the attention was not put on states which was prone and stressed with conflicts. Actually, there exist a research very important which examined the media's power as the driver of conflict and violence other than of harmony and peace.[2] The development experts did not totally address or consider the role played by the media in situations of a conflict until

---

[1] Amelia Arsenault and Shawn Powers, "The Media Map Project: Review of Literature," http://mediamapresource.files.wordpress.com/2010/12/literature-review-the-media-map-project.pdf Accessed 17 January 2011.
[2] Cees Jan Hamlink, (2010), Media and Conflict: Escalating evil.

late 1990s in outcome of war in the Balkans and the genocide happened in Rwanda.[3] The effectiveness and media credibility created for developing the post-Soviet bloc nations, was expected an advanced of a proficient, free and competent media which could be very critical element in crafting and constructing the civil society in nations of post-conflict to bring stability in the other regions of the world. Subsequently, activities of media assistance have been carried out and expanded in terms of geographical area and scope. Various local, regional and international organizations and the UN agencies are now in operational with the media in the prone-conflict nations by the use of several approaches and tools. These approaches, for instance include supporting independent and free media to allow various discussions held across the divide ensuring all segments of the society including the vulnerable and marginalized groups, form the part of these discussions to ensure discourses of effective democracy which is cornerstone in the current society.

In the African continent, there have been several conflict situations where some of these conflicts, the media has play a very critical role. Unfortunately, in this conflict situations, the media has been attributed as one of the tools which has contributed to conflict. Various empirical investigations have clearly indicated that media could generate violence and conflicts by incitement, by failure to highlight the emerging trend in regard to conflict and by delaying to report the conflict.[4] [5] This is illustrated by the Radio Rwandese- Television Libre des Milles Collines (RTLM) as the best example of media that aided to contribute to conflict which

---

[3]Vladimir Bratic, "Twenty Years of Peacebuilding: Media in Conflict Strategic Framework", UPEACE Open Knowledge Network Occasional Working Paper Series No. 2 (Oct. 2013), University for Peace, https://www.upeace.org/OKN/working%20papers/UniversityForPeaceOKNTwentyYearsOfPeacebuildingMediaInC onflictOctober2013.pdf See also Ylva Isabelle Blondel, "Violent Conflict and Roles of the Media", Uppsala University, 2004
[4] Vladimir, B., & Schirch, L. (2007). Why and when to use media for conflict prevention and peace building. European Centre for Conflict Prevention (Issue No. 6).
[5] Viggo, M. (2011). Forging Peace: Intervention, Human Rights and the Management of Media Space. (P. M. Taylor, Ed.) Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

encouraged the indigenous Hutu to annihilate the Tutsi by labelling them cockroaches that required to be remove from the society in ensuring peace reigns in Rwanda.[6] This caused 1,000,000 Tutsis massacred and displacement of many of them from their lands and area they inhabited.[7]

The rampant conflicts in Africa is a result of illiteracy, abject poverty and the weak systems of governance which exist undermining the unfavorable terms of trade, administration failures and indebtedness from the aid acquired in the developmental projects.[8] In the election-associated conflicts in Africa are caused by a combination of socioeconomic, culture, political, and competition from resource allocation. Moreover, elements of dysfunctional governance, culture, socio-economic, politics, and external intervention may prescribe the inter-state war and the conflict between the country of Eritrea and the Ethiopian republic in the year 1998.[9] Also, nations like Kenya, Sudan, Liberia, Congo and Rwanda experienced the ethnic clashes whose effect was beyond their borders.

Therefore, the coverage of the media can play a very critical role either in constructing the society in conflict situation or damage the society during the conflict situation. Thus, the media can either fuel or prevent a conflict thereby allowing peace construction efforts to reign.[10] Studies such as Wairagu[11], Heiber[12], Spurk[13] and Howard[14] posit that the media can contribute to

---

[6]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
[7] Ibid
[8]Zartman, W. (1995). The Timing of Peace Initiatives: Hurting Stalemates and Ripe Moments. The Global Review of Ethnopolitics , Vol 1 (no.1), 8-18.
[9]Jhazbhay, I. (2008). Somaliland's post-war reconstruction: Rubble to rebuilding. International Journal Of African Renaissance Studies , Vol 3 (1), 59-93.
[10]Amisi, B. (1997). Conflict in the Rift Valley and Western Kenya:.USAID Conference on Conflict Resolution in the Greater Horn of Africa. Nairobi: Sage Publisher.
[11]Wairagu, A. (2003). Citizenship and Ethnicity: An Examination of Two Moments in. American Political Science Review , Vol 91 (3).

a situation of conflict through incitement of violence, failing to highlight the emerging trends of conflicts, causing delays in reporting situation of conflicts, journalists participating in killing the people, failing to highlight the incidences of hate speech throughout conflicts, acting irresponsibly, generating misrepresentations during the time of reporting and by moderating genocide during conflicts.

In the Kenyan perspective, medias' role in electoral conflicts cannot be overemphasized. The media in Kenya is seen as competitive, highly, robust and it is free as compared to several media organizations in the African nations. This is in tandem with the libertarian theory[15] in regard to the media reporting that argue that the media can hardly be subjugated to gain selfish interests both by individuals and the state using it striving to safeguard their reputation and images in the community and society so that to remain politically relevant and impartial at all times. Hence, media coverage in that particular environment ought to inspire competitive political system to stimulate peace, stability and democracy in the current society. Nevertheless, this was not experienced in the hotly conducted and disputed general elections of 2017.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The media comprise a very complex but essential role to play in the management of the conflict but unfortunately, it is often undertaken for granted for granted by the stakeholders, decision makers from the political arena and the armed forces during such times. Inspite the critical role of media in times of conflicts, this subject matter have been given less emphasis by, academicians, practitioners scholars of this field. The media environment in Kenya is full of

---

[12]Heiber, A. (2001). Elections campaigns, balance and the mass media. World Bank, Workshop Report, Washington.
[13]Spurk, M. (2002).Multi-Party Politics in Kenya. London: Oxford University Press.
[14] Howard, R. (2003). The Power of the media: A handbook for peacebuilder. Utrecht ,
Netherlands: European Centre for Conflict Prevention.
[15] Libertarian theory of media reporting

competition, largely robust and very free as compared to several states in the African continent. This is in accordance to the theory of libertarian of the media reportage which can hardly be utilized to serve selfish interests by the respectful individuals and states who attempt to shield their reputation and images in the respectful society in order to continue to remain politically relevant and impartial all times in their political career.

The era before, during and after 2017 elections in Kenya was attributed to politicians trying to converse with Kenyan electorates aiming to articulate and air their grievances inform of agendas or manifestos solely to reap votes to make them win general elections. Therefore, media was supposed to play a central role in its communication process to fuel peace and manage the conflict. Nonetheless, this was not experienced in the 2017 general elections in Kenya as it was hotly contested which plunged the country into election violence. This deviation prompts the researcher to examine the role of media coverage could have played or failed to play in managing the conflict. Therefore, it is against this backdrop the research sought to establish the role of media coverage in conflict management in Kenya.

1.3 Research Questions

1. To what extent did the media played in dispute resolution before, during and after 2017 general elections?

2. To what extent did the media escalated or deescalated violence during the 2017 general elections?

3. What are the challenges encountered by the media towards conflict management activities

1.3 Objectives

The general objective was to analyze role of media in conflict management by looking into 2017 general elections in Kenya

1.3.1 Specific objectives

1. To determine the role media played in dispute resolution before, during and after 2017 general elections

2. To establish the extent to which media escalated or deescalate violence during the 2017 general elections

3. To analyze the challenges encountered by the media towards conflict management activities

1.4 Literature Review

1.4.1 Introduction

This review of literature in regard to media reporting on managing of conflicts covers the medias' role in dispute resolution before, during and after 2017 general elections, the role that the media could played in the escalation or de-escalation of violence conflicts and building of peace. The section begin by a description of the theoretical literature where the relevant studies will be reviewed. Moreover, this section will discuss the empirical literature in regard to media and conflict management. The social responsibility and libertarian theories of the media will be discussed into details where a conclusion will be made by showing and displaying the identified research gaps from the literature reviewed.

1.4.2 Theoretical literature

Various empirical studies have been conducted to shed more light and insights on medias' role in management of conflicts. Chebii examined the role of the media in conflict management. The study was guided by the social responsibility and libertarian theories of the media reporting to establish their conceptual discussions. The study results established that in order to decrease misrepresentation in terms of reporting of conflicts, especially in fragile states, a collective approach in regard to reporting of conflicts should be considered and well taken into account. Specifically the study suggested that stringent measures and regulations to be considered in order to control the FM stations which broadcast vernacular (local) which are susceptible to political elite manipulation. This should be associated with the training of respectful journalists on how to report conflicts and develop standard procedures to be followed while reporting conflicts.[16] Masheti analyzed role of media coverage in international conflict management looking into 2007/08 PEV in Kenya. The study found that the media influenced individuals in terms of age factor in sexual orientation, view status and home elements.[17]

Sithole and Asuelime analyzed the role played by the o African Union in the PEV conflict and violence in Kenya. The study analyzed examined the nature, causes and the extent of Kenya's PEV, putting emphasis to the employed processes by AU in dealing with the conflict, the challenges and strengths of AU in conflict management of the said elections and gaps experienced in the AU's approach used to manage the conflict. Institutional theory was used to analyze lens of the AU's role in this conflict. The theory posit and describe how different institutional beliefs, cultures and values shape or restrain the behaviors of individuals who are the agents of change. The reluctance of the AU organization in intervening to the Kenyan

---

[16] Chebii, K. The Role of Media in Conflict Management: The Case of Electoral Conflicts in Kenya. Journal of Global Peace and Conflict, Vol. 3(2), December 2015

[17] Masheti, O. role of media coverage in international conflict management looking into 2007/08 post-election violence in Kenya.

conflict posed various challenges as displayed by its coordination in the management of conflicts mechanisms and organization's culture of protecting and shielding the incumbents.

William Randolph declared a popular interpretation in regard to media possessions in disputes of violence taking into account that: 'you furnish the images, I will furnish the war. According to him is that media and conflict go together hand in hand that it is paramount to tame the media so that to avoid escalation of conflict.[18] Mwendia examined media's role in tribal and political conflict. The study found that media play a vital role in sensitizing the citizenry on peace especially at the height of general elections. Thus, it was recommended that a broadcaster should act as the agent of social change and discuss social organization which may resolve disputes in the society thereby a achieving peace.[19] Howard analyzed the role played by community radio and ethnic violence in the African continent. The study established that the community was important as it contributed to development of community and the nation at large as it provided a health and useful information thus members of a particular community are aware on the benefits of co-existing peacefully without disputing each other.

Conversely, the community radio can act as a sword of double –edged which is used to articulate negative agendas that for, instance can deter a cohesive society thus encouraging violence conflicts by broadcasting intolerance messages and disinformation that usually manipulate the citizens to opt for violence instead of peace. From the study results it was found that the community radio that broadcasted in vernacular carried a huge responsibility for the 2007/08 election violence in Kenya 2008.[20]The conflict resolution theory focuses on industrial conflict which is defined as the expression of dissatisfaction arising in the employment

---

[18]Galtung, J.(1998). Hearst realized that war and media go hand in hand and that is why it is important for taming the media to avoid spreading of war or conflict, Tack two 7(4) (December, 1998)
[19] Mwendia, K. Role of media in countering political and tribal conflict in Kenya, 2013
[20]Howard, S., Community Radio and Ethnic Violence in Africa: The Case of Kenya,2009.

premises.[21] These conflicts can be formal or informal depending on the nature of work. Formal conflicts are organized and can be reflected through a trade union while informal conflicts arise due to personal grievances.

According to Stephens Robison, conflict is majorly defined as a process of a party making more effort to block the occurrence of a certain behavior or furthering its interests. It can be a major obstacle to development due to rigidity in rules and regulations, lack of understanding, rigid ideas and opinions between the parties and behavioral differences. Conflicts are regarded as normal happenings in accordance to the human nature and the involved parties tend to argue based on believes and perception towards the object and can be due to variables such as gender, culture, education and religion. Conflicts therefore require solutions. strategies are rarely mentioned in communities, they work as the best methods to improve togetherness and overcoming bigger challenges. Legal proceedings are seen to be expensive and time costly and most parties employ alternative methods to overcome the conflicts. These methods include arbitration and mediation leading to a win-win end results thus being less costly and effective.

From the global stage, most scholars and academicians has emphasized on globalization which have brought about critical changes in the purposes of violence. Kaldor posit that globalization came into being due to the revolution of information technology. Therefore, globalization as redefined the media nexus conflict management in the global arena. The media intends to give the intensity of the violence, for example, where the conflict has erupted, the reason why it has erupted, how it erupted and who are involved in the battle and above all the

---

[21] Sharma, A. & Nambudiri, R., (2015). Job-Leisure Conflict, Turnover Intention and the Role of Job Satisfaction as a Mediator: An Empirical Study of Indian IT Professionals. South Asian Journal of Management. Vol.22(1).

damage of the conflict. Therefore, the biggest challenge of the media is that influence it contains

on people which determine the direction a conflict can take which has not yet been determined.[22]

Various models record down the incidents of the 21st century where the media

communications are employed for advertising war for example in Germany and its partners in

world war I.[23] In late history few creators have investigated the role of the media in impelling

savagery.[24]Wolfsfeld affirm that scientists of the media focus generally on the examinations of

contentions as opposed to the harmony forms which stay covered up or even inconspicuous.[25] In

the same vein, Galtung reflects challenges associated with detailing harmony procedures and he

contends that harmony and news create bizarre broadcast for partners to include opportunities no

the forms of violence. Therefore, to deal with news in regard to harmony is very hazardous as it

gives a limited and a shortsighted perspective on the intrinsic clashes and does not give the

potential signals for the partners to advance on the long haul strategies. A comparative battle to

learn new methods for harmony talks in media was established after the end of the 2007/08

PEV.[26]

Kenyan media acts as the fourth state. Therefore, the Kenyan media has a huge role to

play in the social, economic and political fronts to educate citizens on the issues affecting this

nation in contributing to development. This has resulted from with the disgust specifically in

issues of politics which has resulted to violent conflicts.[27]Despite these negative roles, media

[22]Kaldor, S. Canada and International Peacekeeping Washington DC: Center for strategic and International Studies (2001)

[23] Watson, J., (2008). Media Commission: An introduction to Theory and Process, new York.

[24]Des Forges, A.(2007). Call to Genocide: Radio in Rwanda. 1994 in Thompson, A media and Rwanda Genocide, London: Pluto press, Kampala: Fountain Publishers.

[25]Wolfsfeld, G.(2004). Communication Society and politics: Media and the Path to peace> New York: CambridgeUniversity Press.

[26]Mbeke, P.O.(2008). Media in peace building and conflict prevention, Bonn: Deutsche Welle, 178-191.

[27] Ibrahim & Jenner, The rise of a mediated state in Northern Kenya: The Wajir Story and its implications for state-building (1997)

also played a positive role during the 2007/08 PEV. According to Mutua, the media give voice to voiceless in the community and society at large. This is conducted over display of various injustices done during the time of conflict to enable the global community participate and intervene in the time of the crisis making the general public aware of the forthcoming situations of conflicts. For example, the global media covered widely 2007/08 post-election crisis which called for the intervention of the global community to pressure the protagonists in a mid of ending the crisis.[28]

Therefore, the role played by the Kenyan media cannot be overemphasized given its power to influence the general public. For example, the media could have been very critical during the 2017 elections by assisting the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) in advancement of free and fair election exercise. In addition, the media was very critical to educate voters to assist in programs of civic education which were steered by societal organizations.[29]Thus, understanding the role of media in managing conflicts during the election periods, different categories must be presented to enlighten an individual, institution or organization understand how the media is able to influence violence/war in societies. Several empirical studies have been conducted by scholars, researchers and academicians who mainly absorbed media's role in the political, economic, and social arenas with due considerations to state affairs but not to conflicts and its management.[30] Therefore, few investigations have been conducted to assess the impact of the media coverage in managing conflicts before, during and after elections; thus, there is lack of multidisciplinary representations that is able to assess media's role in peace construction and management of conflict.

---

[28]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
[29]Mbeke, P. (2009). The role of media in conflict and peace building in Kenya. Nairobi: Intern news Network.
[30] Newbold,' Somalia Enforcing Restraint: Collective intervention in Internal Conflicts (1995).

1.4.3 Empirical Literature

In the conflict-ridden states, media play vital role oftenly in generating and advancing both the triggering and facilitating factors which are connected both to external and internal issues facing a particular state. Terzis & Melone[31] posit that media can be an agent of division in situations where its reportage does not entail pluralism both in the political and social structures. This could be attained by generating an informed citizenry in the respectful country by playing a role of mouthpiece for the ethnic power circles. Therefore, she deduced that a thoughtful alteration of news to cover specific interests definitely impairs the tension which exist in the factions opposing each other which becomes the main factor to trigger violence or conflicts in the society. Viggo[32] deduced referring to the killing of Muammar Qaddafi in October 20, 2011 that the role played by the media cannot be overemphasized. For example, by observing technology and the speedy on how the images in regard to the event were recorded down on the cell phones were spread globally using the social media platforms and this was widely spread and confirmed even before the death of Qaddafi and instantly it ignited a debate internationally in regard to legality and circumstances of the killing, the media played a very critical role in de-escalating of violent conflict and restored peace in the society thereby setting a new agenda for debate and discussion.

Conflicts in societies are resolved functionally by cooperation and comprise in the engaged parties. Therefore, the methods and procedures used in managing a conflict increase awareness levels on the sources of a conflict thereby helping to improve diversity, give temporary tasks, work rotations and victimizing ongoing transfers or dismissal when needed,

---

[31]Terzis, G., &Melone, S. (2002). Using the Media for Conflict Transformation, . London: Pluto Press.
[32]Viggo, M. (2011).Forging Peace: Intervention, Human Rights and the Management of Media Space. (P. M. Taylor, Ed.) Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press

ways targeted on the complete organization of a company structure hence fixing the supply of the conflict.[33] With acknowledgement and management of conflict in an exceedingly correct manner on personal and structure advantages can result.[34] While some executives conceive conflict as exhibiting interesting opportunities when managed in an overly favorable, constructive manner. An effective manager in an organization seek to manage a conflict rather than avoiding it.[35]

The media play a very critical role in media international relations as a negotiator in resolving of conflicts.[36] The main goal of media diplomacy is restore confidence in giving the involved parties a platform to tackle issues very contentious in regard to the conflict in a civil manner. It offers a platform for the opposing parties to handle one another without a face to face interactions. For example Larson postulate that TV provides an immediate and timely interactive channel for diplomacy in which reporters often play an equivalent position with the officials in the process of negotiation.[37] The media opt to highlight peace agreement and treaties rather than specializing in the negative parts of the conflicts. It is a platform for policy informers to make both national and global aid for peace efforts throughout the conflict.

Fischer inform us that conflict is associated with the act that tends to abuse, threaten, hurt, regulate, accelerate or converse the electoral procedures or consequences which is connected with that act occurs between the registration of citizens and the installation of an

---

[33] Jones, G.R, Gorge, J.M., C.W.L. Contemporary Management,' McGraw-Hill, Boston, MA. 2000
[34] Silverthorne, C.P. Organizational Psychology in Cross-Cultural Perspective, New York University Press, New York, NY, 2005:pp 738-740
[35] Ibid
[36] Giboa, Etyan, ''Media and conflict resolution: A framework for Analysis. Marquette Law Review, 2009:87
[37] Bercovitch J. Kremenyuk V., Zartman W.I'' Thr SAGE Handbook of conflict resolution: EtyanGilboa-Media and Conflict resolution:2009; p 461

administrative government.[38] The definition of Goodland and Humle on the concept of conflict as the struggle for power by people, for the aforesaid individuals should settle for a defeat to understand that not all people can carry instruments of power. Simply, the individuals in the elections should accept the final results of the process of election exercise, thus they need to see some sense to be satisfied on the method and procedures used were truthful. If neither facet is ready to present the battle of power, then the middle level ground is required to be reached to help in conflict management.[39] The middle level ground might be power sharing, an inspiration that was custom-made by African nation and southern Rhodesia throughout contested polls.

Over the years, the media has evolved thus it has given an individuals across the globe an additional opportunities to think and act quickly in a wider platform. Media broadcasting using digital technologies for example the telephones, private computers and computer application codes has impacted the spheres of political communications. The itinerant cameras for example became tiny personal weapons against the authoritarian rule.[40] The images beamed from personal gadgets onto social networks would be beamed across the world via sites like twitter, Instagram, Facebook, you tube, hence an eruption of a conflict will take a global outlook therefore increasing the quantity of actors on a specific issue of the concerning parties. For instance, the conflicts in Burundi unfolded and famine in Sudan through the media. Consequently, owing to the iniquitousness of the contemporary media, the results and brutality of the conflict is illustrated instantly globally.[41] This could positively impact the society to the extent that the public can give pressure the governments of the day to influence policies by ensuring that the

---

[38] Goodland J. and Humle D.,'' From wars to Complex Political Emergencies: Understanding Conflicts and peace working in the New world disorder, the Third world quarterly, Vol:20 no. 1, 1999: p 13-26.

[39] Mwagiru, M. Conflict, theory, processes and institutions of Management. 2000:p 43.

[40] Rahim M.A., Antonioni, D., Psenicka, C. A structural equations model of leader power, subordinates' styles of handling conflict, and job performance' International Journal of Conflict Management, Vol. 12, No.3, 2000: PP 191-211.

[41] Howard N.P and Hussain M.M. Democracy's Fourth Wave?-Digital media and the Arab spring', 2013' p 733.

desired results in a conflict situation is achieved. Therefore, the development of media communications has altered the way conflicts are resolved significantly.[42]

The repetitive pictures of violence conflicts or war evoke on what Kats and Liebes in Bercovitch et al referred as the disaster marathon.[43]Media broadcast on a number of days of a specific period of time in a conflict situation raise doubts concerning peace prospects and therefore worth of negotiations. This successively make the respectful individuals skeptical concerning the leadership capacity in handling the conflict thereby this will offer opposition with opportunity to profit on calling upon the regime modification for efficient delivery of services for the citizens. Gilboa in Bercovitch et al classifies the four levels of the media using the political science criterion that is native, national, regional, and international. Native media include the TV, native radio stations and the newspapers. The regional media function in an exceedingly region known by language, tradition. culture, values, or faith for instance the Dubai primary based Al-Arabia that broadcasts primarily within the geographical region.[44] International media embody broadcast and medium used by states to control across global borders for instance BBC, AL-Jazeera. International media embody in private closely-held industrial networks like CNN international and medium such as the international Herald apsisand therefore the economic expert.[45]

The print and electronic which are the mainstream components of the media have jointly connected to digital media networks in their coverage. Therefore, they are able to create news

[42] Ibid

[43]Giboa, Etyan, ''Media and conflict resolution: A framework for Analysis. Marquette Law Review, 2009:87

[44]Rahim M.A., Antonioni, D., Psenicka, C. A structural equations model of leader power, subordinates' styles of handling conflict, and job performance' International Journal of Conflict Management, Vol. 12, No.3, 2000: PP 191-211.

[45]Bercovitch J. Kremenyuk V., Zartman W.I'' Thr SAGE Handbook of conflict resolution: EtyanGilboa-Media and Conflict resolution:2009; p 268

portals, blogs or print media entities that are only online.[46] Researchers, celebrities, bloggers, activists and people of influence in the society have jointly employed digital media platform to be the tool for human activity with the public in an endeavor to feature their voices to explicit course. Media is able to impact or contribute to the modification of conflict situation either positively or negatively. The dictatorial regimes were for example on the spotlight on the global platform-the quick example is in Egypt. Wherever individuals communicated real time events of one-man rule occurring within that nation which resulted into to the resignation Mubarak. During this period the media was able to display the revolution change and modification from a dictatorial regime to democratic regime. Throughout the protests in Egypt, YouTube and various video archiving centers enabled subject journalists, victimization, itinerant cameras and client physics, aired stories that the thought media couldn't wish to hide.[47]

A study conducted by Munyua to cover the awareness and misunderstandings was able to argue that most of violence which erupted before, during and after the electioneering period was due radio and mobile phones which were used for political discussions at the levels of ethnicity thus forming political biasness that escalated the violence. Further, she emphasize that media usage was meant to articulate specific ideologies. She stipulated that hate speech was not only the contributing factor but also the politicians and public departments also contributed to escalation of the violence.[48] The description offered by Munyua on media in a conflict situation is ambiguous and to the point that the media function as a bridge between the respectful politicians in hastening communication amongst themselves. Though she pointed out that the 2010 constitution gave an individual freedom of expression thereby the print and electronic

---

[46]Howard N.P and Hussain M.M. Democracy's Fourth Wave?-Digital media and the Arab spring', 2013' p 733.
[47]Howard N.P and Hussain M.M. Democracy's Fourth Wave?-Digital media and the Arab spring', 2013' p 733.
[48]Munyua A.(2016). Exploring the multi-stakeholder experience in Kenya. Journal of Cyber Policy: VL-I: 10.1080/23738871. 2016. 1249898.

media independence, it failed to address hate speech, racial incitement, agitation to vehemence, conflict information and provocation to root damage. Chapter four of the same constitution on the bill of rights confer liberty of expression does not ensure use of hate language to or by anyone.

1.4.4 Literature Gap analysis

From the discussions in both theoretical and empirical literature, the media play critical role in managing of conflicts globally where Kenya is inclusive. In the African continent, the notable examples where media contributed greatly to conflict was the Rwandan genocide in 1994 where the Radio-Television Libre des Milles Collines (RTLM) pressed the killing of Tutsis by Hutus. The other radio stations equally played very critical role on scaling down the conflict hence reconciled and brought peace in the involved parties of the conflict. In Northern Uganda, the Mega FM radio station facilitated the members of LRA to dialogue with the respectful government and representatives of the civil society via the radio platform. Also, the Somalia radio station serve as another crucial example. In 90s radio Galkayo facilitated the involved clans in a conflict to peace negotiation at the same time they sponsored the sporting events that made the rival clans to come together. Despite this critical role played by the media in managing of conflicts, there are limited empirical studies conducted to examine the role played by the media in managing conflicts including, prevention, containment, settlement and resolution with specific reference to 2017 general elections. Therefore, this research is endeavored to bridge this glaring knowledge gap.

1.5 Justification of the Study

In Kenya, the media sector comprise the 4th pillar after the three arms of government that is the Judiciary, the executive and legislature as it play very crucial role in modelling the perception of individuals and their lifestyles. Therefore, it is a fact that the media influence every sphere of our life in making of decisions, in thoughts, in making of choices, attitudes and personal lifestyles through entertainment, information and education. Given this important role, the media can be employed as the tool of peace building and conflict transformation through objectively reporting of information and utilizing peace journalism. Nevertheless, the media can be also employed to cause violence or conflicts in the society. For example, reporting subjectively can polarize a state thus escalating or promoting conflicts in the society. Therefore, the current research advance to provide with the insights on the crucial role played by the media to either promote peace or escalate conflicts considering of particular human variables with specific emphasis in Kenya's 2017 general election.

The current study might contribute and add more information in regard to operations of the media and management of conflict as well as advancement of the elements of peace journalism in the era of conflicts. It also give information that might help the political leadership, the law enforcement, and security policy makers to formulate informed decisions on how to curb conflicts using early warning system and sensitizing the media platform on how their activities can erupt a conflict. As a tool for enhancing peace, the study may encourage media practitioners to embrace set policies and ethical standards which regulate the conduct of the media fraternity.

1.6 Theoretical framework

The study was propounded by two thematic theories. They include Libertarian and social responsibility Theories of media.

1.6.1 Libertarian Theory

In the liberal systems of governance for example the U.S, the media play a very significant role as displayed in the fundamental laws and the constitution. Basically, the mass media is not controlled by the government therefore, it acts as the watchdog against the excesses of the government besides the primary functions of informing and general entertainment. This underscores that the freedom and responsibility of the media safeguards abuses of power against the government through diverse representation of views, facilitation of open debate, individual rights protection and through factual reporting.[49]

The theory of libertarian posit that media as a self-regulating in the adherence to their professionalism and strict code of ethics. The state in Kenya set a regulatory commission in ensuring that individual freedom is not abused and this regulatory body is composed of the government officials and practitioners from the media who are overseeing each other.[50]Sometimes, the country suggest and propose a representative in main media houses and the board of directors to articulate their grievances.

The freedom of the media as displayed by the theory of libertarian can be employed by the respectful journalists and the leaders of form opinions to facilitate in transformation of conflicts and peace building. This theory is limited where egocentric people can utilize the freedom in breeding the conflicts in the society without the media consent. Examining the campaigns of general elections of 2017 in Kenya, the main media houses which comprise the Royal Media Services, the Standard Group and Nation Media through critical analysis of their

---

[49]Siebert, F., Peterson, T., & Schramm, W. (1972).Four theories of the press. Chicago, London: University of Illinois Press Urbana.
[50]Communication Commission of Kenya.(2008). Media Regulatory Framework in Kenya. Nairobi: CCK.

individual reporting, they generated an impression of the nation being polarized in ethnic lines.[51]

The gutter press reports, radio stations which broadcasted in vernacular languages and the social

media were worse off. The media coverage in this case attempted to display that the political

parties existed in Kenya had their roots from a specific ethnic community or blocs. Therefore,

the media coverage built a foundation through which its freedom of reporting and its influence as

displayed by theory of libertarian.

Moreover, the theory of Libertarian postulate for media freedom legitimacy whereby the

respectful government do not or has little control over the mass media. Basing on this condition,

the machineries in the government cannot tamper or give editorial powers and direction in

reporting skewed messages to favor its activities. The practitioners of the media possess freedom

in operating within the set legal framework and report objectively to discourage violence and

conflicts to enhance and advance peaceful coexistence in the society. For instance, media

coverage initiated the process of mediation between the party of PNU and ODM which called for

an urgent settlement of the 2007/08 general election crisis as indicated in their commentaries and

editorials.[52]

1.6.2 The Social Responsibility Theory

This theory postulate that media coverage requires to take both the legal and moral

responsibilities for their publications for the overall goodness of the entire society. [53] The social

responsibility theory afford with a platform in making reporting of the media very objective,

accurate and truthful in all times of information dissemination to general publics. The core

---

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

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

[53]Siebert, F., Peterson, T., & Schramm, W. (1972).Four theories of the press. Chicago, London: University of Illinois Press Urbana.

linkage to this theory is credibility where the media experts attempt to be responsible socially, they try be fair, transparent and reporting in a balanced way taking into account the privacy, rights, privacy and dignity for all individuals.[54] With regard to this theory, reporting of the media intends to point out the incidences of injustices in the society and inform individuals on their respectful privileges and rights. This theory is delimited as the individuals are enlightened, they more they are able to articulate for their individual rights using whatever available means, which can include violence. Therefore, the theory is implicated as a far reaching to influence individuals to come together and address historical injustices in the community and the society.[55]

The theory of social responsibility bring together, the media experts to give a truthful information, to offer objective reporting of information and be transparent as their obligation. The 2007/08 election crisis highlighted by the media resulted to the intervention of the global community. This resulted to the ending of violence and conflict in the country. For instance, various personalities of the world, eminent personalities from the African continent who were headed by the former UN secretary General, Koffi Annan came to Kenya and intervened to the conflict and they managed to bring peace. Moreover, The Media Council of Kenya (MCK) displayed adverts in amid to call all Kenyan citizens to avoid violence and conflicts as well as be peaceful. It also called all the practicing journalist to observe the ethical standards set in their reporting.[56]

Equally, MCK indicated to the rival ethnic communities to co-exist peacefully and they organized the churches, the private sector and also individuals of these communities to provide

---

[54]Schudson, M. (2001). The Objectivity Norm in American Journalism: Theory, Practice and Criticism. Journalism , Vol 2 (2), 149-170.
[55] Ibid
[56]Mbeke, P. (2009). The role of media in conflict and peace building in Kenya. Nairobi: InterNews Network.

with relief assistance to the IDPS in the Rift Valley region, Nyanza region, Central and Nairobi region. These comprise initiatives of the media that was seen to facilitate peace under the theory of social responsibility. The idea that state corporations and agencies are obliged towards the well-being of the society are rooted from theory of social responsibility. The Standard Group and the Nation Media planned and mobilized relief materials to help the displaced individual of the society. KTN, Royal media and NTV collaborated with Kenya Red Cross (KRC) to appeal to Kenyans to donate clothes, shelter IDPs and also donate food. This displays a positive role the media play in building peace.

1.7 Hypotheses.

1. Positive role of the media influences dispute resolution before, during and after 2017 general elections

2. Media coverage escalated violence during the 2017 general elections

3. Positive media coverage de-escalated violence during the 2017 general elections

4. Media coverage face challenges towards conflict management activities

1.8 Research methodology

The methodology in research comprised the design of the study, the locations of the study, population of the study, the sample size used for the study, and the instruments of data collection. Moreover, analysis of data techniques and ethics observed throughout the study were discussed.

1.8.1 Research Design

The research design according to Ogula entail a structure, strategy and a plan to be used by the investigator in obtaining answers to the set research questions and control its variance.[57]In addition, it contain the action plan that the researcher employ in answering the respectful questions set for research and it formulates a framework for the study therefore it is a blueprint of the investigator.[58]

This research employed research design which was descriptive in nature to answer the set research questions posed by the investigator. For instance, this research design was used in preliminary and exploratory investigations in order to enable the scientific investigations in summarizing, presentation and interpretation of data for the sole aim of classification. The design was selected because the investigator is ambitious in building the profile in regard to media in the administration of hostility and conflict management. Descriptive research design was deemed necessary as it enabled to assess exclusively the factors under the investigation thus it enabled the researcher to consciously determine the media's role in combating conflicts in Kenya.

1.8.2 Research Site

Nairobi City County, Kenya is the site of this study because it is the County which was adversely affected in 2017 elections. Also, it is the Capital City of Kenya where most of the organizations and institutions in the media industry are based. The County borders with the County of Machakos which is in the East and South East, the county of Kiambu which is in the North West, North and North East and the county of Kajiado located in the South, South West and West.

---

[57] Kerlinger, F. N. (1973). Foundation of behavioral science. New York: Holt, Renehard and Winston.

1.8.3 Target Population

Population of the study as described by Ogula comprise of a group of individuals, institutions or the objects that share common features.[59] The population of this research comprised media personalities from the 22 media firms in Nairobi County.[60] The communications Authority of Kenya was also targeted because is tasked in regulating broadcast content in carrying its mandate in times before, during and after general elections in Kenya. The study targeted 22 media firms in Nairobi County in Kenya.

1.8.4 Sample Size

This entail a smaller cluster which is obtained from the targeted population of the study.[61] The cluster is selected carefully in order to represent the entire target population of the study with pertinent features anticipated. In this case each individual contained in the sample is termed as the interviewees, participant, respondent or the subject of the study. This study applied purposive sampling appropriately to choose respondents from each media house for this study. This type of technique is suitable when the participants of the study have in-depth knowledge or the target population cannot be randomly selected. The sample size for the questionairre research were obtained using the formulae scientifically computed as follows: $n = \frac{N}{1+N(e)^2}$

Where; e= Margin of error of 0.05

n=sample size and

N= target population size

[59]Ogula, P. A. (2005). Research Methods. Nairobi: CUEA Publications.
[60] Communication Authority, 2015
[61]Mugenda, O. M. and Mugenda, A. G. (1999).*Research Methods: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches.*Nairobi: Acts Press.

Required Sample

$$n = \frac{1000}{1 + 1000(0.05)^2}$$

$$n = \frac{1000}{}$$

1.17

N=870

This study used 46 respondents as the sample size of the study and they were interviewed to provide insight information in regard to media and conflict management

1.8.5 Data Collection Instruments

This research gathered primary and secondary data from the media experts and media houses. The interview guide employed to collect the primary data. Rasmussen & Erik,[62] affirm that interview guide are critical for gathering in-depth information to aid to the understanding of the phenomenon investigated other than the measurement of the issue. This instrument employed to gather information from the conflict management and media professionals. This was face-to-face interviews to elicit detailed answers on media role in conflict management. Face-to-face interviews was done at convenience of research participants with note taking and aid of audio taping. The secondary sources included newspapers, TV productions and officials, and media and fighting management reports from non-governmental sources. Secondary sources of information involve types of text and multimedia records. They are obtained from each printed

---

[62]Rasmussen, S., & Erik, S. (2002). Essentials of Social Research Methodology. Southern Denmark: Odense University Press .

and unprinted materials such as newspapers, tutorial documents, radio coverage, theses, books, journals and primary prior to and after the 2017 election.

1.8.6 Validity and Reliability

This study conducted reliability and validity of the research instrument. In this case a pilot test was established by targeting 5 respondent who were not be included in data collection exercise and the final analysis. The findings of validity largely are contingent to the quality of raw data collected and this is depended on the instruments of research collection. Therefore, if the instrument of data collection is reliable and valid then the research findings should have reliable and valid results.[63] In the effort of reliability enhancement the investigator generated the research instrument logically, with simple and clear words, unambiguous and detailed research questions. Various research instruments were employed to gather the information depending the type and nature of information required.

The operationalization of key terms were examined into details to avoid the ambiguities of the concepts as an effort of enhancing reliability of the research. Therefore, the investigator was keen in scrutinizing the collected information, she cross-checked the information, and inspected it in attempt of ensuring uniformity, accuracy, completeness, consistency and relevance of the answers given. This allowed the investigator to find out on whether the content in the research question deal and cover the objectives and content studied.[64]

1.8.7 Data Analysis

Qualitative methods were used to analyze the collected data from the field. This information was generated from the research questions which were open-ended and were

---

[63] Kothari, C. R. (2009). Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques (10th ed.). New Delthi: New Age International (P) Ltd.

[64] Patton, Q. (1990). Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods. California: Newbury Park Publishers.

classified into themes according to the objectives of the study to be reported using a narrative format. The content analysis technique were employed to analyze the information. Content analysis refers to a technique used to analyze variables in the texts of the collected information. The investigator analyzed and quantify the presence, meanings and association of the variables then make inferences on the texts within the analyzed texts.

1.8.8 Ethical considerations

The investigator sought a letter of transmittal from the University of Nairobi to enable her proceed in data collection. The investigator explained the purpose of the study emphasizing that the respondents had a right to give consent or not be included in the study, and their participation were voluntary. The researcher also made it clear to the participants that information to be provided by them by private and confidential, and that anonymity was maintained throughout the research exercise. Therefore, throughout the research, privacy and confidentiality of the research participants were observed by ensuring that the information gathered for this study was treated for academic purpose only.

1.8.9 Scope and limitations of the Study

The current study is set to establish the role played by the media in managing of conflicts in Nairobi City County, Kenya. The study was delimited to role of media and management of conflict in 2017 general elections. In addition, the study was delimited to dispute resolution before, during and after 2017 general elections, the role of media in escalation or de-escalation of violence during the 2017 general elections and the challenges encountered by the media towards conflict management activities.

The major limitation anticipated was the unwillingness by some respondents to give honest and truthful information with regard to media and management of conflicts. This is due lack of enough times in answering the set questions, the negative perceptions, the language barrier, and ignorance of the interviewees. The researcher intended to overcame this challenge by establishing a rapport with the interviewees in order to encourage trust and reaffirm anonymity and confidentiality among the participants of the study upon request.

1.9 Chapter Outline

The thesis were divided into five thematic chapters. Chapter one introduced the topic of the research, problem statement, justification, research hypotheses, theoretical framework and the methodology to be used.

Chapter two evaluated the role played by the media before, during and after 2017 Kenya's general elections.

Chapter three examined on the media escalated or deescalated violence during the 2017 general elections

Chapter four analyzed the challenges encountered by the media towards conflict management activities

Chapter five summarized the findings of the study, the conclusions, recommendations for policy and suggestions for further investigation.

CHAPTER TWO

ROLE PLAYED BY THE MEDIA BEFORE, DURING AND AFTER 2017 KENYA'S GENERAL ELECTIONS

2.1 Introduction

The current chapter is a review of literature on several studies which are connected to the subject matter under investigation. It comprise of issues of politics and the media, the media's role in the current society besides its effects on conflicts. This will enable in the identification of the critical role of the media in covering the 2017 general elections specifically pre-election, during and post-election exercise.

2.2 Media and Election Politics

With the slow evolution of Media in Kenya from the time of independence, debates with regard to politics was a far reached dream because it was not allowed in both de jure and de facto singly party domination of both regimes of president Kenyatta and Daniel Arap Moi. Despite the Kenyan media not suppressed as such as to compared to most African nations, it was until end of Moi era in the year 2002 that openly the media can criticize the respective government. The scene of media operating in Kenya has experienced a degree of medialization and yet still the media continue to be the chief source of data in socio-economic and political affairs in the nation.[65] After the legalization of politics of many parties in Kenya, the media was able to act as a forum of lively discussions in regard to political matters. The discussions in most cases were conducted in aggressive environments for the respective journalists to bear and mostly were not

---

[65] Somerville, Keith. 2011. "Violence, Hate Speech and Inflammatory Broadcasting in Kenya: The Problems of Definition and Identification" (March 3).

structured and focused. The freedom of expression greatly resulted to the liberalization of electronic media industry.[66]

From the year 2002, media operating in Kenya commenced to record matchless economic development sighted by a number of stakeholders of the media underlining the critical role in the process of democracy which started in the year 1991.[67] In the year 2007, the introduction of three additional dailies was perceived growing the sum total to eight-this re-affirmed the general dynamics of the media sector in the business environment.[68] With tremendous growth of the scene of Kenyan media, it is therefore possible to concur with Anderson with the argument he described as the imagined communities for each with members agendas and needs were designed. This is particularly correct in the functioning of stations airing news by the use of their vernacular languages. From the establishment of imagined communities implementation of current technologies from the various functions was observed.[69]

The media now started to employ current technologies in coordinating of its activities for example it employed text messages in fostering violence conflicts, blogs were employed to encounter the narratives over the media and campaigns were conducted online to disseminate information on violations conducted in regard to human rights.[70] With the media stations operating locally and either owned by the government or privately owned by individuals, the Castells postulations is witnessed where he gave a description of a networked power which is

---

[66] Lafargue, Jérôme, Brice Rambaud, Anne Cussac, Musambayi Katumanga, Florence Brisset-Fuocault, Patrick Mutahi, Benard Calas, Hervé Maupeu, Ronan Porhel, and Claire Médard. 2008. "The General Elections in Kenya, 2007."

[67] Ibid, 61

[68] Somerville, Keith. 2011. "Violence, Hate Speech and Inflammatory Broadcasting in Kenya: The Problems of Definition and Identification" (March 3).

[69] Hadland, Adrian. 2010. "Shooting the Messenger: Mediating the Public and the Role of the Media in South Africa's Xenophobic Violence." Africa Development 35 (3): 119–143.

[70] Goldstein, Joshua, and Juliana Rotich. 2007. "Digitally Networked Technology in Kenya's 2007–2008 Post-Election Crisis." Berkman Center Research Publication (2007-14). http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1077686.

different from the to both network power and networking power which comprise to a particular power expressed from specific nodes through using other nodes in a network. This agenda setting using communication network nodes then make both the editorial and managerial decisions powers to rest in the individuals that are owners and control multimedia networks. Thus, the powers in regard to networking is entailed in the case of referring the individual owners and managers of corporations of the media.[71]This might either the nation which own the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation and individual owners.

The controllers and owners contain the technological, legal, institutional and financial muscle organize, manage, and control the networks of mass communication. In most cases they make decisions in regard to the format and content to be employed for communication in accordance to the formula best to adopted to achieve the set objectives assigned for the network. This can be solely for maximizing of profits, sharing of power, and also in making of culture to be used in the media sector. From the historical perspective, the media sector has experienced quite a few individuals globally such as Berlusconi, Bloomberg and Murdoch while those ones of the internet are Jerry Yang and Mark Zuckerberg and others.

In Kenya, as it is globally, the power of the network was and yet still remain in the hands of a few individuals, partners and their surrogates where they are entangled with respective financiers of diverse origins.[72] In the time of general election, media's role in Kenya was not restricted to just covering of political campaigns and dissemination of information to the Kenyan citizens alone but some specific editorials and groups were biased with certain candidates who participated in the race where particular media coverage was directly generated by the parties in

---

[71] Castells, Manuel, and Peter Monge. 2011. "Network Multidimensionality in the Digital Age." International Journal of Communication 5: 788–793.
[72] Ibid, 781

support and also in some cases the journalists themselves contested to be elected. Therefore, the Kenyan media acted as the player of politics in all spheres of words.[73]

The improvement of the media eloquently fostered the Kenyan electronic sector whereby in the year 2003-2007 the Kenyan radio sector was able to rapidly grow with more fifty radio stations which were privately owned. In addition, the television sectors rose whereby new players emerged thus the evolution of the electronic media industry brought about current dimensions in the 2007 elections in Kenya. Therefore, Kenyans swiftly contained a diverse sources of advertising and news which originally had been only restrained in the print media where it was conveyed to the radio and to a little extent the television.[74] The Standard Group and Nation Media Group which comprised of the major media houses in Kenya contained a very lively sites of the internet for their respective dailies that is www.eastandard.net and www.nationmedia.com and also subsets particularly meant for general elections. The Kenya's Nation Media group collectively combined journals and articles with regard to political campaigns which was published by The Daily Nation newspaper, their respective journalists' weblogs, the NTV video reporting which broadcasted in the partnership with YouTube. The aired videos were basically assortment of media reports in regard to party conferences, the Bulls Eye satirical political program, and political meetings. The site of the Kenyan media was very important particularly to Kenyans in diaspora to be in touch with the political progress and general election exercise. On the same breadth, The Standard Group also introduced a platform online to disseminate information in regard to general elections process.[75]

---

[73] Lafargue, Jérôme, Brice Rambaud, Anne Cussac, Musambayi Katumanga, Florence Brisset-Fuocault, Patrick Mutahi, Benard Calas, Hervé Maupeu, Ronan Porhel, and Claire Médard. 2008. "The General Elections in Kenya, 2007."
[74] Ibid
[75] Ibid, 67

The Daily Nation newspaper pioneered a sentiment tracker online in regard to general elections which was a website to indicate the significance of social media pitch for discussions of politics and conduction of campaigns.[76] Moreover, as the same case of the international media broadcasters for example the France 24, CNN and Al Jazeera, NTV owned their own YouTube which was maintained and preserved by them to cater the diaspora population. With all these tremendous progress of the media, the current trend resulted politics and the media to be bizarre bed partners. This association of politics and the media is demonstrated whereby a number of journalists from the media contested for elections majorly using small party tickets. The owners of the media or the journalists themselves are what Castells termed as 'switchers' in information dissemination. These comprise the controllers or position holders who are responsible for linking various points of strategic networks which are intended to diffuse particular discourse of political ideology.[77]

The journalists' ambitions in politics demonstrated that their job might as the springboard in the advancement of careers in politics and thus they utilized well their endowment in technology and their ability in political activism to disseminate the information but as well as their fame in the masses. At long last, several media houses were impartial in their reporting. The respective journalists reported in a way that they were strategically positioned in their constituencies that they had interest in. in this vein, the media houses were seen to investing in the expansion of the communication network, where particular individual were also engaged in building their own networks of self-communications via sections of commentary and extension of blogosphere in Kenya, hence allowing the spirit of empowerment in the media industry. As

[76] Orring, Frida. 2013. "Kenyan Elections 2013 – a Tech Fail or Not?" Freedom on the Internet. http://blog.swedenabroad.se/fxinternet/2013/05/10/kenyan-elections-2013-a-tech-fail-ornot/.
[77] Castells, Manuel. 2007. 2009. Communication Power. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

Castells describes, the power of networking in the realms of communications is featured in the action taken by the corporate networks of the multimedia which include business and the government to interact with the individuals using the network who both generate their own culture in the media sector and those consuming products of the media.[78] In the 2007 general elections, the expansion of the electronic media supplemented new dimensions. Therefore, the viewer of television, the reader of the newspaper and the individual listening to the radio afforded a variety sources of information in all the languages whether English, Kiswahili or Vernacular.[79]

2.3 Social Media and Political Mobilization

Evolution of both social and the new media has resulted to diverse opinions among the scholars on its effect in times of general elections. Social media has been found to serve as a platform which is alternative for both political expression and engagement especially in Countries where authorities have maintained control on the mainstream media channels. It has the potential to increase access to information in regard to politics hence enabling deliberate political affairs and social networks expansion.[80] The collective, user-generated, unmediated communication on the social media could therefore, act as a good choice of civic engagements and inevitably influence contemporary society in its fight against alienation.[81] This therefore, makes the social media field and various questions on nonconventional and conventional democratic engagements important on matters of politics both for scholarship and research.

---

[78] Castells, Manuel, and Peter Monge. 2011. "Network Multidimensionality in the Digital Age." International Journal of Communication 5: 788–793.

[79] Lafargue, Jérôme, Brice Rambaud, Anne Cussac, Musambayi Katumanga, Florence Brisset-Fuocault, Patrick Mutahi, Benard Calas, Hervé Maupeu, Ronan Porhel, and Claire Médard. 2008. "The General Elections in Kenya, 2007."

[80] Auskalniene, L (2012), Assessing Participation online: Youth and Their Involvement in Social Media, Journal of Information Sciences.

[81] Stumpel, M. (2010), The Politics of Social Media, Facebook: Control and Resistance, M.A. Thesis: University of Amsterdam.

Makinen and Kuira agree with the scholars called Rotich and Goldstein that the indicated social media was critical as another alternative forum employed to maintain engagements on matters of politics where the authorities barred the mainstream media from broadcasting live in the violent conflict of 2007/08 elections. They argued that the platform helped the new degree of participation of citizens thus was very significant as the forum for sharing of information. These scholars established that the platform functioned as the best choice for communication to citizens in terms of information sharing during the crisis. They also find that the youth tended to be more eloquent as the avenues to attaining the set goals of politics as described by the senior politicians during the crisis. Youth were found to be the main participants in the violence who were negatively influenced and conducted killing, looting and maiming thereby effectively implementing the agenda of the older politicians instead of their own.[82],[83]

Wasswa finds that a number of individuals who adopted online as the source of political news and access of information heighten during general election or a time of a crisis.[84] Rather than use their numbers to direct their discourse in politics and consequently electoral results, the youth instead engaged in violence during the political crisis.[85] Such arrangement for power dent the interests of majority youths, and consigns this important group to the periphery of national politics.

Chatora concludes the platform showed to be remarkable in exchange and dissemination of information in times when the broadcasting live of mainstream media was banned in Kenya

---

[82] Makinen, M and Kuira, M.W. (2008), 'Social Media and Postelection Crisis in Kenya': The International Journal of Press/Politics13: 328–35.
[83] Goldstein and Rotich, J (2008), Digitally Networked Technology in Kenya's 2007–2008 Post-Election Crisis: Berkman Center Research Publication No. 2008-09.
[84] Wasswa, H.W. (2013), The Role of social Media in the 2013 Presidential Election Campaigns in Kenya, M.A. Research Project, University of Nairobi.
[85] Chatora, A (2012), Encouraging Political Participation in Africa: The potential of social media platforms, The Institute for security Studies, Situation Report, South Africa.

during the 2007/08 crisis. Social media played the role of containing the political engagements when the authorities barred the live broadcasts of mainstream media and ideally provided an alternative communication platform when the conventional channels were closed, thus widened the perspectives about the crisis.[86]

Social media use therefore, enabled new forms of citizen participation by providing an alternative platform for open discussions on the situation. The acquired experience offered very significant implications in the democratization process and it further confirmed the efficiency of the platform as the best alternative for communication in times the mainstream is barred. Though, whether the adoption of platform of the social media in the times of general election crisis of 2007/08 was connected to the events emerged it yet remain unexplored.[87]

Iranians may have found themselves in a situation similar to Kenya's 2007/08 postelection crisis following the two country's' disputed Presidential elections. When they voted in 2009 and the voters realized that the elections had been rigged in favor of President Ahmadinejad, there were mass protests in the streets of Tehran. Platforms of Facebook and Twitter were actively employed by the users to organize for the protests and to access information from the global community. This is a clear demonstration that with new media use and specifically social media, global communication is drastically changing.[88] Callahan draws similarities between the situation in the two countries and finds that the eruption of violence in Tehran streets following the 2009 Iranian disputed presidential elections as happened in the

[86] Ibid.

[87] Makinen, M and Kuira, M.W. (2008), 'Social Media and Postelection Crisis in Kenya': The International Journal of Press/Politics13: 328–35.

[88] Callahan, C.M, (2010) Responding to Crises on Facebook: A Case Study of the Iranian Election Protests and the 2010 Chilean Earthquake. M.A. Thesis: University of Minnesota, U.S.A.

Kenyan 2007 case leading to protracted post-election crisis after persistent and prolonged violence.

Makinen and Kuira also find similarities between Kenya's 2007/08 and Iran's 2009 post-election protests, demonstrating that possibly the political crisis in Iran, the platform of social media could have been adopted as an alternative media to escape state control.[89] According to Callahan, the Iranians citizen used the platform of social media such as the Twitter, Facebook and blogs to disseminate information globally on the controversy of the general elections.[90] Makinen and Kuira further illustrate that conceivably the political crisis, on the social media might have been employed as an avenue to dodge the suppression which was imposed by the respective authorities. This is a clear case of how the internet has challenged authorities with the social media serving as the best alternative in political engagement. In both cases, majority of the protesters were youthful citizens mobilized and coordinated through social media. Howard and Hussain also concur with this argument when they draw parallels with the more recent Arab spring of 2011. Their findings show that social media could have mobilized and coordinated the protests. This is a form of political participation whose relationship with social media use remained unexplored and measured.[91]

Looking at the 2007/08 Kenyan post-election political crisis and the 2013 Presidential elections, Odinga concludes that social media increased political participation and the political

[89] Makinen, M and Kuira, M.W. (2008), 'Social Media and Postelection Crisis in Kenya': The International Journal of Press/Politics13: 328–35.
[90] Callahan, C.M, (2010) Responding to Crises on Facebook: A Case Study of the Iranian Election Protests and the 2010 Chilean Earthquake. M.A. Thesis: University of Minnesota, U.S.A.
[91] Howard, P.N & Hussain, M (2013), Democracy's Fourth Wave? Digital Media and the Arab Spring. Oxford University, London.

dialogue that was not present before.[92] It to a large extent endowed Kenyan citizens to participate in the entire process of politics.

The ethnic-based exchanges manifested online were the details evolving in the social media platform. Odinga finds that online mass communication can drive mass action by serving as a platform where citizens mobilize themselves for a common political course. Conventionally, the respective state and other actors in politics called upon to suppression of individuals who were protesting on the political opponents but in years of 2007 and year 2013, the country was not able to silence the mass population due to the failure to take control of the social media platform. The platform of the social media therefore acted as the actual preferred media by enabling citizens' participation in political discourse when the respective authorities banned the mainstream media from live broadcasts.[93] However, whether this can increase the level of democratization remains to be ascertained.

Mäkinen and Kuira find social media tools to be supplementing, other than replacement of the conventional media. By serving as alternative avenue of expression, social media could therefore, diversify and broaden the public discourse by offering critical examinations and perspectives on political matters. For instance, the prominent online community in Kenya called the Mashada.com was overwhelmed with a hostile and divisive text messages along ethnic lines during the 2007 election period.[94] Consequently, authorities ordered the site shut down in the belief that civil discourse was rapidly becoming impossible.[95] This continued in 2013 and after thus the platform has become to play critical role as the most effective tool in propagating of

[92] Odinga, C (2013), Use of New Media during the Kenya Elections, M.A Thesis, Uppsala University.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Makinen, M and Kuira, M.W. (2008), 'Social Media and Postelection Crisis in Kenya': The International Journal of Press/Politics13: 328–35.
[95] Goldstein and Rotich, J (2008), Digitally Networked Technology in Kenya's 2007–2008 Post-Election Crisis: Berkman Center Research Publication No. 2008-09.

information and citizen mobilization while a voiding suppression. Nevertheless, the subject on whether debates emanating from the masses could influence power and democracy were not investigated.

2.4 Social Media and Political Participation

Participation in politics is defined as the activities of the respective citizen which involve views expressed by them, the events and opinions. This is undertaken during the political campaigns, signing of petitions, voting in the general elections, participation in the political interests groups, and the joining of civil protests. The political interest groups entail the advocacy individuals who share the same political ideologies who combine forces to influence processes in regard to politics of a country in an effort of influencing of public policy.[96]

This can contain either extra-institutional or institutional whereby institutionalized participation entail the activities that affect systems of politics for example associating with politicians in terms of voting and party membership. Extra-institutionalized participation is not tied to the political system but seems to have an indirect impact on the political decision making.[97] Self-efficacy of politics which entail individual's credence that via their hard work they can influence processes concerning politics entail key measurements of thriving democracy and has been demonstrated to be superior in predicting the intent of voting behavior to form indicators of participation in politics. Social media platform enable the individuals using it to practice politics in a way which is intimate and interpersonal thereby resulting to the most

[96] Mukhongo, L, L(2014), Negotiating the New Media Platforms: Youth and political Images in Kenya. Triple C 12(1): 328-341, 2014 http://www.triple-c.atretrived 8 th October,2014.
[97] Ndavula, J.O and Mberia, H.K. (2012), Social Networking sites in Kenya: Trigger for non-Institutional Democratic Participation, International journal of business and social science. Vol.3 No.13 July, 2012.

important source of information in matters of politics for the Kenyan youths.[98] This has effectively rendered the mainstream news media little importance in the lives of Kenyan youths interested in matters of politics.

The platform has been employed successfully for political participation in the developed Western democracies. For instance, the 2004 and 2008 the USA Presidential elections proved to be the best model in engaging the voting patterns of youths of this country. Attention to this platform for campaign information was found to be very significant during the 2008 campaign that helped to produce a record voter turnout, especially among the youth.[99] Hamilton finds that social media use especially Facebook had a contribution to the USA 2008 Presidential election outcome which Barrack Obama won.[100]

According to Hamilton, Facebook could help politicians and campaign organizers to understand the demographics and interests of their voters and to better target them. However, he did not examine platforms of the social media for example YouTube and Twitter and which President Barrack Obama used extensively to engage with the electorate. He also did not measure the association which existed in the use of social media and the form of political participation. Kushin and Yamamoto looking at the same election, find that social media increased individuals' participation in politics through exchanging political content online.[101]

Budak while assessing media's role and voter behavior in the same election finds that what crucially missed the effect of new media on the general election to provide firm evidence to

[98] Kushin, M. J &Yamamoto, M (2010) 'Did Social Media Really Matter? College Students' Use of Online Media and Political Decision Making in the 2008 Election', Mass Communication and Society, 13: 5, 608 — 630.
[99] Ibid
[100] Hamilton, S (2011), Use of social media in Presidential Campaigns: Do social media Have an Effect on Political Behaviour of voters Aged 18-24?, Honors Thesis, United States
[101] Kushin, M. J &Yamamoto, M (2010) 'Did Social Media Really Matter? College Students' Use of Online Media and Political Decision Making in the 2008 Election', Mass Communication and Society, 13: 5, 608 — 630.

either back or refute the arguments in regard to media's role. The fundamental question was whether the conventional media and social media's consumption contain significant influence on the likelihood of a person to participate in the process of politics through the voting or the disparities existed by kind of the media employed. This question remained unanswered.[102]

Howard and Hussain find that the Arab Spring was largely organized, supported and driven by social media which served as source of information and exchange for political engagement. This was illustrated in both Egypt and Tunisia where the impassive governments were overthrown by the use of platform of the social media such as Twitter and Facebook. Such is a case of frustrated youth fighting alienation from mainstream political engagement.[103] When the authorities cracked down on social media during the protests, the citizens, mainly youth took to the streets as an alternative avenue for political participation. This highlights how movements started online translate to offline activity and gain international attention. Whether debates flew from the primaries influenced power and democracy remained unexplored. The association in regard to offline and online political activities also remained unmeasured.[104]

Developing African democracies are employing the platforms such as Twitter, political blogs, Facebook and YouTube in their electoral processes to stimulate citizen participation. Presidential candidates elsewhere in developing democracies including Africa in their campaigning strategies adapted social media platforms in a way which effectively targets their audiences.[105] In Nigeria for instance, President Jonathan effectively utilized Facebook platform to engage with the citizens in the 2011 Presidential elections and even announced his candidacy

[102] Budak, A (2010), Facebook, Twitter and Barak: New Media and The 2008 Presidential Elections. M.A. Thesis: Georgetown University, Washington D.C

[103] Howard, P. &Hussain, M,(2011),The Role of Digital Media:Journal of Democracy   22(3):35-48

[104] Ibid

[105] Wasswa, H.W. (2013), The Role of social Media in the 2013 Presidential Election Campaigns in Kenya, M.A. Research Project, University of Nairobi.

on Facebook. Zambia and South Africa have also used these online forums to engage their citizens politically and on development matters. The civil society organizations and the other respective interest groups in Zambia also adapted the platform in monitoring the incidents associated with the 2011 general elections.

On the contrary, authorities in Zimbabwe, Angola, Ethiopia and Uganda have tended to censor social media especially whenever the citizens organize protests. For instance, the 2005 general election in Ethiopia, the authorities were very keen to the usage of social media in mobilizing the protests to support the opposition in the country. The services in regard to SMS were closed down for one year and a half in that Country.[106],[107] However, due to the transnational nature of the internet, citizens in that Country still received information on what was happening in their locality pointing at the power of this new technology.

In Zimbabwe, where both the freedom of speech and expressions, assembly and association are highly infringed social media has since served as an alternative mode of expression for dissenting views in that country with the authorities struggling to censor it. Although the government has not completely censored usage of this platform, the doubt of the communication tools is evident. Shutting down or censorship of social media in those countries was found to escalate the street protests as alternative communication spaces for the frustrated citizens confirming that indeed that media alienation does in fact drive offline political participation.[108]

---

[106] Chatora, A (2012), Encouraging Political Participation in Africa: The potential of social media platforms, The Institute for security Studies, Situation Report, South Africa.
[107] Howard, P. &Hussain, M,(2011),The Role of Digital Media: Journal of Democracy   22(3):35-48.
[108] Chatora, A (2012), Encouraging Political Participation in Africa: The potential of social media platforms, The Institute for security Studies, Situation Report, South Africa.

Despite hostility from the authorities, social media was also found to have had a coordinating role in the 2011 'walk to work' protests in Uganda during which the authorities threatened to shut down the social media channels. Against these challenges, social media still played a major role in facilitating citizens especially the youth to participate in politics. Platforms such as blogs Twitter and Facebook written within and outside the country were valuable in driving the protests. This clearly underscores the potential of social networking in enhancing citizens' political involvement.[109].These engagements led by citizens which were largely expedited by the social media platform have highlighted embryonic potential of the platform in driving participation in politics that may have important implications for the development of democracy.[110]

All the Kenyan Presidential aspirants for the 2013 general elections had heavy presence on social media to connect with their online constituency composed mainly of the youth and others in the Diaspora. Apart from enabling citizens to participate in monitoring the electoral process, this initiative marked an unprecedented step in utilizing social media to entrench citizen engagement within the electoral system.[111] What remained unexplored and measured however, is how this form of online political participation relates to the offline mode.

---

[109] Kate, T, (2011), Arab Spring really was social media revolution: Posted on September 13, 2011 - 07:00 retrieved on 3/2/2013.
[110] Chatora, A (2012), Encouraging Political Participation in Africa: The potential of social media platforms, The Institute for security Studies, Situation Report, South Africa.
[111] Wasswa, H.W. (2013), The Role of social Media in the 2013 Presidential Election Campaigns in Kenya, M.A. Research Project, University of Nairobi.

2.5 The Information and Education Role of the Media before, during and after Elections

It is believed to be there three functions of the media in the current society which include information dissemination on the general election exercise, it give reports on the political campaigns of the various contestants to ensuring that there exist neutrality to allow the people in making very informed choice of the suitable candidates to be elected. In another case is where the media employ critics and columnist in providing people with diverse opinions an in depth analysis on politics. In giving out information, the media coordinate with the respective commission charged with management of elections to deliver to individuals the required information in regard to elections. Secondly, coverage of the media play a role of a watchdog in an effort of making that there exist a free and fair general election-hence, the media is not expected to be biased or take sides on whatever ground. It should play its role of being a watchdog in all the candidates and also to the commissions managing the election exercise. Thirdly, it should give voice to respective voters through offering a platform in expression of citizen desires. Individuals should be permitted to stipulate on what they anticipate in regard to their representatives and disseminate information concerning the several social issues affecting them. Therefore, universally media coverage emphasize itself on voters, political issues and candidates in times of general election period.[112]

Educating voters is well taken as the central obligation of the media in managing of elections. Nevertheless, the commission charged with the responsibility of management of elections cannot attain much if there are not supported by the respective stakeholders who are responsible and cover issues of management of general elections. In this case, the media act as the most significant stakeholder in educating of voters in regard to elections. It is also significant

---

[112] Brandit, T. (2006). Coaching Manual for Media Support during Elections. Denmark: International Media Support.

that all the voters participating in the elections to fully understand on what is required of them and what it means of the election exercise. Therefore, they must be well endowed with information which is vital for them to take part in electing their candidates. Thus, educating of voters is needed in states which have been prone in the post-election conflict.[113]

From the Cairo Institute for Human Rights Studies report, media coverage does not take control in dissemination of information but there exist other sources-is only that the media is most powerful than those other sources. Media coverage enables the respective citizen to be well informed on the happenings in and around them. In the period of general elections, information dissemination function of the media becomes very critical to the individuals who are attached to election processes. In time of general elections the coverage of the media is anticipated to conduct its function of being a watchdog by empowering the general publics in an effort of ensuring that there accountability to the officials in the election exercise.[114] The report stipulated that the officials who are managing the election processes hold public office hence anything they are involved in regard to their office contain public interest. Therefore, media coverage should make sure that there exist transparency in the process of general elections for example, the media should avail itself in the tallying centers polling stations and be objective in their reporting of the unfolding of election events. As long as there exist a cold association between the politicians and the media, both they need each other in the period of general elections. Media coverage will search for the respective candidates if their stories are considered as newsworthy. On the other hand, the leaders depend on media for publicity during their political campaign.

---

[113] Agyiri, (2012). Assessment of Voter Education on Electoral Processes in the New Juaben Municipality.
[114] Report by Cairo Institute for Human Rights Studies,2014.

A few months to 2017 elections, a segment of civil society organization realized that there was lack of civic education which they indicated that it greatly interfered with the exercise. They indicated that general election might experience irregularities because a notable section of the masses did not understand well the procedures involved.[115] Another individual journalist wrote in the standard newspaper with only 20 days left to general elections the masses still indicated that they did not understood on what was required of them to do during the election .[116] Trejo emphasize that it is paramount examine the connections which exist between the electoral authorities and the media as the period of general election the relationship is very delicate to handle. Due to the media's ability to cover a wider audience, it is therefore important to note the same media can either make or break the elections.

2.6 Media Framing of Presidential Elections

According to the Media Systems dependency theory the media is tasked with providing all the necessary information during periods of uncertainty. During the elections, Nigerians truly needed an assurance that all will be well whether Jonathan good luck wins or someone else does so. This is a knowledge gap that the researcher intends to fill by specifically scrutinizing the role of media to Kenyans during the 2017 presidential elections.

Issa further adds that the Nigerian media was not objective at all in its coverage of the 2015 elections, despite having 14 contenders for the presidency the Nigerian media only focused on Muhammadu Buhari. The framing theory by Goffman, asserts that the way the media frames

---

[115]   Obala,   R.   (2017).   Standard   media.   Retrieved   25   April,   2018,   from https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/elections2017/article/2001248596/fears-overpoor-voter-education
Anami,   .L.   (2017).   Standard   media.   Retrieved   25th   April,   2018,   from https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2001248165/why lack of voter education will impact negatively on August elections.
[116]   Anami,   .L.   (2017).   Standard   media.   Retrieved   25th   April,   2018,   from https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2001248165/why lack of voter education will impact negatively on August elections.

other candidates determines whether they win or not. The less popular candidates are always disadvantaged. In Kenya most studies have focused on the role of the media in conflict resolution, they have not shown us how media framing affects the participation of the electorate. This is a knowledge gap the researcher intends to address.[117]

A study on the performance of the nation newspaper and East African Standard on the coverage of the 2010 referendum in Kenya revealed that the newspapers focused more on political conflict and not valuable information that would have empowered the electorates to participate fully in the referendum. Sixty percent (60%) of the respondents agreed that the newspaper caused political conflicts.[118] This study contributed great knowledge to the performance of the media in general, how it does its educational role based on the various thematic areas of analysis as well the influence of Newspaper content on readers. The findings showed that the media still had a lot to do when it comes to coverage of elections and political related issues. It however did not focus specifically on the role of the Nation Newspaper on the coverage of presidential elections. This is a knowledge gap that the researcher intends to fill. The study by Nyambuga also concluded that there could be a possibility between the content of the Newspaper and the views and actions of readers thereafter. This study therefore attempted to find out if such a relationship exists and specifically during presidential elections. Nyambuga's study recommended that the media should have a clear guideline to follow when reporting on elections as this would help avoid reporting issues of less value such as political gossips.[119]

---

[117] Goffman, E. (1974). Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience. New York, NY et al.: Harper & Row

[118] Nyambuga, C. O(2011),The role of the Press in Political Conflicts in Kenya: A Case study of the performance of the Nation and East African Standard Newspapers, PhD Thesis, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, South Africa.
[119] Ibid

In 2017 a few months prior to the August 8th , 2017 presidential elections, the Media Council of Kenya released a guideline that was to be followed by media house in the coverage of elections. This study attempted to find out if the Newspaper changed its mode of coverage based on how it framed the candidates, informed the electorate and the influence of such on the electorate. The study by Nyambuga also made a suggestion that future researchers should focus on the relationship between media content and people's actions. This study therefore seeks to fill this knowledge gap by examining the influence that media could have had to the 2017 presidential elections in Kenya.

A study by scholars Lilleker, Jackson, Thorsen and Veneti on the 2016 US presidential elections also put the power of media influence to test. The mainstream media painted trump as a joker and racist who was not good enough for the presidency, many negative stories were reported about him. Hillary on the other side stood out as a serious and gave the United States the possibility of having the first ever female president in history. She too had negative stories touching on her conduct as the former secretary of state and some issues to do with the Clinton Foundation.[120]

Despite the power of influence accorded to the media it's positive coverage of Clinton did not yield fruits. Trump probably had his hidden strengths having being on TV shows and also had clear policies for change. Lilleker and his counterparts argue that Americans were looking for someone who could change America and Trump had a well-defined plan for that.[121] The study also focused on the role of the media in voter education arguing that millions of Americans failed to vote due to lack of the required identification. This study by Lilleker and the other

---

[120] Lilleker, D et al. (2016). US Election Analysis 2016: Media, Voters and the Campaign; Early reflections from leading academics. England: The Centre for the Study of Journalism, Culture and Community Bournemouth University.
[121] Ibid

scholars was done in the American context which is quite different from the Kenyan one, it would therefore be interesting to find out how framing of political candidates, voter education and media influence plays out in the Kenyan Arena. The researcher therefore considered this a knowledge gap to be addressed hence necessitating this study. The US 2016 elections study also went against the key tenets of the framing theory that asserts that how a candidate is framed is proportional to the electorates voting patterns. This is also an interesting aspect that this study looked at to probably understanding if Kenyans vote based on how a candidate is framed or not.[122]

On the 10th of August, 2017 just a few days after the presidential elections in Kenya, the Common Wealth Observer Group released its interim statement. In its statement it noted that the election campaigns were peacefully but greatly criticized the call by NASA to its supporter to "adopt a polling station". The report showed that the media was abuzz with fake news as different political camps struggled to capture the attention of mass media audiences.[123] The studies, reports, articles and surveys analyzed such as the one on the US 2016 and 2015 Nigerian presidential elections gives an insight into media coverage and its importance during an election. This study contributed more knowledge by specifically assessing newspaper coverage of all the presidential candidates who contested the August 8th , 2017 elections in Kenya.

The framing of the election's coverage would also determine whether media coverage actually conduct its functions well in the society for example educating of the masses and dissemination of information. Previous studies have mainly focused media as the agent of fostering of peace and dispute resolution in post elections in Kenya but they have failed to cover the root cause which should commence first from how the media itself perform in terms of its

---

[122] Ibid
[123] See, Common Wealth, Report 2017.

coverage of electing the president. This is a glaring gap that the researcher attempted to bridge by examining the entire coverage conferred to 2017 presidential elections.

2.7 The Media Council of Kenya

From the Media Council of Kenya, there exist three functions of the media in the general elections which narrow down to both education and information role. Media coverage ensure that there is transparency so that the electorates are well informed of what they are required in the entire process of elections. Also the media afford with the campaigning platform which aid in educating voters on the various political issues of a certain candidate to enable them make informed choices. It also avail the forum for open discussions and debate to enable the citizens to share and exchange ideas and views on various elections matters.[124]

During the period of elections, newspaper are required to cater for the needs of both the citizens and the candidates as well as the country at large. Therefore, the electorates should be enlightened with information in order to select wisely in ensuring that they well understand the laws governing elections, the voting process and the campaigning process in Kenya. Therefore, the electorates should be given an opportunity to be heard and contribute to debate in regard to politics. On the hand, it is required by the media to give the respective candidates equal opportunity to interrogated and be heard therefore media publicity should be afforded for both the minor and major candidates. Thus, media organizations should be very hardworking in ensuring that the nation remain stable before, during and post-election period by decreasing instances of polarization and conflict.[125] Previous empirical investigations have only focused on the level of knowledge and information provided by media to the electorates. The current study

---

[124] Media Council of Kenya, 2017
[125] Ibid

bridged gap by looking into the extent the Nation Newspaper covered dissemination role as far as education of voters was concerned.

2.8 Conclusion

In Kenya, the media is determined to disseminate information to Kenyan population with regard to events of general elections in ensuring that the exercise is conducted in free and fair manner. Therefore, both the local and international media play a very significant role in conflict management and dispute resolution. Thus, the media can have negative or positive effect as stipulated in the literature reviewed. Hence, the negative role of media coverage and reporting, it is very critical to discuss both organizational and behavioral research topics that will zero down to the positive role played by the media in managing of conflicts before, during and after general elections.

This era of globalization with the ever changing technology and other many other factors put into consideration the patterns of media are inevitable. In democratic systems, politicians and politics and the international media employ Twitter, SMS and Facebook to disseminate information. Various examples given have confirmed that liberalization of the media is very critical to nations prone with violence and management. With various practices from all over the world, the media is loosened and after liberalization make a massive change to autonomous outcome.[126]

---

[126] Buckley. S, Duer K, Mendel T, O'Siochru S, Broadcasting, Voice and Accountability: A public Interest Approach to Policy, Law and Regulation, World Bank/ World bank Institute Institute, 2008

CHAPTER THREE

THE EXTENT TO WHICH MEDIA ESCALATED OR DEESCALATED VIOLENCE DURING THE 2017 GENERAL ELECTIONS

3.1 Introduction

In the general election time, media coverage play a very critical role in information dissemination from different parts of the country to the citizens. The media also play a role of a watchdog during the election period. In the same vein, media coverage has been used to fuel violence and hate speech especially in the election periods through their reporting. Therefore, in some situations, the information they disseminate to the public with regard to the proceedings of election exercise from various regions can trigger or stop a conflict. Therefore, it is significant to note that violence conflicts in relation to elections have been rampant globally where African nations have not left behind.

On August 10th in 2017 that is few days after the general elections, a group called Common Wealth Observer gave an interim statement in regard to election exercise. They indicated that the political campaigns were conducted peacefully and condemned NASA party to its call for supporters in adopting the polling station method. The produced report indicated that media coverage contained fake news where various camps during campaigns struggled to attain attention from the audience through the mass media.[127] The studies, reports, articles and surveys analyzed such as the one on the US 2016 and 2015 Nigerian presidential elections gives an insight into media coverage and its importance during an election. Thus, in the conflict-prone zones or nations, media coverage is very critical in furthering and generating both the triggering and enabling elements connected to external and internal matters facing the respective nation.

---

[127]Common Wealth Observer Group, 2017

Terzis & Melone affirm that media coverage can divide individuals or groups by not embracing pluralism in both political and social structures.[128] This can be sorted out by participating to the generation of citizens who are well informed in the nation to stand-in as the mouthpiece of ethnicity. Therefore, they deduced that a cautious alteration of coverage of news for specific interests easily impairs tensions on the opposed sides of the factions and emerge as the a major element triggering conflicts.

3.2 How Media escalate Violence Conflicts in Election Period

Coverage of the media is therefore very critical as it enables to recognize on problems and challenges which in turn aid in shaping agenda with regard to foreign policy but it does not essentially decree for responses of policy.[129] In addition, media coverage necessary does not prompt the vision and needs of general public but it incline itself more on the shaping of their respective wants. Hence, if the governors react to news covered by the media directly, then they are moving away from opinions of the general public than what they might opt for. In same vein, coverage of the media can enable in government policy formulation and shaping of general public opinion. Additionally, media coverage should be depended on to affect any of the party in participation as it contain a limited resource base and therefore is extent of media attention and maybe it is more in the general public.

From historical perspective media have been seen as an agent of inciting people resulting to eruption of violence. For instance is the case where Adolf Hitler in 1933 used media against the

---

[128] Terzis, G., & Melone, S. (2002). Using the Media for Conflict Transformation, . London: Pluto Press.
[129] Gowing, N. (1994). Real-Time Coverage of Armed Conflicts and Diplomatic Crises: Does it Pressure or Distort Foreign Policy Decisions? US Security - Working Paper 94-1 .

Jews population to generate hatred.[130] The then minister of propaganda Joseph Goebbels appointed by Hitler effectively employed massive persuasion depending on messages of propaganda using pictures of motions and radio broadcasts. The awareness level of the minister on the significant of media coverage made him to hold radio broadcasts and control of press school for journalists .[131] Instead, he encouraged the sector to yield a reasonable sets of the radio, connected the loudspeakers in general public areas and sent wardens of the radio to observe usage of the respective radios.[132] In the year 1933 to 1942, the audience of the German radio grew from 4.5 million-16 million.[133] The Nazis camp were keen enough in using of slogans and colored visuals which were bold enough, but significantly they perfected on usage of town rallies poignant to emotional turmoil and support for Adolf Hitler. Likewise, rallies conducted in the town were replicated in newsreels of the Nazi and it was displayed to the audiences countrywide. This type of propaganda employed persuaded effectively, as displayed by persistence of historical symbols for example the famous culture of swastika which is more 60 years later.[134]

The Balkan conflict which occurred from 1992-1995 both the printed media and electronic media were used to generate hatred and conflict of ethnicity which resulted to violence. While obvious live broadcast of messages of hatred was rare, the collective effect of subjective coverage resulted hatred for a longer time than expected.[135] The live broadcast divided the community to a level where the violence was part and parcel tool in articulating grievances.[136] This resulted to killing of 150,000 in civil war in Bosnia which involved the Croats, the Serbs

---

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

[131] Cole, E. (1998). The Encyclopedia of Propaganda (Vol. I). New York: M. E. Sharp.

[132] Jowett, G. S., & O'Donnell, V. (1999). Propaganda and persuasion (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

[133] Thomson, O. (1997). Mass persuasion in history. New York: Crane-Russak & Company Press.

[134] Jowett, G. S., & O'Donnell, V. (1999). Propaganda and persuasion (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

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

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

and Bosnians. This violence was ended in the year 1995 by signing the Dayton Peace Accord which instituted interim global governing body which is in charge of implementation of peace in the Office of the High representative (OHR). The initial assessment of OHR suggested that of the three tribes who were involved in the Bosnian civil war employed both the television and radio broadcasts to advance their respective goals and also demonize the opponents.[137]

In the Past, the continent of Africa have experienced various uprisings in Arabic nations where some of them have been claimed to be plotted and successively intensified by coverage of the media. In the same vein, Viggo examined media's role in the current conflicts in the modern world where he used Libyan civil war as a case study. He emphasized on the demerits of media coverage especially in reporting and analyzing of the violence conflict prominently considering the duplicity role of the media by coming up with parallels of Libyan and Iraq wars in attempt to describe repeatedly faults of the mass media. Although the media was instrumental in polarizing the country into ruled and elites using the metaphors of oppositional that is „us" vs „them", its effect of the human variables that is age, gender and social status was not clearly covered.[138]

The revolution in Libya was convened with other Arab revolutions occurred in the world but what media coverage failed to address was that distinct Egypt and Tunisia revolutions, the uprisings in Libya covered was from the onset violent. Viggo deduced referencing president Qaddafi's arrest and later assassination in 2011, qualify the power the media possess in conflict situations. For instance, observing technology and speed in which the events and images were recorded on the mobile phones were disseminated globally through the platforms of the social media and broadly transmitted even the confirmation of the death of president Qaddafi and this

---

[137] Buric, A. (2000). Media, War and peace in Bosnia. In E. David (Ed.), Regional Media in Conflict (p. pp 64). London: Institute for War and Peace Reporting.
[138] Viggo, M. (2011). Forging Peace: Intervention, Human Rights and the Management of Media Space. (P. M. Taylor, Ed.) Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

instantly ignited a global discussion in regard to the legality and conditions of the killing. The media was very critical as it played a significant role to de-escalate the conflict and restore peace thus it set novel agenda for debate.[139]

The Cote D'Ivoire 2010 elections media platforms was widespread with bigoted misinformation and polemic from the sides opposing each other and incitement which erupted to conflict of violence, while the individuals operated in the media were themselves regular target of intimidation, threats and violence.[140] During the crisis of post-election which followed when the presidential results were announced, general public television and print media were embraced both by Allasane Quattara and Laurent Gbagbo as effective tool for mobilizing their respective electorates and a tool for propaganda against the opposing sides.[141] Media coverage played a very critical role in the crisis of post-election violence which resulted civil war that displaced more than 1,000,000 persons, which brought about many government services terminated in some parts of the nation thereby weakening the economic growth of the country.[142]

The features associated with the civil war in Ivory Coast was individuals struggling to ascend to power whereby the supporters of both Quattara and Gbagbo wanted media control. In responding Gbagbo camp preferred Radio and Télévision Ivoirienne (RTI) which is managed by the state where in 2011, Ouattara camp generated Television Côte d'Ivoire (TCI).[143] Both the televisions broadcasted with a lot of biasness to counter their opponents and also attacked the outlets of media plus the journalists of their respective opponents. Therefore, a broad agreement

---

[139] Ibid
[140] Media Foundation for West Africa. (2011, April 18). Ban on international media lifted by Ouattara government. Retrieved March 18, 2013, from International Freedom of Expression Exchange: http://www.ifex.org/
[141] Electoral Reform International Services. (2011). Broadcasting a peaceful future. London.: 6 Chancel Street Press
[142] Ibid
[143] Media Foundation for West Africa. (2011, April 18). Ban on international media lifted by Ouattara government. Retrieved March 18, 2013, from International Freedom of Expression Exchange: http://www.ifex.org/

exist that specific outlets of the media played a significant role in intensifying ethnic, political and social tensions in the state.[144]

Hate speech was widespread in Central African Republic via media coverage and beset outbreaks in 2013 remained liable for intensifying the violence slightly with precedent of a sectarian kind of climate that brought about 75,000 refugees and displacement 1,000,0000 people.[145] The middle ground of conflict of a non-sectarian covered hatred speech which urged the Anti-balaka groups which Comprised the Christians and Muslims in online and media platforms predominantly gained and became very easy for the respective members both from the community to esteem the other respective group mutually responsible for acts of conflict violence. The effect of hatred messages in the media was widespread which even extended afar discrimination to extremes visible as displayed in Democratic Republic of Congo where there is a progress of inter-ethnic violence.[146] The Rwandan Radio-Télévision Libre des Milles Collines in the year 1994 played a very critical role to initiate massacre of more than 500,000 persons in lesser 100 days. The media coverage and broadcast messages clearly which called for Tutsi murder were thought to the ones backed the violence massacre.[147]

The inadequate coverage of the media in Northern Uganda caused violence conflict between the Lord Resistance Army (LRA) and Uganda People's Defence 17 Forces (UPDF).[148] The inadequate coverage by media on those conflicts has resulted the global community unable to

---

[144] Reporters Without Borders. (2011). Call to Avoid Media Vengeance by Civil War Victors. Retrieved March 18, 2013, from http://www.rwb.org

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

[146] Ibid

[147] Kirschke, L. (1996). Broadcasting genocide; censorship, propaganda, & state-sponsored violence in Rwanda 1990-1994. London: SAGE

[148] Okumu, R. R. (1997). The Effect of war and government policies in Northern Uganda from 1986. UNDP. Gulu: (Unpublished Report).

intervene. Equally, the Darfur and Somalia crisis was not covered until currently after they topped in the global headlines. The criticisms of Okumu is on the global media inadequately covering the evolving situation of conflict in the country of Rwanda which gave rise to rapid intervention of the global community. Therefore, Okumu posit that objective and comprehensive media reporting could have prevented the Rwandan genocide occurred in 1994.[149]

Tensions regularly erupt in circumstances where there is a limited sources of information.[150] Proposing diverse sources of information which have a range of opinions, facts and perspectives will act as measures of de-escalation-hence media neutrality is not possible in peace arrangements.[151] While this may compromise the objectivity of professionalism of the media in and above the whole, they should comprehend its methods of reporting specific conflicts may extremely influence the perception of audience in circumstances to affect more advancements.

3.3 How Media is used to de-escalate Violence Conflicts

Media coverage have been employed in various places to reconcile and foster peace as illustrated in Northern Uganda conflict where the media was employed to generate joint agreement for various individuals so that to foster for peace.[152] Since 2002, the Mega FM radio has fostered peace in Northern Uganda by broadcasting positive messages in the country. The findings also attest that Mega FM radio played a critical role in boosting members of LRA to be out from their hide outs. It was also realized that the leadership of LRA was stimulated to pay attention to the respective station on a number of cases it held debates and joined radio phone-in talk shows with various representatives of civil society organizations and the government in an

---

[149] Ibid
[150] Graber, D. A. (2002). Media Power in Politics. (2nd, Ed.) New Delhi: Macmillan.
[151] Ibid
[152] Struges, D. (2007). Third-Party Techniques for Preventing Conflict Escalation and Promoting Peaceful Settlement. International Organization , No. 4: , 653-681.

effort for peace construction. Therefore, media organizations played a pivotal role in generating peace in that society.[153]

In Bosnia, the media network discovered in two decades ago entailed the Open Broadcast Network (OBN) which proved to be one of the earliest and ambitious global media which attempted to curb the conflict. To the current days, this television network remain the single most network used for reconciliation and promotion of peace in the respective society. The network came into being as a result of Dayton Peace Agreement which was signed in year of 1995 when the Bosnians, the Serbs and Croats were pressure to terminate the violent conflict which lasted for three good years by inaugurating an interim global governing body in the office of the High representative to be responsible in implementation of peace. Resulting from the preliminary examinations of violent conflict in Bosnia of propaganda via the ethnic based televisions., it was realized that this prayed critical part dissemination of hatred messages which resulted to incitement and propelled to the violence. The OHR established and fostered equitable media in combating the persistence of propaganda. Consequently, the OBN television was launched in the year of 1996.[154]

Subsequently, the Open Broadcast Network (OBN) has supported journalism of peace by concentrating on community efforts in promotion of peace in times of violence. This has enabled development of various programmes which are aimed at stimulating a cross-national considerations. These programmes afforded advice which was practical on repatriation and processes of reconciliation. The editors of OBN firmly declined to adopt the explicit bias nationally used by other respective networks, which supported verbatim of using of unedited

---

[153] Ibid
[154] Sadkovich, J. (1998). The U.S. media and Yugoslavia - 1991-1995. CT: Westport.

open letters, bombastic conferences, and partisan press releases.[155] The Network established the principle and standards for reporting professionally in universal by omitting similar traps in regard to wars which emanate from journalism professional but embrace steps concerning openly fostering peaceful reconciliation.

The conflict resolution NGO called Search for Common Ground(SFCG) in US, in the year 1995 developed Studio Ijambo at the helm of political and ethnic violence in Rwanda and Burundi. The studio formation was intended to foster for non-violence, understanding, reconciliation and resolve the conflict.[156] From the time it was founded, the Studio contained very important effect in moderating of conflict through holding and catching attention of the radio listeners. The studio adopted a team balanced ethnically who were journalists themselves to develop a superior programs of the radio that fostered the process of reconciliation, collaboration and people dialogue through balanced programming, soap-opera series, special features, telephone call-ins, round-table debates and music.[157] Furthermore in providing high and superior standards to both producers and broadcasters Ijambo studio moreover, play a very critical role in building of capacity to professionals of the radio through training.[158]

In the year 2002, United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo(MONUC) which is a Swiss NGO came up with Radio Okapi as a way to reconciliation and promotion of peace in the Republic of Congo. Radio Okapi staff majorly was comprised of native Congolese

---

[155] Ibid

[156] SFCG. (2004). Middle East media. Retrieved July 29th, 2014, from Search for Common Ground: http://www.sfcg.org/programmes/middleeast/middleeast_media.html

[157] Slachmuijlder, L., & Nkurunziza, N. (1972). Radio Isanganiro and Studio Ijambo in Burundi. Retrieved July 29, 2014, from http://www.xs4all.nl/~conflic1/Newsletter/Newsletter_6=1.pdf

[158] SFCG. (2004). Middle East media. Retrieved July 29th, 2014, from Search for Common Ground: http://www.sfcg.org/programmes/middleeast/middleeast_media.html

broadcasters and journalists which enabled them to disseminate information, produce news and play music on activities in line with MONUC. This radio station has been on the air for 13 good years and has immensely contributed in the reunification of DR Congo through their broadcasts covering both the rebel-held territory and the DR Congo government. Since its establishment, the radio has enabled its listeners on the benefits of a peaceful society- its failures, hopes and successes. Moreover, it has described the UN's mandate in the Democratic Republic of Congo and limitations of the same mandate.[159] A part from process of peace, the radio has generated programmes which are devoted to issues of human rights, music health, culture and education which is necessary for attaining interests Congolese listening to radio.[160]

Similarly, in Central African Republic (CAR) Radio Ndeke Luka(RNL) came into being aiming on developing peace in the country and it was developed by United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic (MINURCA) which managed by the aid of Hirondelle Foundation to foster reconciliation and peace construction in Central African Republic. From the time it was established, the radio has succeeded peace-keeping missions besides the socio-economic and democratization process. It has emphasized on the matters connected to abuses of human rights and searching for initiates to addressing for peace. It further fostered professional training of technicians and journalists of CAR subsequently generating a positive effect of media operating locally.[161]

Coverage of the media also is a powerful tool which focus global attention on the armed conflict and the international humanitarian law (IHL). Owing the scale and capacity to exponentially and easily dissemination of information as of the video Kony in 2012, the social

---

[159] Betz, M. (2004). Radio as a Peace Builder - A case Study of Radio Okapi in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The Great Lakers Research Journal , Vol 1.
[160] Ibid
[161] Ibid

media is important for fast and efficiently publication of information which employed in generating of public interest to aid in bolstering campaigns in regard to advocacy and offering skills on matters of law.[162]

3.4 Perceived Role of Media in Kenya

In the period of 2017 was the year the general elections was supposed to be conducted in Kenya where new representatives both at the county and national levels were required. The exercise appeared to entail competition at local levels as of 2013 general elections where 1/3 of the counties were anticipated to risk for violence.[163] Positions which was paved way by the constitution 2010 specifically the governor, Member of County Assembly (MCA) involved great number of contestants. Actually, some of the individuals who stood for presidency in the year 2013 also were in race to run governorship positions.[164] From the Kenyan history, there have been great levels of general election competition which was usually associated itself with projections of violence.[165]

The connections of voters mobilization along tribal lines, sharp political competition and the fundamental of both socioeconomic and political protests in times of general elections incline to give rise to eruption to violence. Actually, from the era of mult-partism in 1992, the three general elections that have been in 1992, 1997 and 2007 have been associated with massive violence. The electoral cycle of 2007 general election where the results of the president were contested, it

---

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

[163] Letoo, S (2016) NCIC identifies 19 counties at risk of violence in 2017 The Star 2

[164] Kajilwa, G (2016), Peter Kenneth drops 2017 presidential ambition, says he will vie for governor, The East African Standard; Ndungu, G & Munene G (2016), Martha Karua to run for Kirinyaga governor, Daily Nation.

[165] Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Post Election Violence,2008., Report of the Judicial Commission Appointed to inquire into the Tribal Clashes in Kenya (The Akiwumi Report), 1992 (released in 2002); Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee to Investigate Ethnic Clashes in Western and Other Parts of Kenya, September 1992

resulted the worst ever violence in Kenya where 1,133 persons were slaughtered and over 500,000 people displaced from their homes.[166] This general election exercise was considered very competitive between ODM's Raila Amolo Odinga and the then President Mwai Kibaki both of them depended upon various fashions on mobilizing of their supporters. The state was further made elusive articulation of ancient socio-economic and political grievances which were conducted since the 2005 constitutional referendum..

The blending of these components with entitlements of vote compromization in the favor of incumbent president caused eruption of the violence. It seemed that the same elements diverged in the result of violence in 2017 election where the media itself played a critical role. Many of the academicians and researchers referenced to media's role in the post-election conflict of 2007. During the period , professionalism of journalists was quizzed especially more so the confirmation of charges against humanity by International Criminal Court on the Kenyan journalist. The period of Kenya's 2007-08 post-election crisis sparkled debates on media's in general election coverage.

From the information of Reporters without Borders, media coverage was keen and therefore omitted to extract the true information in regard to the disputed general elections. The respective journalists thought that in the event they act as peacemakers will enable them be off from the radar of the government.[167] According to Roberts for the coverage of the media to be successful in reporting issues to do with general elections, it is necessary for them to adhere to code of ethics in their conduction. From historical perspectives on elections, has prompted Kenyans to admit that executive branch of government always win general election and individuals who

---

[166] Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Post Election Violence, 2008, ibid
[167] Reporters Without Borders. (2011). Call to Avoid Media Vengeance by Civil War Victors. Retrieved March 18, 2013, from http://www.rwb.org

possess instruments of power will do whatever it takes to contain power.[168] From the International Foundation on Electoral System established that coverage of the media act as a critical pillar in the influence of elections and democracy.[169] Therefore, a collective knowledge exist that media is responsible for setting agenda, then the fundamental question arise on how the media in Kenya covered the presidential elections of 2017. Beforehand the general elections, the media did a recommendable work by affording the platform for the candidates who contested to air their ideologies where it even went ahead to give out opinion polls. According to Gathigi on the events of 2007-2008 the media in Kenya have been accused of fostering the post-election conflict. He indicated that this happened due to media broadcast of messages of hatred which brought ethnic animosity.[170]

In the year 2017, Nigeria general elections revealed that media coverage was able plan everything for coverage of general elections and this was inclusive the provision of procedures of communication regulation Authority.[171] The investigation conducted observed that in spite the procedures on covering the general election exercise which was distributed to the media operating in Nigeria, hitches in regard to professionalism was also acknowledged. The research established that the media in Nigeria was subjective in reporting of the 2015 general election and it was heavily employed to disseminate information of propaganda to the general public by the politicians. From the theory of Media Systems dependency, media is on condition to giving of vital information in times of uncertainty. In time of general elections, the Nigerians population

[168] Roberts, .M.J. (2009). Conflict Analysis of the 2007 Post-election Violence in Kenya. Retrieved from http://ndpmetrics.com/papers/Kenya_Conflict_2007.pd
[169] Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES),2015
[170] Gathigi, .G. (2017, 6:00 pm) 11th August https://www.thestar.co.ke/news/2017/08/11/how-the-media covered-kenyas-generalelection_c1615164
[171] Issa, A. (2016). Research Gate net. Retrieved 22 May, 2018 from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/309155502_Assessment_of_the_Role _of_Media_in_the_2015_Nigerian_General_Election

required a guarantee that everything will go as planned and it does not matter whether the incumbent wins or someone else. This comprise to a gap that the respective researcher intended to bridge explicitly examining the type of information provided by the daily nation newspaper to the Kenyans in the period of 2017 elections. In the same vein, Issa added the media in Nigeria was subjective all over in covering 2015 general elections, in spite containing 14 contenders in position of presidency the media only covered and disseminated information of Muhammadu Buhari.[172] Goffman, affirm in the theory of framing that the method employed by the media in its framing of candidates determines a lot on whether the candidate win or not. The candidates who carry low popularity in the political spectrum always are limited. In Kenya most studies have focused on the role of the media in conflict resolution, they have not shown us how media framing affects the participation of the electorate. This is a knowledge gap the researcher intends to address.[173]

3.5 The Media and propaganda

Basing the description offered by Lasswell, there exist two streams where information is disseminated that is indirect and direct incitement. The concept of direct incitement contain situations where an individual to use propaganda act by himself displaying honest, his/her conviction and worries. Thus, the individual in perspective is committed to the sequence of actions in proposing adoptive and requests conforming reactions of the majority population in obtaining equivalent action in regard the matter under investigation. For instance, whether the information disseminated globally is able to encompass the state of the nation under investigation. Conversely, incitement which is done indirectly entail acting on accordance of the

---

[172] Ibid
[173] Goffman, E. (1974). Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

differences which exist between the UN agency and the local leader and consequently general public which is restricted to just submissive compliance and recognition.[174]

The propaganda will happen in several ways that it may social and political in nature. Throughout the election exercise, the respective politicians will employ either the political information of the sociological information to articulate their grievances. The issues to do with politics include that one of influencing the methods and procedures employed by the government, an administration a lobby group, to lead to change of the general public discourse.[175] The underlying idea for political information is maintain the status quo or ascend to power. Social information on the other hand is predicated on the premise of unification of a social group through different patterns of behavior which is shared among various groups and individual members of the society. In this case, the propagandist in perspective play with the emotions of individuals rallying them behind them a shared history as an illustration. In political processes this might be the unification of voters through their ethnic inclines hence as they support a specific candidate that they concede to represent their cluster interests. Another distinction that may be created with regards to information is differentiating between propaganda of agitation and propaganda of integration. Information of agitation is commonly characterized by either one party seeking to destroy a government or a longtime order because it seeks rebellion or war. Such agitation data nourishes all revolutionary movements and common wars. For example, the municipalities, Crusades and French revolution of 1793 all of them rely on this sort of data.[176] With issues in regard to national conflicts, the respective government can employ

---

[174] Ellul Propaganda; The formation of Men's Attitude. Random House Inc. New York 1973: p62-65
[175] Ibid
[176] Robinson, P, The CNN effect: myth of news, foreign policy and intervention, Routledge publications: London: 2002.

information of agitation o rally folks behind a standard a linement, thereby justifying their actions against the said aggressors.

3.6 Conclusion

By examining the extent the media escalated or deescalated violence during the 2017 general elections, it is pretty clear that media coverage can escalate or deescalate conflicts. The shifting political environment in the country, it is imperative to address the electoral process, as the exercise of elections is very significant to any democratic society. During the period of general elections, media coverage has a mandate to highlight respectful politicians by airing debates on different agendas which can either end or fuel a conflict in the society. Specifically, Kenya as a country should create opportunities in hosting reconciliation and mediation projects to highlight peace building and conflict resolution strategies through the media.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYZE THE CHALLENGES ENCOUNTERED BY THE MEDIA TOWARDS CONFLICT MANAGEMENT ACTIVITIES

4.1 Introduction

The media has a myriad of challenges whether in the local or international perspectives in trying manage conflicts. Therefore, commercial tension exist in focusing immediate dramatic and adverse incidents at the expense of describing the basis and the issues with regard to violence and conflict. In order to give a comprehensive report in regard to conflict to both the affected of the conflict and external audience, media coverage is supposed to have a capacity to function well with no threat and ability in reporting all the aspects with regard to the conflict. While the respective policy makers which include the combatants have a part to play in availing circumstances where media can function well with high responsible journalists and editors. This chapter will critically examine the challenges the media encounter towards management of conflicts.

4.2 Traditional vs. New Media

The media's role in managing of conflicts should address both the television, radio and newspapers which comprise the tradition devices of media and the internet which contain the new media in the modern world. The advancement of modern communication technologies have generated the online social networks and also the global news.[177] News covered globally can be done from any region of world to any other place. This is what was termed as the CNN effect by the scholars and commentators in the description of the dominance of the television coverage

---

[177] Terry Flew, new media: an introduction 102–03, 188–89 (2002)

globally of the affairs of the world, specifically in critical international conflicts. This terminology depict that the coverage of the television enforce the respective policy makers to act on areas which would not have been acted upon. Therefore, coverage of the media reassure interests of state have been catered for hence appropriate the exercise of policy making from the appointed and elected officials in the country.[178]

The respective internet application offer the non-state actors in perspective to access various individuals around the globe and subsequently offer a variety of opportunities to share and debate issues with regard to conflict and processes both outside and inside entities of politics.[179] The non-state actors in perspective entail individuals, global news networks, international agencies, criminal organizations, terrorist organization, alliances, and the non-governmental organizations. The application of the internet affords people with opportunity to access to information from a multiple sources on processes and events with regard to conflict covering various points of view.[180] Moreover, the internet offer unprecedented opportunity to interactivity from just a simple talk to blogs where replacement of the text is done and video covering conducted on the social networks of MySpace, Facebook, Twitter and YouTube accounts.[181]

Further, the cell phones enable individuals to do production of videos and photographs, receive of information and sending of emails. The blending of innovative cell phones and social

[178] Piers Robinson, the CNN effect: the myth of news, foreign policy and intervention 2 (2002); Eytan Gilboa, The CNN Effect: The Search for a Communication Theory of International Relations, 22 POL. COMM. 27, 28 (2005).

[179] James F. Larson, the internet and foreign policy 48–49 (2004); Juyan Zhang & Brecken Chinn Swartz, Toward a Model of NGO Media Diplomacy in the Internet Age: Case Study of Washington Profile, 35 PUB. REL. REV. 47, 47 (2009).

[180] Holli A. Semetko, Media and Public Diplomacy in Times of War and Crisis, 52 AM. BEHAV. SCI. 639, 639 (2009)

[181] Kari Andén-Papadopoulos, U.S. Soldiers Imaging the Iraq War on YouTube, 7 POPULAR COMM. 17–27 (2009)

networking stimulate emergence of journalists who at any circumstance can report activities from their own houses and streets globally.[182] Internet application can infiltrate the most closed set boundaries and authoritarian regime in societies. For example, in the year of 2009 the protest covered against the results of presidential general elections in Iranian government displayed new alternatives in information dissemination and the influence the internet application had. The government of Iran tried to block the broadcast of demonstrations in region of Tehran and other chief cities by striking harsh restrictions on both the foreign and local reporters but the respective opposition was able to disseminate the information with regard to the conflict through YouTube and Twitter accounts.[183]

Internet usage unlike the conventional media, it is delimited in space but faster in information dissemination, it allows advanced utilization of functions of multimedia and interaction, cover a wider audience globally, and it is relatively cheap to maintain. Moreover, the social networks and web sites act as the sources of data for traditional media as well the international news networks. Live broadcasts no longer act as the means of exclusive sphere of networks of world news from BBC and CNN networks. In the same vein, it is very challenging in verifying the accuracy and authenticity of reports in the internet which include the graphic materials.[184] The respective audience might not know who, where, when and in what conditions a specific video or photo was taken. With no regulations, professionalism, ethical code of

---

[182] Dan Gillmor, we the media: grassroots journalism by the people, for the people, at xix–xxix (rev. ed. 2006); Mark Deuze et al., Preparing for an Age of Participatory News, 1 JOURNALISM PRAC. 322, 322–23 (2007); Stephen D. Reese et al., Mapping the Blogosphere: Professional and Citizen-Based Media in the Global News Arena, 8 JOURNALISM 235, 239 (2007).

[183] ernard, supra note 4, at 206–07; Editorial, Iran's Twitter Revolution, WASH. TIMES, Jun. 16, 2009, at A20, available at www.washingtontimes.com/news/2009/jun/16/irans-twitter-revolution.

[184] Nojin Kwak et al., Honey, I Shrunk the World! The Relation Between Internet Use and International Engagement, 9 MASS COMM. & SOC'Y 189, 191 (2006

behavior, any person can post materials which is fabricated events or rewrite them. This is specifically true where conflicts from each case presents its own narrative grievances.

Application of internet afford a variety of merits to both state and non-state actors, specifically poor and weak actors. Via web sites, individuals, groups, countries, organizations and movements can openly involve themselves and their specific positions globally and can develop a hundreds of supportive virtual communities to aid in spreading their information. The internet can be utilized as a weapon to discredit and attack the hostile forces. Using internet, the respective actors can immediately respond to events in relation to conflict in addressing the challenges and utilize the advantages.[185] Those actors who do not embrace application of the internet limit themselves from a highly valuable tool in diplomacy and foreign policy.

4.3 Conflict vs. Peace Journalism

The coverage of international conflict by the media has resulted to ethical and normative debates in regard to the types of journalism. For example, the journalism of attachment and bystander journalism and peace journalism versus war journalism give clear instances of the well-known debates. According to Martin Bell in his investigation in regard to TV news: How Far Should We Go? Censured war coverage by differentiating journalism of attachment and bystanders' journalism.[186] His works censured neutrality of the media by describing that bystanders' professional journalism entail itself deeply to situations of violence conflicts which include tactics, weapons, maneuvers, formations, strategies while the attachment journalism is considered to be people oriented that is individuals who provoke conflicts, fighters, and

---

[185] Ibid
[186] Martin Bell, TV News: How Far Should We Go?, 8 BRIT. JOURNALISM REV. 7, 8 (1997). See also Nel Ruigrok, Journalism of Attachment and Objectivity: Dutch Journalists and the Bosnian War, 1 MEDIA, WAR & CONFLICT 293 (2008).

individuals suffering from that conflict.[187] According to him attachment journalism cares as well as knows; it very aware of its respective responsibilities hence it will not give an opinion on evil conducted and good, right and wrong and the oppressor and the victim.[188] Ed Vulliamy, and Christiane Amanpour who are the colleagues of Bell adopted the same approach where they argued that journalists in perspective can be very objective when they are able to be fair in both sides of the conflict but not being neutral and take all sides of the conflict equivalent.[189]

In the Balkan Wars, nevertheless, Vulliamy and Amanpour gave Muslims a thumb high and passionately backed the intervention of military against the respective Serbs.[190] The same approach was seen in various conflicts for example the Israel-Palestinian conflict where the Western journalists professed Palestinians as the victims and took sides with them.[191] The reporters, editors and news organizations ignored the campaigns of the media on behalf of a specific side of the global conflict due such media campaigns undertaken violated the morals and principles of fairness, balanced reporting and objectively coverage of the conflict. The coverage of Bosnia conflict, nevertheless, stirred a debated required in attachment journalism among the scholars and journalists themselves.[192] David Binder, for example, of the New York Times termed the argument by Bell on neutrality in conflict as garbage argument and he instead emphasized that the job of journalists is to give reports on the conflict from all sides but to report only on the favorites.[193] According to Mick Hume describe attachment journalism portend noble journalism reason being it disregard political and historical setting of violence conflicts and

[187] Bell, supra note 60, at 8.

[188] Ibid

[189] Christiane Amanpour, Television's Role in Foreign Policy, QUILL, Apr. 1996, at 16, 17.

[190] Amanpour, supra note 64, at 16–17; Vulliamy, supra note 63, at 619–20.

[191] Tephanie Gutmann, the other war: Israelis, Palestinians, and the struggle for media supremacy 3–5 (2005); jim lederman, battle lines: the American media and the intifada 99, 252 (1992); Joshua Muravchik, covering the intifada: how the media reported the Palestinian uprising 12–14 (2003).

[192] Greg Mclaughlin, The War Correspondent 153–55, 166–77 (2002)

[193] Sherry Ricchiardi, Over the Line?, AM. JOURNALISM REV., Sept. 1996, at 25, 27 (internal quotation marks omitted).

ground the journalists to equip themselves as judges and jury.[194] According to Ward to Bell's conception of objectivity was narrow and very dangerous due journalists might delegate into journalism which is unsubstantiated where prejudices display as the moral principles.[195]

Nick Gowing who was a BBC anchor reinforced the point of Christiane Amanpour and her fellows arguments was utilized by Bosnian minister who enjoyed the free ride where the claims of Amanpour and colleagues was acknowledged as fact by anchors and callow interviewers in the distant studios who did not possess the skills and knowledge or background information on knowing better.[196] On the same vein, the conclusion of Wilhelm Kempf on attachment journalism is that it replaced journalism with rules of propaganda and the country of Bosnia the respective journalists aided the moral impetus in fabricating and controlling news.[197]

Also, attachment journalism is challenging because it predominantly deal with coverage of the Western news and it ignore the other categories of media for instance the operating local media. The categorization of individuals into either victims or aggressors is a high simplistic way that it omits the prospect that persons governed by leaders who are aggressive could also be victims hence the victims in this case are not necessary those ones attacked. Galtung arguments on Bell's attachment is not a good option for conflict journalism because it omits the broader perspective of the violent conflict in an area.[198]

---

[194] See HUME, supra note 2, at 4–5.

[195] tephen J. Ward, An Answer to Martin Bell: Objectivity and Attachment in Journalism, 3 HARV. INT'L J. PRESS/POL. 121, 124 (1998).

[196] Nik Gowing, Carnegie comm'n on preventing deadly conflict, Carnegie corp. of N.Y., media coverage: help or hindrance in conflict prevention? 29 (1997).

[197] Wilhelm Kempf, Conflict Coverage and Conflict Escalation, in 2 JOURNALISM AND THE NEW WORLD ORDER: STUDYING WAR AND THE MEDIA 59, 59 (Wilhelm Kempf & Heikki Luostarinen eds., 2002) [hereinafter Kempf, Conflict Coverage]; Wilhelm Kempf, Escalating and Deescalating Aspects in the Coverage of the Bosnia Conflict: A Comparative Study, in 2 JOURNALISM AND THE NEW WORLD ORDER, supra, at 227, 228–29.

[198] Johan Galtung, High Road, Low Road: Charting the Course for Peace Journalism, 7 TRACK TWO 7, 7–10 (1998), available at http://www.ccr.uct.ac.za/archive/two/7_4/ p07_highroad_lowroad.html

Thus, Galtung and Kempf gave options to conflict journalism whereby Galtung described the media to universally following the low part of war journalism in conflict reporting of elites running wars, chasing of wars, and win-lose results.[199] According to him, the part of peace journalism effort on transforming of conflicts the particular individuals suffering from the violence and win-win solution. He further explain that conflict journalism effort on the individuals who capitulates and advance and keep the scores of cost of material damage and human lives lost. This coverage type split people and erupt violent conflict as it calls upon hatred which can result to either vengeance or reconciliation for peace. War journalism is determined by the level of manipulation and propaganda therefore it is distorted and subjective. But according to Galtung on a divergence view described peace journalism to mean exploration of motives behind eruption of a conflict and it offers not alone the voice to the parties involved, but as well a thoughtful understanding of the violence. Thus, peace journalism concentrates itself on humanity and the suffering caused in both cases of the conflict.[200] It is a more straightforward phenomena and it try to de-escalate conflict by emphasizing on avenues of peace and resolution of the conflict. On the other hand, war journalism focus only one side of the conflict that is-our side. Thus, peace journalism is a type of journalism of attachment to both potential and actual victims of violence.[201]

The approaches used by Kempf was adopted from ideas of Galtung but he critically suggested peace journalism which he termed as de-escalation oriented conflict coverage

---

[199] Johan Galtung, Peace Journalism—A Challenge, in 2 JOURNALISM AND THE NEW WORLD ORDER, supra note 72, at 259, 259–60.
[200] Ibid
[201] Ibid

(DEOCC).[202] The approach of Kempf on the questions in regard to military logic, war and respects objectively cover the rights of the opponent. In same vein, nevertheless, a DEOCC engaging journalist has to be keen and technical so that to evade reporting information in regard to peace propaganda which is a counterproductive information as war propaganda. Thus, this type of journalist should distance himself/herself from the belligerents and forcefully censure their actions.[203]

4.4 Evaluation under Pressure

In the North Africa and Middle East the Arab Spring upheaval in the year 2011 resulted to calls for thorough investigations on the potential roles of the current media and gradually the new media can be very critical in both conflict resolution and prevention respectively. The protesters in the respective countries in the region in varying degree depended on the social media in mobilizing the protesters against the present regime where it leveraged all the global news broadcasting organizations such as the Al Jazeera to beseech support internationally. In recognition of power of influence from the media, those who were in power then resorted to asserting strategies so that they can gain control over the platforms. For example, Hosni Mubarak who was then the president of Egypt closed down all access to Google, Twitter, YouTube and Facebook in the beginning days of the protests before closing the internet platform. Another instance is where security forces of Muammar Gaddafi, the then Libyan leader managed to block frequencies Al Jazeera and Alhurra which were the international broadcasters and shut the traffic of the internet in and out of the nation.[204] In this case, it prompted the international community to

---

[202] Kempf, Conflict Coverage, supra note 72, at 71 fig.7.
[203] Ibid
[204] Al-Hurra is an Arabic-language news and information service produced by the United States Broadcasting Board of Governors. See Committee to Protect Journalists, "Journalists Detained and Broadcasts Jammed

come up with programmes through funding which were aimed at enlightening the media in both regions of North Africa and Middle East to offer conduits of the potential voters and the governing bodies sources of information, discussion platforms, debate on structuring and implementation of reforms, and on humanitarian aid.[205]

With Tunisia and Egypt progressing to democratic reform, war still went on in Libya and the resolution was still not clear in countries on Yemen, Syria and Bahrain therefore also the outcome of the Arab Spring was uncertain. While a consensus exist that media coverage play a very critical role, a considerable discussion exist specifically on what media can be accredited as compared other elements triggering the wave of political unrest.[206] The key consideration for the media stakeholders who are involved various activities of the media in conflicted zones, equal differences exist with regard to the role played by the media in aiding Tunisia and Egypt in reaching their immense democratic transition, improving the civil war in Libyan republic and evading serious violent conflicts in Yemen, Bahrain and other nations of the world. The community mandated with policy formulation should look backwards to see the ongoing transformations and also look forward on implement programs and the reforms to bettering evaluations of media's role in the political, social and economic transitions, women and youth empowerment and prevention and resolution of conflicts.

4.5 Lack of Control over the Research Environment

---

in Libya," March 1, 2011, www.cpj.org/2011/03/journalists-detained-and-broadcasts-jammed-in-liby.php.
[205] UNESCO HQ , IPDC Secretariat, "Assessing National Media Landscapes in the Mena Region Using UNESCO's MDIs" (project no. IPDC/55 RAB/03),
www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/IPDC/ipdc55_bureau mena_project_final.pdf.
[206] Sina Odugbemi, program head of the Communication for Governance and Accountability Program (CommGAP) at the World Bank, describes this debate as an "explanation Olympics; See also Clay Shirky, "The Political Power of Social Media," Foreign Affairs 90, no. 1 (2011): 28–41.

The idea methods of investigation is on the hands of capacity of the researcher to be vigilant and cautious in planning and emphasize a supreme control over the selected environment where the research is to be conducted. Many investigations experience challenges of economic, social and political uncertainties which is a predominant features of conflict zones. For instance, the report from British Audit Office established that the security in consideration interrupted 40% of DFID programs in regard to monitoring and evaluation in the fragile nations.[207] The program implementers and researchers gradually should acclimatize their response plans to unanticipated safety shifts of both social and economic situations. A thorough evaluation plan which is detailed in the commencement of the project might well demonstrate unsustainable given the gradually shifting conditions on the ground. The longer is the period of a project, the more challenging it is to anticipate the investigation environment.

This unanticipation is specifically is very critical for interventions of the media coverage. During the crisis times, media coverage offer critical conduits information with regard to peacebuilding, the political reforms and humanitarian aid, generally due to platforms of the media cover a wide audience quickly effectively and efficiently agile by the geographical or the violence. The security and constraints of finance inhibit the investigators and researchers from travelling to assess media efficacy on selected interventions. In addition, since the methodologists and program implementers are usually physically detached from the scene of intervention of the media, oftenly they are less able as compared to those assessing programs which are note related to the media so that to select and anticipate the research site. Those programmes of media which are designed to advance the professionalism of the media agonize

---

[207] DFID, "Working Effectively in Conflict-Affected and Fragile Situations Briefing Paper I: Monitoring and Evaluation" (DFID Practice Paper, March 2010), 10, www.dfid.gov.uk/Documents/publications1/governance/building-peaceful-states-I.pdf.

from the various but connected set of difficulties. The journalists are trained in set of environment, for instance, may shift jobs, adjust the reporting habits to changes to political power or physically moved because of the violence. Hence, an individual who is responsible with evaluation looking for assessing the long-term results of a particular training conducted might struggle even to trace the participants at a later period.

4.6 Measurement Difficulties

Assessing the causal effect of interventions of the media is problematic even in environments which are controlled. Communication as part of academic discipline developed as result of studies to do with propaganda in campaigns led to the World War I and World War II. This early studies and investigations displayed the power of the media and its effects in times of a conflict or crisis. This view of media being powerful spread first main round of global supported interventions of the media which was undertaken in the emerging world in due consideration to conflict-prone countries in years of 1950s and the year 1960s.[208] But most researches in more than a century ago have demonstrated that the ability of the media to crop change in the society is either straightforward or self-evident.

The researchers and scholars on the effects of the media universally approve that the exposure to the programming of the media might affect specific audiences under particular conditions. The effects of the media rely deeply on precise features of consumers of media and on particular conditions in which media is consumed. A number of scholars have recognized that in periods of uncertainty, people might heavily rely on information disseminated by the media.[209]

---

[208] Laura Mottaz, "US Government Funding for Media Development" (Special Report to the Center for International Media Assistance, December 7, 2010), http://cima.ned.org/sites/default/files/CIMA-U.S._ Government_Funding_for_Media_Development-Report_0.pdf

[209] Gadi Wolfsfeld, Media and the Path to Peace (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Jennings Bryant

In the same vein, limited researches have recognized the direct links which exist between the media coverage and conflict and still fewer researchers have been done on the ability of the media to foster peace in conflict zones. The current researches which examine the connection of media coverage and peacebuilding significantly divert in terms of conclusions they make. Some studies illuminate and affirm the capacity of the media in peace construction in conflict societies.[210] Other researches emphasize on the ability of the media to amplify unrest and violence.

For example, Snyder and Ballentine resist arguments in regard to common wisdom that diversity of the media and the free flow of information certainly foster for peace:

> We agree that media manipulation often plays a central role in promoting nationalist and ethnic conflict, but we argue that promoting unconditional freedom of public debate in newly democratizing societies is, in many circumstances, likely to make the problem worse. Historically and today, from the French Revolution to Rwanda, sudden liberalizations of press freedom have been associated with bloody outbursts of popular nationalism. The most dangerous situation is precisely when the government's press monopoly begins to break down. During incipient democratization, when civil society is burgeoning but democratic institutions are not fully entrenched, the state and other elites are forced to engage in public debate in order to compete for mass allies in the struggle for power. Under those circumstances, governments and their opponents often have the motive and the opportunity to play the nationalist card.[211]

and Dolf Zillmann, Media Effects: Advances in Theory and Research (Mahwah, NJ: Elbaum, 2002).
[210] Ross Howard, The Power of the Media: A Handbook for Peacebuilders (Washington, DC: European Centre for Conflict Prevention, 2003); Monroe E. Price and Mark Thompson, Forging Peace: Intervention, Human Rights and the Management of Media Space (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002)
[211] Jack Snyder and Karen Ballentine, "Nationalism and the Marketplace of Ideas," International Security 21, no. 2 (1996): 5–40

Assessing the causal effect of one particular intervention of the media is feasibly more problematic than assessing the general association of a nation's media or the system used in communication and peace construction process. The participant Caux Bridget Kimball,a project manager at IREX, underlined the challenges of ascribing effect to explicit program or a set of programs:

> Since 2008, IREX has supported media associations and outlets in Somaliland advocating for private radio, believing this to be a force for peace. Recently, IREX learned that the Somaliland Ministry of Information and National Guidance is preparing new guidelines that will permit private radio. Is this the result of IREX-supported advocacy? Or is it due to the work of other groups carrying out similar advocacy during the same time period? Or was the key factor the 2010 election that brought a different political party into power?[212]

The discussions around the effect of media coverage versus the components might never be entirely be settled. But organized attention should be to designs used in the research, the methods of expansion employed that pursue to detach effect of the media and cautious attention and analysis of the metrics will aid to expound knowledge with regard to the association of media and peace construction.

4.7 Unreliable Media Usage Data

The actors operating in environments of the conflict are unlikely to possess truthful information with regard to the usage of the media and its reach. Definitely, up-to-date and reliable information on usage of the media is availed in developed nations of the world hence what information is available is outdated quickly. The revolution of information has been

---

[212] Cees J. Hamelink, "Communication May Not Build Peace, but It Can Certainly Contribute to War," Media Development 49, no. 2 (2002): 36–37.

infiltrated in various countries and communities of the world in every level in an effort to develop stability. For example, Afghanistan, which is a backwater communication and media has encountered growth rate of the media 20% increase annually and it is now a home of 75 television stations which are active, 175 radio stations and 150,000 cell phone subscribers monthly. Limited of baseline information and proliferation of new sources of information attached with ever increasing complexity of flow of information both into and within the conflicted areas pose critical evaluation challenges.

In the year 2011, the international community in perspective observed the wonder on how the protests spread over from the country of Tunisia-Egypt-Bahrain-Libya and other specific nations of the Middle East. Both old and new platforms of the media offered very critical conduits of information to both the international community and the protesters. At the same period, due to apparent importance, the same media platforms were the majors targets of the individuals who wanted to stay in power. With unreliable access both old and new media platforms, various actors resorted to employ different strategies of information dissemination. The information was transferred from one individual to another by the use of a word of mouth, to old media, social media, mobile networks and again back to the a labyrinthine web. In addition, platforms of the media anticipated to be used for one purpose quickly was arrogated to be used for another purpose. No wonder the considerable discussions still remain on media's role in the Arab Spring.

4.8 Heterogeneity of Conflict

The environments where conflicts occur are diverse in nature. While various organizations can concentrate in issues of media and managing of conflicts, extreme variation exist both within the conflict and between countries of the conflict. The heterogeneity of situations of a conflict

has grown in the current years. Until the end of Cold War, global conflicts ensued between nations. In post environment of Cold War, upswing of civil wars have existed for example in Rwanda, Liberia, Sudan, Yugoslavia, humanitarian disasters and terrorists attacks which have evolved on the same occurrences.[213] Additionally, irrespective of the basis conflict, any scenario of the conflict comprise of multiple stages. Various bodies of research and scholars accredit various terminology but least these specific stages universally entail no conflict, escalation, stalemate, latent conflict, de-escalation, settlement, post-conflict peace construction and reconciliation.[214] This numerous stages contain numerous challenges in instituting of replicable investigation methods to enable comparing between and the cross zones of the conflict.

4.9 Shifting Objectives

At the macro level, goals on particular intervention shift in accordance with the level of the conflict. Various degrees of the conflict require various goals to resolve it. The interventions of the media might be required to foster preventive diplomacy which entail the efforts adopted by international community to preserve disputes in perspective from erupting to full-fledged conflicts by availing techniques to be employed for preventing of conflict, provide mechanisms to prevent disputes locally and conflicts from swelling into broad confrontations. This might comprise addressing elements that contribute to eruption of conflicts for instance inequality in society, corruption, unaccountability by the elected government and poverty. Moreover, the media element can be used to champion for peace in the conflict society and foster a dialogue from the opposing sides, ultimately creating accord of peace also enable in monitoring examining the processes employed for peace construction that result in post conflict societies to

---

213 Gilboa, "Media and International Conflict."
214 Eric Brahm, "Latent Conflict Stage," in Beyond Intractability, ed. Guy Burgess and Heidi Burgess (Boulder, CO: University of Colorado, Conflict Research Consortium, 2003).

aid the ex-combatants embrace the agreements of peace signed. The aid come with many forms displayed as social and economic development, power sharing, electoral support, strengthening rule of law, and by embracing measures of confidence-building. In regard to project, covering many years or at times few months, may function in various stages of the conflict which can affect the ultimate goals of the project.

4.10 Media's Multiple Roles in Conflict

On the same vein, an individual initiative of the media can have multiple tasks at once all over the life time of respective project. The organizations of the media either can contribute or dent toward moving to an open and free system of politics. Additionally, programs of media organizations can be considered as the conduits for dissemination of significant safety and health messages. Those individual bodies tasked for funding and implementation often differ on the roles to be examined in periods of evaluation. For instance, the individual required to implement the project might suggest to build a radio station in the community so that to reduce the incidences of conflict by offering platform to construct dialogue and discuss among the citizens locally. The agency tasked with funding may on the other hand emphasize on evaluating so that assess the degree in which the respective radio station contributed to Millennium Development Goals.[215]

Due to the associated limitations in terms of time money required for evaluation, the main emphasis is usually in assessing the degree in which the stated project is able to attain the outlined objectives of the donor thereby omitting other important outcomes of the projects. Monitoring and evaluation exercise usually unearths unexpected results. In the year 2007, when media monitoring was conducted in regard to quality of political journalists, the Kenya National

---

[215] UN, "Summit on the Millennium Development Goals, 20–22 September 2010," www.un.org/ millennium goals

Commission On Human Rights established that the indigenous Kalenjin through their language station pressed that:

"the people of the milk . . . to cut the grass"

This was the language which was coded for the removal forcefully of the Kikuyu community from their homelands in the Rift Valley. Therefore, examining the interventions of the media on the basis of criterion determined in the onset of a specific project might inadequately display all the full range contributions. In spite the upheaval in regard to evaluation deliberated, a enhanced evaluation is critical because it afford a critical indication that might give information on the production of prospect programs, the policy makers, the direct donors and economical way of funding allocation and policy.

4.11 Danger Involved in Reporting of Conflicts

The pressing challenge of the media industry in the modern world of conflicts is that danger involved with the job itself. This is clearly by the Committee for the Protection of Journalist in US which approximated 337 journalists to have been murdered over a decade of the conflict. Moreover, the CPJ investigations assert that most of respective journalists executed from the year 1995 were not murdered accidentally in a crossfire but majority of them were executed because of what they wrote. The CPJ statistics affirm that only 67 professional journalists that is 20% died naturally in the crossfire while the 244 who comprised 74% of the journalists were executed in retaliation of their reporting.[216] The report of CPJ indicated that they only found 35 incidences that there had been some prosecutions for the indicated killings. Therefore, it can be deduced that most journalist are murdered with impunity thus respective

---

[216] A monitoring plan (also called a performance monitoring plan) is a tool that project implementers and evaluators use to plan and manage how they will collect data used to assess the performance of a particular project

media organizations as the employer of these individuals should consider their safety. This is interpreted that media organizations should offer both training on safety and lobby to relevant authorities so that to create awareness and be responsibility to provide safety for journalists and track the suspected cases of journalists killings. Equally, it is significant for individuals responsible for keeping peace to probe any claims that they might have in regard to the deaths of journalists. If the suspected cases seem to go away with cases of murdering a journalist then other parties involved shall give a suitable conclusion.

4.12 Intimidation and violence

The local journalists face challenges where your find that their families are more exposed to violence and intimidation as compared global journalists who can move in and out of the conflict zones comfortable without receiving any threats. Media coverage can resort itself to be partisan due to funding, intimidation and also by choice. The economic conditions might dire and the respective infrastructure in which media coverage rely on trustworthy electricity supply, the transport network and equipment are probable to have been destroyed. The funds received from the donors tend to be utilized by the global media organizations or the NGOs other than the media operating locally- as the respective donors tend to give funds to individuals/media organizations they comfortable and used rather than taking risks.

4.13 Professionalism among Journalists

Lack of professionalism comprise another challenge to be considered amongst the journalists operating locally specifically in the environment where freedom abruptly is given after being suppressed for many years. The journalists have a critical role in assisting for the transformation of a conflict into normal peaceful processes of politics. By accurately reporting

opinions and activities of individuals from the various sides of the conflict, the journalists in perspective can aid in breaking down the potentially and misleading stereotypes. They can find examples of behaviors which are non-stereotypical that will assist the individuals to understand that every level of violence possess a range of various beliefs and perspectives. The professional journalists are given a responsibility to develop and enhance stereotypes and also can make an important contribution by simply being conscious of hazards which the practice can cause. One of the choices of the media operating locally is design code of ethics of practice stipulating on how violence should be reported and covered as part of the general effort of professionalism improvement.

Part of the challenge might simply the situations where they might ever contain a free platform of the media in incidences where the field of journalism is very open to everybody interested to practice, little awareness may exist on journalism to involve exercising judgement and responsibility and claiming the stipulated rights. One of the features remarkable on those working in the emerging regions from violence contain the irresponsibility journalists who claim wildly without checking the basis of arguments whether are partisan to ethnic group or the political faction contain informal communication to others. These situation result to a perilous call of imposing of censorship. This underscores the need for media operating locally and its journalists to improve on their professionalism to illuminate a self-regulation system. The obvious steps followed generate integrated association of journalists which can take care of the interests of members thereby increasing journalism professionalism.

4.14 Conclusion

This section endeavored to analyze challenges encountered by the media towards conflict management activities. This chapter examined into traditional versus the new media where it

86

analyzed conflict and peace journalism in conflict resolution. Challenges associated with the research environment, unreliable media usage data, heterogeneity of conflict, shifting objectives, media's multiple roles in conflict, danger involved in reporting of conflicts, intimidation and violence and professionalism among journalists. Thus, all these challenges and circumstances lead the media to face difficulties in managing of conflicts.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary of the keys findings

The chief objective of this investigation was to analyze media's role in managing of conflicts specifically looking into 2017 general elections. Therefore, it was established that the scene of the Kenyan media witnessed levels of medialization and it still continued to remain the chief source of data of political, social and political matters in Kenya. Specifically, on political debates which take place in an hostile environment leave Journalists unfocused in their reporting of conflicts. During the 2017 general elections media delimited itself to informing and covering generation election exercise thus made the media in Kenya to participate in political matters wholeheartedly. The media played a role of giving journalists a platform of their political ambition and therefore they were merited not alone on their know-how with regard to technology and their in political activism in communication but as well as their popularity they possess in the masses. The advancement of the Kenyan media brought a new dimension in the lection exercise of 2017 whereby the viewer in the television, listener and the reader had a variety in terms of sources of political information in Local, Kiswahili and English languages.

The media was used for political mobilization where it gave platforms of political expression and engagement which accelerated to the access of political information, it facilitated in political deliberation and social networks development. The media served as an alternative space for civic engagement thus it enabled in its fight against alienation. It enabled the citizen participation on all levels of election exercise hence was a very significant forum for sharing of information. Therefore, the media gave new forms of citizen participation by providing an alternative platform for open discussions on the situation.

The study also set to establish how the media escalated of deescalated violence during 2017 general elections. Therefore, media play a critical role in recognizing of political problems which aid in shaping of respective foreign policy agenda. Despite this, the media played a role in escalation of conflict in Kenya where it failed to unearth the truth behind the disputed elections. During the elections, editorials and specific groups out rightly were biased in that they took sides in their reporting of elections; certain media organizations were generated directly by the respective parties they gave support and in some areas the very journalists contested for seats. The ambition of journalists in political matters revealed that their work as journalists gave them a platform to pursue careers in politics and also merited themselves in matters of technology know-how and their capacity of political activism. In this case, the respective journalists disseminated political information in a way that gave them strategic position to be favored in their respective constituencies they were interested of. Therefore in this mood, organizations were seen to investing in the expansion of networks of communications, more persons also constructed individual networks of self-communications via comment sections and blogosphere expanded which enlightened the respective individuals and this contributed to the media loosing objectivity in its reporting of conflict.

Despite media demerits in its coverage, it also has its strengths where it play a part in the advancing harmony and compromise as displayed in the 2017 general elections where the media board, partners and writers advocated for peace as the most critical part of the society. The media played a very critical role as peace actors which employed the platform in calling in for peace. The Facebook and Twitter were used by television broadcasters to send positive messages and reassure the viewers to be still and be patient as the general election were given out. It was in this period that the visibility of media component was evident in campaigning as the respective

candidates grasped their potential in the mobilization of supporters. The actors of politics utilized the platforms of social media in the 2017 general elections in mobilizing their supporters and they even engaged individuals in managing of their accounts of social media. The peace messages employed in 2013 general elections was displayed five years later where various internet platforms and text messages were used.

It was established that the media encounter a myriad of challenges in covering of conflicts which included limited skills and essential tools in detection and monitoring of activities conducted online which make it impossible for the respective non-state actors and the government to address activities that might erupt violence. Specifically, this is very challenging because of the abundant of platforms where information is shared at high speed to a wider spread of audience. The politicians have employed these specific tools to aid them in reaching wider audience using lower cost implication as compared to that one of ground mobilization. In addition, the danger involved for the media in a modern conflict situation where Journalists are murdered with impunity in crossfires. Professionalism among Journalists among inexperienced local journalists, where they break down misleading and potentially dangerous stereotypes which may erupt into violence.

5.2 Conclusion

The main aim of this investigation was to establish media's role in managing of conflicts specifically looking into 2017 general elections. From the analysis of the findings, it was deduced that the Kenyan media remained as the chief source of data with regard to political, social and economic issues. It gave Journalists a platform for achieving their political ambition as they capitalized on their popularity amongst the masses. It helped for political mobilization where it gave a platform for political expression and engagement which accelerated access of

political information where it facilitated in political deliberation social networks development. Hence, it was deduced media coverage gave new forms of citizen participation in providing with alternative platform for open discussion on the conflict situation.

From the study results, it was also concluded that media played a role of escalation and de-escalation of conflict of the 2017 general elections. Based on the study results, it was found that the media failed to unearth the truth behind the disputed elections as indicated where some editorials and individual groups were out rightly biased by taking sides on specific candidates who were participated in general elections and also some of the media houses were generated by the parties that they gave support, also the journalists formed part of the contestants in general elections. It was also revealed that the respective journalists disseminated information in a way which placed them to be favored in the constituencies they were politically interested thus this compromised the way they reported the conflict. Nevertheless, it was concluded that the media advanced harmony and compromise to the board, partners and writers which advocated for peace as the most critical part of the society. It played a role to call and campaign for peace. The broadcasters from the television used social media platform for example Facebook and twitter in spreading messages to foster the viewers to be still and wait as the results of elections were pronounced. It was in this period of elections that the media acted as the visible element in campaigning as the respective candidates seized their potential in mobilizing the supporters.

Further, it was concluded that the media encountered challenges with regard to covering to conflicts. These challenges included lack of vital skills and tools in detecting and monitoring of activities conducted online which made it impossible for respective non-state actors and the government in responding to the activity which might result to violence eruption, professionalism among Journalists among inexperienced local journalists, where they break

down misleading and potentially dangerous stereotypes which may erupt into violence and the danger involved for the media in a modern conflict situation where Journalists are murdered with impunity in crossfires. Further, violence and intimidation which is experienced by the journalists and their families in the local context is very threatening than the international journalists who can move into and out of areas of the conflict.

5.3 Recommendations for Policy Implications

The main goals of the study was to establish media's role in managing of conflicts specifically looking into 2017 general elections. From the analysis of the findings, it was revealed that media played very critical role in conflict management. Thus, media coverage is a critical tool therefore caution should be in place both for the journalists and the media houses to make sure that their work of conflict reporting attain the required standards which are realistic, free from bias and news worthy. In addition, media coverage can afford with opportunities which is beyond their goal of increasing social movements by availing advanced forms in regard to communication. The broadcasting media should act as agent of social change therefore it should debate social mobilization issues. In cases where we take media as an agent of development, we should also try to find the methodology that take the respective broadcaster as an agent of peacemaking or help in attaining peace in an area of post-conflict thus tapping the full potential of the media.

According to the study results, it was attested that media escalated or deescalated violence in the 2017 elections. The media failed to unearth the truth behind the disputed elections as indicated where specific editorials and groups took sides on the candidates of their choice during the race. Therefore, it was is recommended regulatory and law enforcers in the media industry should design stern laws, rules and penalties for both media houses and personalities

who use media for negative purposes. Also, respective Journalists have to embrace their role of accurate reporting on opinions, activities of respective individuals in the different sides of the violence to assist in breaking potentially and misleading treacherous stereotypes which may cause eruption of a violence. Further, the media industry should design code of ethics to outline on how violence and conflicts should be reported and covered as the commitment to professionalism. Also, trainings should be offered by the media specifically in areas of objective reporting of inter-ethnic news. Hence, news should be covered showing adequately a true reflection of ethnic make-up of the state and true opinions of diversity.

It was also revealed the media faced a myriad of challenges in covering of conflicts. These challenges were among other things lacking of essential skills and tools to assess and determine those activities run online which challenge non-state actors and the respective government to act to the activity that may result to conflict. Professionalism among Journalists, security, intimidation and violence of journalist families. In the light to this, the media as the employer should take into account the safety and security of the respective journalists. This will be done through lobbying and training on safety matters for relevant agencies and authorities in making them to be aware of their duty of providing security and safety to their specific journalists and in pursuing the suspected cases in regard to killing of journalists. This is paramount to peacekeepers to probe the allegations with regard to the killing of journalists. If the relevant authorities who are tasked with investigations in regard with the killing of journalists seem to run away with the evidence then parties from other areas of operation should draw suitable conclusion for justice to prevail.

The violence and intimidation which are faced by the local journalists and their families is very threatening as compared to international journalists covering the conflicts who can move

into and out of zones of the conflicts. Hence, media coverage is probable to be partisan either by funding or due to intimidation. Infrastructure and the economic situation of the media will be dire, reliability of power supply and the transport network due to the destruction experienced during the conflict situation. Therefore, the alternative of media operating locally is to ensure that they have formed partnerships with the media operating internationally in developing of programmes and sharing of ideas, and accessibility of donor support. Also, the media operating locally should take into account on how they can partner with others in order to decrease costs and optimize economic viability. The measures are for example partnering in newspapers printing facility using in printing facilities and development of local production facilities in broadcast media. The organizations of the media could sponsor the media centres to make them as places of excellence and meet so that they can exchange and share experiences of the media development.

5.4 Suggestions for further Studies

The main goal of this study was to examine media's role in managing of conflicts specifically looking into 2017 general elections hence it did exhaust all the required areas under investigation. Therefore, this propose other emerging studies to cover the role played by mobile telephony and internet as social media platforms in managing of conflicts in Kenya. Also, the current study suggest that a study to be carried out to cover various strategies employed by the media in the post-conflict societies in encountering the effects of the conflict.

REFFERENCES

Amelia Arsenault and Shawn Powers, "The Media Map Project: Review of Literature," http://mediamapresource.files.wordpress.com/2010/12/literature-review-the-media-map-project.pdf Accessed 17 January 2011.

Amisi, B. (1997). Conflict in the Rift Valley and Western Kenya:.USAID Conference on Conflict Resolution in the Greater Horn of Africa. Nairobi: Sage Publisher.

and Winston.

Bercovitch J. Kremenyuk V., Zartman W.I'' Thr SAGE Handbook of conflict resolution: Etyan Gilboa-Media and Conflict resolution:2009; p 268

Cees Jan Hamlink, (2010), Media and Conflict: Escalating evil.

Chebii, K. The Role of Media in Conflict Management: The Case of Electoral Conflicts in Kenya. Journal of Global Peace and Conflict, Vol. 3(2), December 2015

Communication Commission of Kenya.(2008). Media Regulatory Framework in Kenya. Nairobi: CCK.

Des Forges, A.(2007). Call to Genocide: Radio in Rwanda. 1994 in Thompson, A media and Rwanda Genocide, London: Pluto press, Kampala: Fountain Publishers.

Galtung, J.(1998). Hearst realized that war and media go hand in hand and that is why it is important for taming the media to avoid spreading of war or conflict, Tack two 7(4) (December, 1998)

Giboa, Etyan, '' Media and conflict resolution: A framework for Analysis. Marquette Law Review, 2009:87

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

Goodland J. and Humle D.,'' From wars to Complex Political Emergencies: Understanding Conflicts and peace working in the New world disorder, the Third world quarterly, Vol:20 no. 1, 1999: p 13-26.

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

Howard N.P and Hussain M.M. Democracy's Fourth Wave?-Digital media and the Arab spring ', 2013' p 733.

Howard, R. (2003). The Power of the media: A handbook for peacebuilder. Utrecht ,

Howard, S., Community Radio and Ethnic Violence in Africa: The Case of Kenya,2009.

Ibrahim & Jenner, The rise of a mediated state in Northern Kenya: The Wajir Story and its implications for state-building (1997)

Jhazbhay, I. (2008). Somaliland's post-war reconstruction: Rubble to rebuilding. International Journal Of African Renaissance Studies , Vol 3 (1), 59-93.

Jones, G.R, Gorge, J.M., C.W.L. Contemporary Management,᾽ McGraw-Hill, Boston, MA. 2000

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

Kerlinger, F. N. (1973). Foundation of behavioral science. New York: Holt, Renehard

Libertarian theory of media reporting

Masheti, O. role of media coverage in international conflict management looking into 2007/08 post-election violence in Kenya.

Mbeke, P. (2009). The role of media in conflict and peace building in Kenya. Nairobi: Intern news Network.

Mbeke, P.O.(2008). Media in peace building and conflict prevention, Bonn: Deutsche Welle, 178-191.

Mugenda, O. M. and Mugenda, A. G. (1999).*Research Methods: Quantitative and*

Munyua A.(2016). Exploring the multi-stakeholder experience in Kenya. Journal of Cyber Policy: VL-I: 10.1080/23738871. 2016. 1249898

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

Mwagiru, M. Conflict, theory, processes and institutions of Management. 2000:p 43.

Mwendia, K. Role of media in countering political and tribal conflict in Kenya, 2013

Netherlands: European Centre for Conflict Prevention.

Newbold,᾽ Somalia Enforcing Restraint: Collective intervention in Internal Conflicts (1995).

Ogula, P. A. (2005). Research Methods. Nairobi: CUEA Publications.

   Qualitative Approaches. Nairobi: Acts Press.

Rahim M.A., Antonioni, D., Psenicka, C. A structural equations model of leader power, subordinates᾽ styles of handling conflict, and job performance᾽ International Journal of Conflict Management, Vol. 12, No.3, 2000: PP 191-211.

Rahim M.A., Antonioni, D., Psenicka, C. A structural equations model of leader power, subordinates' styles of handling conflict, and job performance' International Journal of Conflict Management, Vol. 12, No.3, 2000: PP 191-211.

Schudson, M. (2001). The Objectivity Norm in American Journalism: Theory, Practice and Criticism. Journalism , Vol 2 (2), 149-170.

Sharma, A. & Nambudiri, R., (2015). Job-Leisure Conflict, Turnover Intention and the Role of Job Satisfaction as a Mediator: An Empirical Study of Indian IT Professionals. South Asian Journal of Management. Vol.22(1).

Siebert, F., Peterson, T., & Schramm, W. (1972).Four theories of the press. Chicago, London: University of Illinois Press Urbana.

Siebert, F., Peterson, T., & Schramm, W. (1972).Four theories of the press. Chicago, London: University of Illinois Press Urbana.

Silverthorne, C.P. Organizational Psychology in Cross-Cultural Perspective, New York University Press, New York, NY, 2005:pp 738-740

Sithole and Asuelime. The Role of the African Union in Post-Election Violence in Kenya. African Journal of Governance and Development, 2017.

Space. (P. M. Taylor, Ed.) Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

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

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

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

Vladimir Bratic, "Twenty Years of Peacebuilding: Media in Conflict Strategic Framework", UPEACE Open Knowledge Network Occasional Working Paper Series No. 2 (Oct. 2013), University for Peace, https://www.upeace.org/OKN/working%20papers/UniversityForPeaceOKNTwentyYears OfPeacebuildingMediaInConflictOctober2013.pdf See also Ylva Isabelle Blondel, "Violent Conflict and Roles of the Media", Uppsala University, 2004

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

Wairagu, A. (2003). Citizenship and Ethnicity: An Examination of Two Moments in. American Political Science Review , Vol 91 (3).

Watson, J., (2008). Media Commission: An introduction to Theory and Process, new York.

Wolfsfeld, G.(2004). Communication Society and politics: Media and the Path to peace> New York: Cambridge University Press.

Zartman, W. (1995). The Timing of Peace Initiatives: Hurting Stalemates and Ripe Moments. The Global Review of Ethnopolitics , Vol 1 (no.1), 8-18.

APPENDICES

Appendix I: Interview Guide
Introduction

I am Winfred Wangechi Mwangi and currently I am a student at the University of Nairobi, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS). My topic of research which I seek to solicit information from you is on: **The role of media in conflict management: a case of 2017 general elections in Kenya.** The research is intended to fulfil the a ward of a masters of arts degree in international conflict management at the institute of diplomacy and international studies, University of Nairobi. The study is solely meant for academic purposes only therefore by giving truthful and honest information will enable to establish the critical role played by the media in managing of conflicts in general elections. Therefore, as the media professional, you have been chosen to be among the participants of this study. Your privacy and confidentiality will be assured and upon request, the results of this study will be availed to you. The information you will give will be used only for academic purposes.

For any further clarifications or inquiries, kindly contact me via my email: winnie.muriuki.wm@gmail.com

Thank you for your contribution and participation in this study.

Section A: Basic Information

Indicate your title: ....

What is your age: ....

Indicate your gender: ....

What is your marital status: ....

Education level: ……………………………………………………………………

Organization you work for: ……………………………………………………….

Duration in years you've worked in the current organization: ....

Section B: Role of media in dispute resolution before, during and after 2017 general elections

1. What are some of the ways the media used to resolve conflicts in the country in the 2017 general elections.

……
……
……..

2. What are some the ways the media employed to a achieve peace and cohesion in the 2017 general elections.

……
……
……
……

3. Generally, how would you rate media as source of information?

……
……
……

Section C: Extent to which media escalated or deescalated violence during the 2017 elections

4. In your opinion, can media be the cause of conflict escalation in the country during the 2017 elections? Please explain

……
……
……

5. List some of the ways the media employed to escalate conflict in the in Kenya during the 2017 elections

………

………

………

6. In your own view, do you think that the media coverage de-escalated conflicts situations in the country? Please explain.

………

………

7. In your own view , how did the media de-escalated conflict situations in the country? Please explain

………

………

………

Section D: Challenges encountered by the media towards conflict management activities

8. In your own opinion, do you think that the media covered all the issues happened in regard to the conflict of 2017 general election in Kenya? Please explain.

………

………

………

9. In your own view, what are some of the factors that inhibited adequate media coverage of the conflict in the country?

………

………

………

10. Kindly suggest some of the ways media effectiveness in terms of coverage can be enhanced so that it can be able to cover all the issues during times of a conflict.

……………………………………………………………………………….…………………………

……………………………………………………………………………….…………………………

………

11. How can you rate the overall performance of the Kenyan media during conflict situation?

……………………………………………………………………………….…………………………

……………………………………………………………………………….…………………………

………