

**THE ROLE OF INTERNATIONAL MEDIA ON THIRD-WORLD
COUNTRIES' ELECTORAL PROCESS-THE CASE OF KENYA'S 2013
GENERAL ELECTIONS**

**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT FOR THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF MASTERS OF ARTS DEGREE IN
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

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DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been submitted for an award of a degree in any university.

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This research project has been submitted for an examination with my approval as university supervisor.

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DEDICATION

This research project is dedicated to my family and friends for their moral support throughout the course. A sincere appreciation to my dad Mr. Danson Nyange and my mum Mrs. Anne Nyange for their endless support in my life endeavors. I am proud to be your daughter.

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My special gratitude goes to the Almighty God for giving me good health, providing for me and giving me the strength I so needed throughout the entire course.

I also wish to thank everyone who helped me complete this project, without them, I could not accomplish this great achievement.

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ABSTRACT

All over the world, general election is one of the key elements in determining a countries' leadership. This means, elections are the cornerstone of any democracy, and the media has a vital role in informing the public about what politicians are promising, telling the politicians what ordinary people want, or do not want, and in ensuring that the polls are "*free and fair*". Therefore, both local and international media are useful tools especially when a country gears towards general elections. The effect of Globalization over the years has increased international community's participation in strengthening democracy around the world. This is mainly as a result of two main factors: the internal demand of countries in the process of democratization, and the external offer of the international organizations working to promote democracy around the world. This has led to an increased demand for many countries in the process of democratization to involve the help of international community in organizing their electoral processes. This study aimed at investigating the role of international media on third-world countries electoral process and 2013 Kenya's General Elections. It sought to identify the role played by the international media in the Kenya's 2013 electoral process as well as the role of international media on electoral process in a global perspective. The data used for this study was mainly derived from secondary and primary sources. This involved open ended interviews, in-depth information gathering and document analysis. Data collected in this procedure include quotations, opinions and specific knowledge and background information relating to the role of international media on third-world countries electoral process and 2013 Kenya's general elections. Descriptive survey method is used as the research design for this study. The findings for this study suggest that international media in third-world countries play a huge role in the electoral processes. The international media plays a role in determining how voters vote, highlighting new voting rules, length of registration and campaigns as well as penalties of election misconduct. The International media also probes and asks the hard questions; questions that the local media are scared of, or are simply not able to ask. Despite the role played by the international media, strategic government officials must increase the power of the international media as a tool that can be useful in executing commands as well as an avenue for relaying information. There is need for a legislative framework governing the international media while it still respects media freedom and autonomy. As a direction or suggestion for further related research on the Kenyan election conflict, an examination of the Kenyan media audience as the primary subject of study, as opposed to the international media and government officials as this research did, would give a bigger picture on the role of the international media.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONMYS

CORD	Coalition for Reforms and Democracy
CSO	Civil Society Organization
ECK	Electoral Commission of Kenya
ICC	International Criminal Court
IEBC	Independent Electoral Boundaries Commission
KANU	Kenya African National Union
NARC	National Rainbow Coalition
NCIC	National Cohesion and Integration Commission
NGO	Non- Governmental Organization
MCK	Media Council of Kenya

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Elections are the cornerstone of any democracy, and the media has a vital role in informing the public about what the politicians are promising, in telling the politicians what ordinary people want, or do not want, and in ensuring that the polls are “free and fair”. This is particularly important in countries lacking a solid background of democratic rule. From the time that elections are announced to when they take place, usually between six and eight weeks, there is ample opportunity for incumbent leaders and parties to bend the rules to their advantage, in subtle and not-so subtle ways¹.

Elections in Africa are generally badly organized by the incumbents and are usually accompanied by contestations, violence, and bloodshed often presented as tribal killings in the western media². A few cases of recent elections are illustrative of this phenomenon. The 2007 general elections in Nigeria that culminated in the election of President Yara’ Adua was contested by the opposition and the international observer team and ended in court. The December 2007 elections in Kenya resulted in total violence that claimed more than 1000 lives and has been presented as tribal killings between the Kikuyu and the Luo communities. This image of elections overflows in Africa affirms stereotypes that all African problems can be reduced to savage tribal violence and killings.

¹ Gregory H. Fox, "Election Monitoring: The International Legal Setting," *Wisconsin International Law Journal*, Vol. 19, No. 3 (Fall 2001), pp. 295–319.

² Carlos Santiso, "International Co-operation for Democracy and Good Governance: Moving Toward a Second Generation?", *European Journal of Development Research*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (June 2001), pp. 154–180.

The impacts of media on the elections critically shows that the powerful media can easily impact the whole election process. Whether the elections are taking place in America, in Europe or in any third world country of Asia or Africa, the election process can be greatly impacted and hampered if the media take bias decisions and hides important information³. The diversity of media is important in order to have fair elections. Reporters from different companies can provide news on different perspectives and even if not all are fair in their approach, there will be some of them who will be very loyal to their occupations. Thus the emphasis should be kept on the strict regulations and check and balance of these companies.

The international community's participation in strengthening democracy around the world has evolved as a result of two factors: the internal demand of countries in the process of democratization, and the external offer of the international organizations working to promote democracy around the world. International co-operation on electoral matters, just like other types of international co-operation, has been the result of a demand generated by countries that have established electoral democracies. Many countries in the process of democratization have asked the international community for help in organizing their electoral processes.⁴ This means that democracy itself has been the main promoter of international co-operation on electoral matters.⁵ This idea is reinforced by the fact that most assistance has been provided to countries recently democratized, as well as countries that are currently living a process of democratic consolidation,

³ Humphreys, P.J.,. *Mass media and media policy in Western Europe*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1996 pp. 295–319

⁴ Vikram K. Chand, "Democratisation from the Outside In: NGO and International Efforts to Promote Open Elections," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (September 1997), pp. 543–562;

⁵ Carlos Santiso, "International Co-operation for Democracy and Good Governance: Moving Toward a Second Generation?", *European Journal of Development Research*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (June 2001), pp. 154–180.

and semi-authoritarian countries undergoing a process of liberalization, whereas assistance to authoritarian regimes has been rather scant.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The media plays a huge and important role during emergency situations. Journalists spread information about the cause of the situation and the ongoing situation via various means, including TV, radio and newspapers. The media be it local and international has become one of the most powerful tools of conflict management of our time. It has the power to bring atrocities right into our living rooms making as part of a conflict that is thousands of miles away. The mass media reach not only people's homes, but also their minds, shaping how they think and sometimes their behavior. As a tool of influence and control, it has also been used to maintain the status quo and other powerful interests to undermine democratization and perpetuate conflict. The media have an important role to play in determining the public's response to the situation. The first similarity is the importance given by the international community to elections which played a highly symbolic part in the peace process. Nevertheless, these polls were not a panacea as they were held in countries in which democratic dialogue, individual security and often political governance showed serious shortcomings. The question that comes to mind through all the above discussion is what is the major role that media plays that somehow makes their supported candidates eventual winners. The role of the media has been no different during the election crisis in Kenya. The media has covered a broad range of subjects, including the political story, the violence and destruction, the flight of people at the internally displaced people (IDP) camps, the condition of people within these camps, and the relocation of IDPs.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The following are the study objectives

1.3.1 General Objective

The main objective of the study is to investigate the role of international media on third-world countries electoral process and 2013 Kenya's General Elections

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

- i. To examine the role the international media played in Electoral Process and 2013 Kenya's General Elections
- ii. To examine the role the international media played in spreading peace and security in Kenya.
- iii. To establish the role the international media on Electoral Process in a global perspective

1.4 Hypotheses

- i. The role the international media plays in Electoral Process and 2013 Kenya's General Elections
- ii. International media plays a big role in spreading peace and security in Kenya.
- iii. International media influence Electoral Process in all countries.

1.5 Justification of the Research

The role of media is not conventional in the current information age where people are more reluctant to observe and follow the trends that are given through various modes of media. Whether it is a product or a service the media, whether electronic or print paper. This is the major reason where many companies pour most portions of their budgets into these media awareness campaigns making huge profits afterwards. These things are in conjunction with the

branding strategies which have revolutionaries the advertising world. The election campaigns are nowadays not different from advertising campaigns where people focus more on the information provided to them through news and channels. The candidates on the other hand critically know this issue and they are not falling behind in using this revelation. The key to success is media as related to the elections. The presidential elections of United States that held in 2008 definitely describe the ways by which candidates were able to face millions of audience at any time through media.

However, their real fear is that the Kenya Communications (Broadcasting) Regulations 2009 would restrict cross media ownership. Cross media ownership is where an individual or firm runs radio, television and newspaper. Published at a time when Kenya is just emerging from an election related political crisis, in which the media has been singled out as a key player, the law is important to the extent that it seeks to minimize the number of private media under the control of a select business and political clique.

1.6 Literature Review

Elections are an important part of the democratic process which allows various political actors to compete over choices and issues. Sue Nelson notes that the goal of elections is to have an open and competitive process that allows voters to pronounce on an issue or choose a representative⁶. The electronic media on the other hand has raced with the conventional media of newspapers to success. The internet age is currently offering such enormous levels of services

⁶ Sue Nelson, "The Electoral Process. An Overview" , Regional Workshop on Capacity Building in Electoral Administration in Afria, Tangier Morocco, 2001. P. 24-28

that can easily create difference⁷. The social networking websites are by the far most visited websites on the internet including Facebook, MySpace and Delicious.com to name a few of them. When the 2008 presidential campaigns were on their way, an analysis of these websites showcased how each of the major candidates observed the power of social networking.

The results of the elections should accurately reflect the will of the voters⁸. Elections are generally demanding and require a multitude of actors and institutions whose intervention is critical to the holding of a credible election. There is also the need for a clear legal and institutional foundation which establishes the scope and nature of participation, election administration and oversight. For free, fair and equitable elections to be achieved certain acceptable elements must be put in place and these include: an equitable and fair electoral framework; a professional neutral and transparent election administration; a generally acceptable code of ethical behaviour in political and press freedom; accountability of all participants; integrity safeguard mechanism and the enforcement of the electoral laws and other relevant laws⁹.

Going back to the rift which separates scholars studying the development of electoral processes in Africa, the same question can be applied to the evolution of the media sector: should one be optimistic or pessimistic about the media's role in the building of electoral democracy in Central Africa?

The optimistic will argue that, just as any election can be seen as an opportunity for democratic principles to reinforce themselves, each media which makes its voice heard in these

⁷ Stanyer, J., *Political parties, the internet and the 2005 general election: from web presence to e-campaigning*. Journal of Marketing Management, 2005. 21.

⁸ Sue Nelson, "The Electoral Process. An Overview" , Regional Workshop on Capacity Building in Electoral Administration in Africa, Tangier Morocco, 2001. P. 24-28

⁹ Fombad, Charles Manga, "Election Management Bodies in Africa: Cameroon's National Elections Observatory", *African Human Rights Law Journal*, 2003, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 25-51.

post-conflict countries helps reinforce the freedom of expression¹⁰. Paradoxically, even the abuses can contribute to democracy, if they are denounced, punished and identified by the entire profession as violating the principles guiding the responsible exercise of the freedom of the press¹¹. For optimists, regardless of their shortcomings, the media's contribution to the creation of a space for debate and to the anchoring of citizenship is in itself a remarkable advance¹².

But pessimists might argue whether African media are not merely, like the elections themselves, gadgets in the "democracy kit," unsuited to the context, and perhaps even dangerous pyromaniacs who maintain intrinsically perverse relations with the governments and political players. Indeed, the difficulties which countries in the region have in generating (without foreign aid) the economic and political conditions necessary for the development of professional media seem widespread. For pessimists, the media, as they currently stand, are, at worst, instruments at the service of political ambitions, and at best, impotent voices who are addressing citizens who have no power, and whose rulers can use the media to show to the outside world their commitment to democracy¹³.

Elections are often seen as the last step in a transition and peace-building process, and are meant to mark the return of a "legitimate" authority, sanctioned by the ballot. They are considered a necessary step without which the transition from war to peace would not be

¹⁰ Humphreys, P.J., *Mass media and media policy in Western Europe*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1996. Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 25-51.

¹¹ Fombad, Charles Manga, "Election Management Bodies in Africa: Cameroon's National Elections Observatory", *African Human Rights Law Journal*, 2003, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 25-51.

¹² Berry, D. (2008) "Journalism, Ethics and Society" Ashgate Publishing Limited (Farnham) pages 75-77,

¹³ Doyle, Michael W. and Nicholas Sambanis. *Making War & Building Peace*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006 p.35

possible, a necessary ingredient on the road to stability¹⁴. They are generally organized under the supervision of the international community, especially when the latter has been involved in the resolution of crisis and bringing hostilities to an end.

Elections in post-conflict countries are “quite unlike other elections.” First of all, they are organized under the supervision of the international community, often simultaneously to other initiatives such as disarmament or measures taken to ensure the safety of the population. They sometimes make little use of internal mobilization and organization capacities, which means that these processes can be relatively artificial¹⁵. Moreover, they are often seen as an end, when in fact they only constitute a step and they alone cannot ensure that the authorities to emerge from the elections will exercise their mandate democratically. Moreover, in countries emerging from conflict situations, they involve a number of risks, since they can polarize even more societies that have already been divided by a conflict. Indeed, as Patrick Quantin reminds us, “what distinguishes the electoral act is participation in a collective reflection which can turn into confrontation.”

Thus, elections should not be considered the magical formula which will solve all the ills of a country emerging from a conflict. But why, then, is this relatively risk-laden step forward so crucial, and why does it often mobilize significant contributions from donors? As Gauthier de Villers claims, peculiarly about the DRC, elections in countries emerging from conflicts are seen by the international community as “a necessary condition (that one would wish sufficient) to

¹⁴ Galtung, Johan. “Peace Journalism - A Challenge”. In Kempf, Wilhelm and Heikki Loustarinen (eds.) *Journalism and the New World Order, Studying the War and the Media*. Gothenburg, Sweden: Nordicom. 2002. Vol. 2.

¹⁵ Joel Simon, (2000) “Banding Together,” in *Attacks on the Press in 1998*, New York: Committee to Protect Journalists, 1992, p.201.

rebuild a state¹⁶. This task is, at bottom, more achievable and more manageable than that, for instance, of rebuilding the administration or an army, or of fighting corruption...” Focusing on the organization of elections means setting a reachable technical objective, which can signal the beginning of the crisis-ridden country’s redevelopment¹⁷. Moreover, these elections often constitute the only option on which former belligerents agree¹⁸. It often happens that, despite the risks involved in such a polarizing process, diplomats, political stakeholders and armed movements don’t have another possibility but that one to definitely put an end to the conflict¹⁹.

Another similarity lies in the hope these polls generated in populations which, after much suffering, probably expected more from these elections than they could deliver: security and stability, development and well-being. The high turnout, at least in the first post-war elections (in the DRC or Burundi for instance), revealed the populations’ level of belief. Exercising their right to vote often required much effort, as citizens had to travel long distances and wait hours in front of a polling station in order to make their voice heard. This energy can, in the future, turn into mass lethargy if the polls are no longer considered credible or if the new elected government doesn’t fulfill all the populations’ wide expectations.

A third similarity is the ongoing insecurity in some parts of the territory or threatening stability from the outside. These elections aimed to install a dynamic to reinforce peace, though fighting continued. Destabilizing the electoral process could even become an objective of the

¹⁶ Doyle, Michael W. and Nicholas Sambanis. *Making War & Building Peace*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006 p.35

¹⁷ Wolfsfeld, Gadi. *Media and the Path to Peace*. New York, USA: Cambridge University Press. 2004.

¹⁸ Mohammed, B.J., “Democratization and the Challenge of Private Broadcasting in Kenya”, *Africa Media Review* Vol. 8, No.1 (1994)

¹⁹ Traber, M. Towards the Democratization of Public Communication: A Critique of the Current Criteria of News”, *Journal of Africa Media Review*, 1978, Vol. 2 No. 1

armed factions. The perspective of elections can fuel conflicts and increase instability, though they are often presented as the culmination of the peace process²⁰.

Fourthly, one must underline the logistical challenge posed by the organization of elections in those countries. Most of them are vast and, with the exception of Burundi and Rwanda, scarcely populated. Census data were unreliable and unavailable, transport was difficult, and electricity all but ubiquitous. Not only did the wars block development, but they also lead to the deterioration of the infrastructure, thus making the task of those organizing the elections even more complicated than in other “developing” countries. When logistical challenges combine with political manipulations, it can be difficult to determine which dysfunctions are tied to technical problems, fraud or informal mechanisms retrenching freedom²¹.

1.6.1 Effect of International media on Election in Kenya

An unprecedented public debate has been raging in Kenya over the role of the International media prior, during and after the General Election. Questions about media conduct continue to rise as the country attempts to define what it considers a desirable media. The manner in which the media reported and portrayed the violence that erupted between various ethnic groups around the country in January 2008 has come under special scrutiny. Before, during, and after the elections, politicians, NGOs, government, members of the media itself, and some of the public members, all had views about whether and/or how the spread of information through the broadcast and print media had contributed to the 2007 post-election violence. The Commission asked a number of individuals to testify before it concerning the role of the media in

²⁰ Galtung, Johan. “Peace Journalism - A Challenge”. *Journalism and the New World Order, Studying the War and the Media*. Gothenburg, Sweden: Nordicom. 2002. Vol. 2.

²¹ Traber, M. Towards the Democratization of Public Communication: A Critique of the Current Criteria of News”, *Journal of Africa Media Review* (1978), Vol. 2 No. 1

the postelection violence²². By bringing the various factors underlying International media behavior in Kenya to the fore, this study opens an oft-ignored dimension to the debate on media professionalism and ethics. It also provides a basis for rethinking media's social responsibilities as well as the changes necessary to orient media to the day-to-day aspirations of Kenyans.

1.6.2 International media as Gatekeeper

The media can also act as a gatekeeper who sets agendas, filters issues and tries to maintain a balance view. International media portrays themselves as 'balanced and fair,' even when they seek privately to promote a particular ideological set of ideas and limit the public's exposure to a wide array of information. In 2006, a cartoonist in Denmark created international conflict with his message about Muslims²³. The tensions experienced globally prompted extensive analysis on how and when International media professionals should act as a gatekeeper to prevent certain expressions that could be deemed humiliating or offensive to some groups.

International media audiences globally are in a state of change. This phenomenon ultimately heavily influences how International media will behave in any society. The rise of popular culture as an important element of contemporary International media is difficult to ignore. Nevertheless, knowledge of the various factors that influence International media behavior can provide a compass in a difficult debate such as this one.²⁴ As gate-keepers or indeed gate-openers it is claimed that the news media should ideally serve as the classical assembly

²² Wanyande, P., *Democracy and the One-party State: The African Experience* in (ed) *Democratic Theory and Democratic Theory and Practice in Africa* (Nairobi: Heinemann Kenya, 1987)

²³ Paletz, David L. *The Media in American Politics: Contents and Consequences*. New York: Longman, (1999).

²⁴ Galtung, Johan. "Peace Journalism - A Challenge". In Kempf, Wilhelm and Heikki Loustarinen (eds.) *Journalism and the New World Order, Studying the War and the Media*. Gothenburg, Sweden: Nordicom. 2002. Vol. 2.

point by bringing together a plurality of diverse interests, voices, and viewpoints to debate issues of public concern. It is hoped that if the media performs this role well, citizens are more likely to be empowered and informed about their governments, thus keeping political leaders responsive, as well as educating citizens to facilitate rational debate and informed public opinion. This gate-keeping role is often regarded as particularly important during election campaigns, where citizens can only make an informed choice if media systems cover all parties and candidates fairly, accurately, impartially, and without undue favoritism towards those in power²⁵.

1.6.3 International media as Policymaker

Policy does not just happen magically. According to Graber, there are many steps to the policy making process and in theory, there are six stages that a policy goes through before it is enacted²⁶. These stages consist of the problem formation, setting of the agenda, policy formulation, adoption and legitimation, implementation and administration, and policy evaluation. The International media is involved deeply in each of these policy stages. One should take note that not all policies follow these exact stages, and that some policies do not go through all the stages²⁷.

First of all, the International media's influence in the problem formulation stage is big. The nature of the International media is to report things to the public the way they are. Because of this daily reporting the media can bring many types of things to the forefront of the public conscious. This is crucial because when the media begins reporting on the issues of importance to public the policy makers tend to start listening. This is what initiates the ball rolling, so to

²⁵ Wanyande, P. "The Media as Civil Society and Its Role in Democratic Transition in Kenya", *Africa Media Review* (1996), Vol. 10, No.3

²⁶ Graber, Doris (1989). *A. Mass Media and American Politics*. Washington D.C.: CQ Press,

²⁷ Howard, R. Rolt, H. van de Veen, H. Verhoeven. J. (Ed.) 2003. *The Power of the media: A handbook for peace builders*. Utrecht, the Netherlands: European Centre for Conflict Prevention.

speak. The press can also report on issues that may not seem that critical, and by merely creating interest it can make a non-issue a major policy issue;

The next stage in the policy making process is the formulation stage²⁸. It is the stage in which the policy makers decided what to do about the things on the agenda. The role of the International media in this stage is very important, and it could be the most noticeable. During this stage the policy makers tries to appeal to the people through the International media. Politicians also tell the International media their ideas for a certain policy and then the International media reports it to the people. This relationship is critical in the process because it is how politicians tell if their policies are being well accepted by the people or if they are ineffective or if they make them look unpleasant. The way in which things play in the International media is of utmost importance to the International media savvy politician. In this stage of the process the International media is also busy researching the intricacies of policies put forth by policy makers²⁹.

The International media's role in the next step in the process is a little bit tricky. This is the implementation and administration stage of the policy making process. In this stage the policies are put in to effect and used. The International media's role here is that one of a watchdog. Reporters investigate how the policies are being put into effect and report to the public. This type of International media coverage can cause a change in the administration of

²⁸ Graber, Doris (1989). *A. Mass Media and American Politics*. Washington D.C.: CQ Press,

²⁹ Wanyande, P. "The Media as Civil Society and Its Role in Democratic Transition in Kenya", *Africa Media Review* (1996), Vol. 10, No.3

policies. The media's role in this stage is fairly simple; they make sure that the public know what exactly the policy makers are doing³⁰.

The final stage in the policy making process according to Graber is the evaluation stage. In this stage feedback is sought to determine the overall effectiveness of newly enacted policies³¹. The role of the media here can be very important by holding the government accountable. The media can do this by showing what is going on, by researching on policies, reporting studies on the policy and allowing the people to voice complaints about a policy. This is significant because if it is found that a policy is not being effectively employed it can be changed so that it does work. Basically, in this stage of evaluation the media provides the public and the actual policy makers with evidence regarding the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of policies³².

Through all this one can reasonably assume that the media is a very powerful entity in the society. Without the media many people would know what is happening most of the time. In theory, the media will provide an objective view of the policies put forth by the government, and then allow people to formulate their own opinions. However, the press sometimes takes advantage of the power that it has by skewing facts and sometimes fails to report on both sides of an issue. Overall, the media does a fairly pleasant job of presenting both sides of an issue. But if one source of the news does not report one side of a story, there is always another source reporting the news on the other side of the issue³³.

The International media has influence on policymakers, particularly as they think about

³⁰ Amutabi N. Maurice, 2009, "*Challenging the Orthodoxies: The Role of Ethnicity and Regional Nationalism in Leadership and Democracy in Africa*", UNESCO Seminar, 28 – 30 September at Kisumu Sports Ground

³¹ Graber, Doris (1989). *A. Mass Media and American Politics*. Washington D.C.: CQ Press,

³² Barry E. Willey, -*The Conflict-Media Connection: For Better or For Worse*, *Military Review*, vol. 78, no. 6

³³ Graber, Doris (1989). *A. Mass Media and American Politics*. Washington D.C.: CQ Press,

how to prevent and respond to violent conflict. The International media is also a tool of policymakers to get across their message. Some theorists even claim that CNN has taken over policymaking - at least in humanitarian disaster situations. Images on CNN of genocide, famine, and violence force policymakers to intervene militarily to stop death, even if they do not think it is in the best interest of their country to adopt this policy³⁴.

1.6.4 International media as Diplomat

Sometimes the International media is used to cover diplomatic initiatives and send messages back and forth between sides of a conflict. While policymakers usually prefer secret negotiations, sometimes there are no direct channels of communication. If one side wants to test reactions to a negotiation proposal, they may send messages and signals to other groups through the International media. At times, the news media will invite leaders of opposing groups or nations onto a TV or radio program to talk with each other. The media may help to create bridges among enemies and build confidence needed to start negotiations.

International media events can be used at the beginning of negotiations to build confidence, facilitate negotiations or reduce diplomatic deadlocks to create a climate conducive to negotiation. International media events such as press releases, rock concerts, or radio programs can celebrate peace agreements and negotiations. The International media events may help to promote and mobilize public support for agreements. The International media can promote positive relationships between groups, especially in conflicts of national, ethnic or religious identity³⁵.

³⁴ Bernard M. Joinet, 2008, *The Multi-Party System Debate*, Regular Newsletter to My Superiors, White Fathers, Dar-es-Salaam.

³⁵ Graber, Doris (1989). *A. Mass Media and American Politics*. Washington D.C.: CQ Press,

1.6.5 The International media as Peace and Consensus Builder

International media events can be used at the beginning of negotiations to uphold confidence, facilitate negotiations or break diplomatic deadlocks to create a climate conducive to negotiation. Media events such as press releases, rock concerts, or radio programs can celebrate peace agreements and negotiations. The media events may help to promote and mobilize public support for agreements³⁶. Democracy cannot thrive in countries that are in the grip of strife and violence. Ideally, democracy should provide the warring groups mechanisms for mediation and representation and the voice so that they can settle their differences in a more peaceful manner. If it is often challenged by violence and dissension, the fabric of this democracy will become frayed. Unfortunately, this is the main case in many new democracies where the removal of state restraints has led to the revival of age-old enmities once held in check by the authoritarian governments. The bloody conflicts that occurred in the former Yugoslavia provide dramatic testimony of this reality³⁷.

The experience thus far has shown that the media have not played a neutral role in conflict. In many cases observed according to Mwiandi, they have fanned the flames of discord by taking sides, muddling the facts, reinforcing prejudices, and peddling half-truths. The press has also been criticized for sensationalizing violence without explaining the roots causes of conflict. The media tends ignore peace-building efforts, as critics say, even as they give full coverage to warmongering. Also in some cases, they have sowed hate speech and encouraged violence. At the height of the conflict in Rwanda in the 1990s, a radio station which had been

³⁶ Bernard M. Joinet, 2008, *The Multi-Party System Debate*, Regular Newsletter to My Superiors, White Fathers, Dar-es-Salaam.

³⁷ Rather. D., Herskowitz M., *The Camera Never Blinks: Adventures of a TV Journalist* (New York: William Morrow & Co. Inc., 1977)

supported by international donors became the mouthpiece of extremists who favored and encouraged genocide³⁸.

Recognizing the crucial role that the media play in conflict situations, so many NGOs have embarked on training journalists in what is called “peace journalism,” which aims to promote reconciliation through careful reportage that gives voice to all sides of a conflict and resists explanations for violence in terms of innate enmities or ancient hatreds. Peace journalism tries to avoid giving undue attention to violence, instead focusing on the impact of war on communities on both sides of the divide and their efforts to bridge their differences.

Peace journalism has been promoted through the training of journalists covering conflict, including those journalists who come from the various religious or ethnic groups currently at war. A number of NGOs regularly offer courses on peace journalism. An innovative effort to bridge differences among various groups was a multi-ethnic reporting team that was organized in Macedonia in 1995. The team did several joint interviews and field visits to describe the current situation in Macedonia, showing how all the ethnic groups suffered from the economic crisis and how they were battling for survival in extremely hard times³⁹.

Community radio is especially helpful in bridging the gap between communities. In Colombia, a group of some NGOs and community radio stations formed SIPAZ (Sistema Nacional de Comunicacion para la Paz or National Communication System for Peace), which operates in many areas where violence involving guerrillas, drug dealers and the military is particularly intense. SIPAZ encourages the stations within its network to produce and exchange news that will foster peace and tolerance. It also produces news programs that are sent via the

³⁸ Wanyande, P. (1996), “The Media as Civil Society and Its Role in Democratic Transition in Kenya”, *Africa Media Review* Vol. 10, No.3

³⁹ Wanyande, P. (1996), “The Media as Civil Society and Its Role in Democratic Transition in Kenya”, *Africa Media Review* Vol. 10, No.3

Internet to 42 community radio stations and NGO partners throughout Colombia. SIPAZ does not cover conflict and violence as there is already sufficient coverage of these in the media. However, it reports on the aftermath and the consequences of conflicts and provides the context in which the violence takes place. SIPAZ also articulates the aspirations of communities for peace and development and incorporates local cultural practices into its programs⁴⁰.

1.6.6 The Press as Information Tool and Forum for Discussion

A truly democratic society requires citizen participation and if they (the media) do their jobs well, they keep citizens engaged in the business of governance and prompt them to take some action. As a tool for information dissemination, the media help the public in making some informed choices, such as who to vote for and the policies that should be endorsed and which are to be opposed. Ideally newspapers and public affairs programs on radio and television should inform educate and engage the public. The track record of the media so far in new democracies, however, is not even. Because of the need to cater to the market or to kowtow to the state, the media therefore shirk their civic responsibility and contribute to civic illiteracy instead of public enlightenment.

Elections are a key democratic exercise where the media can have both negative and positive impacts. As the societies become more modernized and the media become ever more pervasive, the influence of the traditional patrons, parties and institutions (like churches) on the electoral process is reduced. Instead, the candidates and parties make their appeal and propagate their messages through the media⁴¹.

⁴⁰ Rather. D., Herskowitz M., *The Camera Never Blinks: Adventures of a TV Journalist* (New York: William Morrow & Co. Inc., 1977)

⁴¹ Sue Nelson, "The Electoral Process. An Overview", Regional Workshop on Capacity Building in Electoral Administration in Africa, Tangier Morocco, 2001. P. 24-28

Still, the media in new democracies have contributed to public education on elections in particular. Public-affairs programs on radio and television provide the context, depth, and critical analysis that news programs and commercials do not. Moreover, in countries like the Philippines and Indonesia, radio and TV networks have produced sophisticated public-service announcements directing voters to choose wisely and warning them of the consequences associated with vote selling. Debates sponsored by the media organizations have been organized thus enabling candidates who do not have the money to buy air time to articulate their views to a large audience. The media have likewise given space and time to independent advocates and NGOs campaigning for clean elections and an end to the money politics. However, despite these, moneyed candidates who have favored access to the media still have the advantage⁴². The media playing field, as far as elections are concerned, remains uneven.

In many new democracies, radio has become the medium of choice, thereby taking the place of newspapers in drawing citizens to the town square for debate and discussion. Compared to television, the radio is a less expensive and more accessible medium and is especially popular in poor countries where the media infrastructure is not well developed. The radio with its localized signal can be an instrument for promoting grassroots democracy (Bell, 1998). In Nepal, it took five years after the restoration of democracy for the government to give in to demands by civil society and journalists who argued that it was unconstitutional for the government to monopolize control of the airwaves. Nepal, in 1996, became the first country in South Asia to license a non-governmental FM radio station. Today there are 25 FM stations all over the country and many of them are networked for exchanging news and programs. FM stations in

⁴² Rather. D., Herskowitz M., *The Camera Never Blinks: Adventures of a TV Journalist* (New York: William Morrow & Co. Inc., 1977)

Nepal have emerged as a true alternative source of information to official channels and since they are local, they focus on local issues and reflect Nepal's ethnic and linguistic diversity.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

The political economy in mass media theory argues that the structure of the industry influences content. The presumption of the theory is that media content is influenced by a combination of the media owners, competitors/other media, advertisers, government regulations and viewers and/or readers. When it comes to media ownership, private individuals make decisions on what information should be provided to the public based on what earns them the most money. This assumption is quite relevant to my study, which seeks to show that media ownership does in fact determine content and in so doing shape perceptions and influence policy decisions.

Studies on political economy theory are now commonly referred to as International Political Economy (IPE). This gradual shift in paradigm from studying the politics of economic relations, the relations politically between different national states in framing their respective economic policies, has hugely been the result of globalization and the emergence of a rapidly integrated and interconnected world in which the media is a key player⁴³.

Nearly all studies in international political economy can be classified into one of three mutually exclusive perspectives: Liberalism, Marxism, and Realism. Three assumptions are central to the Liberal perspective. First, Liberals assume that individuals are the principal actors within the political economy and the proper unit of analysis. Second, Liberals assume that individuals are rational, utility-maximizing actors. Third, Liberals assume that individuals

⁴³ Sue Nelson, "The Electoral Process. An Overview", Regional Workshop on Capacity Building in Electoral Administration in Africa, Tangier Morocco, 2001. P. 24-28

maximize utility by making trade-offs between goods.

1.8 Research Methodology

Data was mainly be derived from secondary and primary sources. The data collection tools for the secondary data that will be used will be in-depth information gathering, and document analysis. For the primary data direct observation and open ended interviews will be used. This technique will mainly involve literature research. Data collected in this procedure will include quotations, opinions and specific knowledge and background information relating to the role of international media on third-world countries electoral process and 2013 Kenya's general elections. The research design used in this study will be descriptive survey method. This method is preferred because it allows for prudent comparison of the research findings.⁴⁴ The qualitative design chosen for this research is theory grounded, or natural inquiry. Grounded theory research unfolds and emerges empirically from the data and is more responsive to contextual values rather than researcher values⁴⁵.

The study will use an interview guide to collect the required data. An interview guide is a set of questions that the interviewer asks when interviewing.⁴⁶ It makes it possible to obtain data required to meet specific objectives of the study. The interviewees will be international media stations in Kenya

⁴⁴ D. R. Cooper and P. S. Schindler, *Research Methods* (7th ed. New York: Irwin/McGraw-Hill, 2000) p 112

⁴⁵ Jankowicz A. D., *Research Projects* (6th ed. London: Thomson Learning, 2002) p 87

⁴⁶ Mugenda, O. M., & Mugenda, A. G., "*Research methods: Quantitative and qualitative approaches*", (Nairobi: Acts Press Siegel, N. 2003), *Research methods for managers, A skill building approaches* (2nd ed.).(New York: Wiley Publishers, 2003). Pp. 71

Data collected will be purely qualitative and it will be analyzed by means of content analysis.⁴⁷ Content analysis involves observation and detailed description of phenomena that comprise the object of study. This method is preferred because the information collected will be qualitative and therefore require analytical understanding. When human coders are used in content analysis, reliability translates to the amount of agreement or correspondence among two or more coders.⁴⁸ Reliability in content analysis will be ensured by analyzing the amount of agreement or correspondence among the key informants. The primary data will be supplemented by secondary data on cultural pluralism and politics. The secondary data will be collected from electronic journals, book, periodic reviews and articles.

The data will also be analyzed by making connections to existing, and integrating it with relevant concepts and theoretical framework. Data will be analyzed interpretatively. This will be done by synthesizing, categorizing and organizing the data into patterns that produce the description of the phenomena or a narrative of the synthesis. It will proceed from the belief that all meaning is situational in the particular context or perspective.⁴⁹ As a result, there could be different meanings to the same phenomena because the meaning will depend on the context. Since it is a qualitative research the hypothesis will be generated after the data is collected. This will entail evaluating and analyzing the data to determine the adequacy of its information and its credibility, usefulness consistency and validation of the hypothesis. This will be the final step

⁴⁷ Holsti, O.R., *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities*, (MA: Addison-Wesley 1980) pp, 7

⁴⁸ Neuendorf, K. A., *The Content Analysis Guidebook Thousand Oaks*, (CA: Sage Publications, 2002) pp. 56

⁴⁹ GoK, 2005, *Draft National Policy on Peace Building and Conflict Management*, National Steering Committee (NSC), Nairobi.

and will entail giving a vivid descriptive account of the situation under study. It will give an analytical view citing the significance and implications of the findings.⁵⁰

1.9 Chapter outline

The study is presented in the following five chapters:

Chapter 1: Introduction and Presentation of the Study.

This chapter presents the introduction, statement of the problem, objectives, literature review, and theoretical review and of the study as well as the methodology that will be used to carry data presentation.

Chapter 2: Perspectives on International Media and the Electoral Processes

This chapter will present theories relating to international media and electoral process and will highlight cases of electoral process in a global perspective.

Chapter 3: A Critical Analysis of International Media on Kenyan Electoral Process and 2013 General Elections

This chapter will outline electoral process in Kenya. In once considered to be the most politically secure society, the aftermath of a blamable election in Kenya did more harm than just a fight between ethnic groups, media and public institutions that hold different political stands. This ignited the long hidden ethnic tensions, resulting in violence.

Fundamentally, the human process of collecting information, analyzing it, making decisions, and acting upon these decisions, based on media exposure, remains a dynamic complex subject of study and comprehension.

Chapter 4: Analysis of 2013 Kenya's General Elections

⁵⁰ E. Burrow, H Gichohi & M. Infield, 2001, *Rhetoric or Reality; a review of Community Conservation Policy and Practice in East Africa*, Nairobi.

This chapter will present detailed analysis 2013 Kenya's General Elections

Chapter 5: Summary of findings Conclusions and recommendations

This chapter will present the research findings from the sample population and present analysis.

It will look at whether this research approves or disapproves the hypothesis.

CHAPTER TWO

PERSPECTIVES ON INTERNATIONAL MEDIA AND THE ELECTORAL PROCESSES

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses international media and electoral process and will highlight cases of electoral process in a global perspective. Elections are an important part of the democratic process which allows various political actors to compete over choices and issues. Sue Nelson notes that the goal of elections is to have an open and competitive process that allows voters to pronounce on an issue or choose a representative. The results of the elections should accurately reflect the will of the voters⁵¹. Elections are generally demanding and require a multitude of actors and institutions whose intervention is critical to the holding of a credible election. There is also the need for a clear legal and institutional foundation which establishes the scope and nature of participation, election administration and oversight.

For free, fair and equitable elections to be achieved certain acceptable elements must be put in place and these include: an equitable and fair electoral framework; a professional neutral and transparent election administration; a generally acceptable code of ethical behaviour in political and press freedom; accountability of all participants; integrity safeguard mechanism and the enforcement of the electoral laws and other relevant laws⁵². An examination of electoral systems, processes and outcomes in Africa is therefore important as a contribution to peace and conflict resolution and the nation-building endeavours of Africa which is comparatively a

⁵¹ Sue Nelson, "The Electoral Process. An Overview" , Regional Workshop on Capacity Building in Electoral Administration in Africa, Tangier Morocco, 24-28 September 2001.

⁵² Nohlen, Dieter; Krennerich, Michael, Thibaut, Bernhard, "Elections and Electoral Systems in Africa", Oxford Scholarship Online Monographs, 1999, pp.1-41

continent with young, fragile nation-states in the offing. Electoral systems are today viewed as one of the most influential of all political institutions and are therefore of crucial importance to the broader issue of governance.

2.2 Electoral System Approach

The electoral rules affect politicians' electoral strategies. Carey and Shugart assert a premise that electoral formulas, which include ballot control (secret vs. open), vote pooling (PR or majoritarian), types of votes, and district magnitudes, affect how individual politicians have incentives to build personal reputations that will distinguish them from their parties⁵³. Carey and Shugart rank the combinations of electoral rules by the value of personal reputation, and demonstrate that open-list PR system like the one in Indonesia, in comparison to closed-list PR, causes intra-party competition that leads candidates to personalize their campaigns. In this system, when the district magnitude increases, the competition intensifies because the number of candidates to be distinguished grows. As a result to the competition that happens in open-list PR, many scholars also demonstrated that the system encourages pork-barrelling, clientelism, and corruption in many countries. Carey and Shugart disagree by saying that politicians do not always have to engage in pork, as they can cultivate personal reputation through other measures, such as celebrity status and charisma⁵⁴.

The approach is helpful in identifying dominant strategies that politicians under a certain system would use, as well as explaining cross-country or cross-time variations in electoral strategies. The literature is relevant to this thesis as social media can be justified as a way for

⁵³ Carey, John M. and Matthew Soberg Shugart. 1995. "Incentives to Cultivate a Personal Vote: a Rank Ordering of Electoral Formulas." *Electoral Studies* 14:417-439.

⁵⁴ Lancaster, Thomas D. 1986. "Electoral Structures and Pork Barrel Politics." *International Political Science Review* 7: 67-81.

politicians to market and distinguish themselves, though it cannot explain the differences in strategies between politicians of the same electoral system, such as the DPR election in Indonesia. The literature of Indonesian politics suggests that Indonesia is personalistic even before the adoption of open-list PR, since the most effective vote mobilization often involves charismatic appeals of party leaders and local political figures, as well as constituency services. This tells us that with the introduction of open-list PR, which leads to the increase of personal reputation, personalistic appeals might be insufficient for Indonesian politicians to differentiate among themselves. They will have to be enhance their personalistic appeal more (probably with clientelism), or their programmatic appeals, such as through policies or pork-barrel projects⁵⁵.

2.3 Nature of Elections

As Kristina Hoglund indicated, the nature of elections in post conflict societies is the other important area from which the causal factors of electoral violence can be figured out. These are political mobilization, close competition and stakes involved in such elections⁵⁶.

2.3.1 Political Mobilization

Political mobilization causes violent conflict in post war societies. In these societies, conducting competitive elections renders opportunities for generating conflict and violence through increased polarization. During competitive elections, competing political parties emphasize mainly on what makes them distinct from others and tend to mobilize political support along lines of differences. To be more specific, in the course of electoral campaign, political elites and radical groups forward exclusive nationalistic and ethnic appeals to secure

⁵⁵ Carey, John M. and Matthew Soberg Shugart. 1995. "Incentives to Cultivate a Personal Vote: a Rank Ordering of Electoral Formulas." *Electoral Studies* 14:417-439.

⁵⁶ Høglund, Kristina (2009) "Electoral Violence in Conflict-Ridden Societies: Concepts, Causes, and Consequences", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 21: 3, 412-427

political support which further polarize the society and consequent outbreak of violent conflict. In other words, extreme nationalistic or ethnicized rhetoric worsens existing tensions between political opponents and foment hatred among different ethnic groups. Other than these, politicians also employ terminologies used for military purposes such as “strongholds”, “citadels”, “cadres”, “strategies and tactics” and “the parties wage campaigns” to secure wider public support. Such activities also show the extent to which political rights are used for wrong purposes and competitive elections intensify prevailing social and conflict cleavages⁵⁷.

In the African case, it is strongly believed that holding multiparty elections aggravates prevailing tensions within the society and heightens the propensity for the outbreak of violent ethnic conflict. One of the justifications forwarded for this is related to the way parties are formed. In most cases, political parties are mainly organized on the basis ethnic identity. The other reason is connected to the way political support is secured during elections. In several instances, politicians use ethnic identity as a viable means of mobilizing political support in times of elections. Moreover there are cases where political parties representing diverse ethno- regional interests resorted to violence, after realizing that they are losers of the electoral process and its outcome⁵⁸.

2.3.2 Close Competition

Closely competed elections cause violence in conflict ridden societies. In these societies, holding competitive elections renders incentives for generating conflict and violence through

⁵⁷ Chandra Kanchan (2007) “Counting Heads: A Theory of Voter and Elite Behavior in Patronage Democracies” in Kitschelt Herbert & Wilkinson Steven, *Patrons, Clients and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁵⁸ Høglund, Kristina (2009) “Electoral Violence in Conflict-Ridden Societies: Concepts, Causes, and Consequences”, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 21: 3, 412-427

increased contestation. In other words electoral contests with close margins of victory create higher level of uncertainty about the final outcome and eventually may lead to the outbreak of violence⁵⁹. On the one hand, dominant groups whose political power is threatened by democratic political competition may resort to violence in order to secure their previous status⁶⁰. Since holding public office is considered as an important means of exerting substantial influence to secure benefits from other spheres, politicians of electoral authoritarian regimes may resort towards stealing elections. Other than this, fears of future legal prosecution in connection with alleged economic crimes and human right abuse motivates them to maintain their political office by any means. On the other hand, marginalized groups who gained less from the political competition than their expectations may opt for violence as a viable means to realize their new demands. Specifically, opposition party leaders and sympathizers frustrated by the injustices of the electoral contest as well as other political forces that were subjected to systematic exclusion from the political scene may consider violence as an alternative to achieve their political goals⁶¹.

In the African context, political power is considered as a major social good because those who hold it also have a significant control over a variety of other social goods. So violence becomes inevitable, when elections pose a real probability for transforming the prevailing power configurations. In Africa, both ruling and opposition political parties use violence. While, opposition groups employ violence to express their grievances over the electoral

⁵⁹ Ishiyama John (2009) "Alternative Electoral Systems and the 2005 Ethiopian Parliamentary Election" *African Studies Quarterly* 10:4

⁶⁰ Mertus, Julie (2009) 'Maintenance of Personal Safety :Ethical and Operational Issues' in Sriram L. Chandra and others, *Surviving Field Research: Working in Violent and Difficult Situations*. New York: Routledge.

⁶¹ Ishiyama John (2009) "Alternative Electoral Systems and the 2005 Ethiopian Parliamentary Election" *African Studies Quarterly* 10:4

process or outcomes, ruling elites take arbitrary and suppressive measures against their political opponents due to deep-seated fears of losing political power. Such problems become more prevalent in times of competitive multi-party elections and impede efforts to promote human right respect and entrench democratic governance in these societies⁶².

2.3.3 Higher Stakes

Competitive elections are more prone to conflict and violence in post conflict societies due to the stakes involved in such elections. The stakes of winning and losing a political office becomes extremely high within the contexts of patronage and identity politics. The risk of election related violence is also high in situations where poverty and unemployment are rampant. Under patronage and identity politics, those who hold political offices enjoy greater control over various economic resources and public services and distribute these resources and services to their clients or co ethnics in return for political support. Thus for ruling parties, political elites and their supporters, losing political office via competitive election means losing their patronage network and jeopardizing the livelihood of themselves as well as of their supporters. Besides to this, in situations where economic underdevelopment and distributive injustices are prevalent, a substantial section of the society holds grievances about lack of economic opportunities and absence of proper resource distribution. Thus opposition parties, marginalized groups and their followers prevented from winning political posts via competitive elections may consider violent alternatives to assume state power and resolve

⁶² Mertus, Julie (2009) 'Maintainance of Personal Safety :Ethical and Operational Issues' in Sriram L. Chandra and others, *Surviving Field Research: Working in Violent and Difficult Situations*. New York: Routledge.

longstanding grievances⁶³.

In several African countries, due to the poor performance of their economies, the stakes involved in the politics have become very high. Rampant poverty and economic strains have encouraged vulnerable sections of the society to organize grievance based violence in election times. Elected office is mostly considered by politicians as a place which provides opportunities to engage in economic crimes and 'immunity from prosecution. Recent studies have also identified grievances over land rights, economic discrimination and ethnic marginalization as important factors facilitating election related violence in Africa⁶⁴

2.3.4 Electoral Institutions

As Kristina Hoglund put forward, the nature of electoral institutions in post conflict societies is also another central area from which the causal factors of electoral violence can be distinguished. In this wider topic, I will discuss the enabling conditions and triggering factors of electoral violence by further categorizing them into three areas. These are electoral systems, electoral rules and regulations and election administration⁶⁵.

Electoral system choice has an impact on conflict dynamics in post conflict and fragile societies. In these societies, the choice of such systems may facilitate conditions favorable for election related violence. Converting the votes cast into parliamentary seats in different manners is among the main tasks of any electoral system. Another key role is to serve as a channel through which voters make their representatives accountable. Other than these It arranges the

⁶³ Ishiyama John (2009) "Alternative Electoral Systems and the 2005 Ethiopian Parliamentary Election" *African Studies Quarterly* 10:4

⁶⁴ Lindberg, Staffan (2005) Consequences of Electoral Systems in Africa: a Preliminary Inquiry, *Electoral Studies* 24, 41–64

⁶⁵ Lindberg, Staffan (2004) 'The Democratic Qualities of Competitive Elections: Participation, Competition and Legitimacy in Africa', *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 42:1, 61 — 105

limits of “acceptable” political dialogue and offers incentives for political parties to express their appeals to voters in various ways. Therefore electoral systems “ reflect negotiated settlements of political conflicts over institutional design” and “structure political conflicts over distributional outcome.”

Electoral systems can be classified into three major categories. These are plurality-majority, proportional representation (PR), and semi proportional⁶⁶. *Plural majority* is a system where a candidate or a party with a majority vote becomes winner and takes decision making power on behalf of the entire public. This system applies small and single-member electoral districts and provides more importance to local representation. The first-past-the-post, round off, block and alternative vote are subtypes of this winner -takes-all-system. Generally, the system is considered to provide clear-cut choices and discard extremism. *Proportional representation* is a system where candidates compete for a prearranged number of seats and political parties share the total votes cast and decision making powers equivalently. This system uses larger and multi-member districts and gives more emphasis to proportional representation. The open and closed party list PR, mixed member and single transferable vote are subtypes of the proportional system. In general, the system is considered to ensure more representation and inclusiveness than the plural-majority ones. *Semi proportional system* is a system which integrate components of both plurality-majority and proportional systems⁶⁷.

It is also suggested that deciding an appropriate electoral system for both ethnically alike

⁶⁶ Lindberg, Staffan (2005) Consequences of Electoral Systems in Africa: a Preliminary Inquiry , *Electoral Studies* 24, 41–64

⁶⁷ Gandhi, Jennifer& Lust-Okar, Ellen (2009) Elections under Authoritarianism *Annual Review of Political Science* 12:403–22

and divided societies, requires making compromises amongst different and contending normative ends. These are representativeness, accountability, inclusiveness & accessibility, stability of government, development of the party system and ability to engender reconciliation. Therefore, electoral systems designed without adequate consideration of these ends often become ineffective instruments for promoting democracy and mitigation conflicts. Moreover, specific contextual factors such as the historical process that brought about the electoral systems, the nature of existing societal cleavages and the nature of present political system, require greater importance while evaluating the applicability of any electoral system for divided societies and its effect on conflict dynamics⁶⁸. For instance, electoral systems deliberately chosen by powerful groups in post-war transitional periods (eg. constitution making or peace process) in order to maximize political benefits poses serious questions regarding the legitimacy of the system and hinders the democratic progress and political stability of these societies in the long-run. Besides this, the degree to which ethnicity is associated with the support given to political parties and the behavior of the voting public usually determines the capacity of different electoral systems to either dispel or limit ethnic conflicts. Moreover, introducing “winner - take-all” (simple majority) electoral systems under contexts where ethnic based political parties are predominant and the political arena is less tolerant of opposing views, contributes to the persistence of exclusionary and zero-sum politics.

2.3.5 Election Administration

Election administration has a role in terms of inducing violence in post conflict societies.

⁶⁸ Mertus, Julie (2009) 'Maintainance of Personal Safety :Ethical and Operational Issues' in Sriram L. Chandra and others, *Surviving Field Research: Working in Violent and Difficult Situations*. New York: Routledge.

In these societies, such administration might create favorable circumstances for electoral violence. In principle, the ways of structure, levels of competence and extents of balance of any electoral institution determine its capacity to administer credible elections. Specifically the efficiency, professionalism, transparency, impartiality and independence are important preconditions to come up with legitimate election outcomes. In contexts where these prerequisites are not operationalized, the risk of political instability and electoral violence becomes high. Practically, elections are conducted under circumstances of mistrust and suspicion in many post-conflict and newly democratizing countries. The prevalence of political bias, the absence of accountability and lack of adequate finances within public institutions in general and the lack of impartiality, independence and competence on the part of election administration institutions in particular play an important role in creating such circumstances⁶⁹.

Moreover, choices made over the nature of electoral management bodies are instrumental in facilitating the conditions for election related violence⁷⁰. Basically, such bodies can be organized on the basis of both partial-partisan and independent-nonpartisan models of electoral administration. For instance, an election administration office within the government and an election administration office within a government ministry but supervised by a judicial body can be considered as partial- partisan models of election administration in transitional elections. An independent election commission staffed by experts and directly accountable to the parliament and a multiparty election commission composed of representatives of the political parties can be considered as independent-nonpartisan models of election administration in such elections. Evidences indicate that, high level of mistrust and divisions among political party

⁶⁹ Lindberg, Staffan (2005) Consequences of Electoral Systems in Africa: a Preliminary Inquiry , *Electoral Studies* 24, 41–64

⁷⁰ Gandhi, Jennifer& Lust-Okar, Ellen (2009) Elections under Authoritarianism *Annual Review of Political Science* 12:403–22

representatives have become commonplace in countries that adopted partial- partisan electoral management entities.

The monitoring of elections by missions designated for such purpose is another essential activity related to electoral management. The main objective of election monitoring is building the confidence of the voting public on the overall electoral process. This involves evaluating the extent to which elections were conducted in a free and fair manner and verifying manipulative and violent activities that may influence the electoral process and its outcome. Even though the presence of domestic and international election monitoring organizations may not necessary avert the risk of electoral violence, it may reduce the magnitude of such violence⁷¹.

2.4 Conditions for Election Night as a Journalistic Event

Long before the advent of broadcasting and computers, journalists had been at center stage on election night. How did they become key players in a set of intensely engaging events compressed into a few hectic hours on one night, election after election. This role has been commonplace for so long now that the thought of an election night without news organizations as centers of attention seems odd. But election night as a journalistic phenomenon has a history, most visible in the case of presidential elections.

In fact, decades would go by after the first presidential election before there was any common, discrete event across the country that could be called a national “election night” and until the right constellation of conditions found journalists as the focus of public attention on that night. History has shown that the media can incite people into violence. Hitler used the media to

⁷¹ Høglund, Kristina (2009) “Electoral Violence in Conflict-Ridden Societies: Concepts, Causes, and Consequences”, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 21: 3, 412-427

create a worldview of hatred for Jews as well as homosexuals, and other minority groups. Rwanda's radio RTLM urged listeners to pick up machetes and take to the streets to kill what they called 'the cockroaches'⁷². Broadcasters in the Balkans polarized local communities to the point where violence became an acceptable tool for addressing grievances. The media's impact on the escalation of conflict is widely recognized than the media's impact on peace building. Yet it is common to hear experts say that the media's impact on peace building must be significant given its powerful influence on conflict. However, this relationship must not be taken for granted and should be critically examined in order to most effectively use the media for conflict prevention and peace building. There are ways the media can assist peace building.

⁷² Wanyande, P. (1996), "The Media as Civil Society and Its Role in Democratic Transition in Kenya", Africa Media Review Vol. 10, No.3

CHAPTER THREE

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF INTERNATIONAL MEDIA ON KENYAN ELECTORAL PROCESS AND 2013 GENERAL ELECTIONS

3.1 Introduction

Kenya witnessed post-election violence in a magnitude that shocked many who depend on Kenya for tourism, education, export and import of goods and services etc. Above all, the lives lost and property destroyed has left many baffled to date. In once considered to be the most politically secure society, the aftermath of a blamable election in Kenya did more harm than just a fight between ethnic groups, media and public institutions that hold different political stands. This ignited the long hidden ethnic tensions, resulting in violence⁷³.

Fundamentally, the human process of collecting information, analyzing it, making decisions, and acting upon these decisions, based on media exposure, remains a dynamic complex subject of study and comprehension. The 24/7 news live coverage has kept the public informed of events as they unfold. The following literature highlights other scholars contribution to the subject of government verses media disagreement in fighting for democracy, inclusion, justice, fight for freedoms and rights during conflict⁷⁴.

3.2 Role of the Media in Political Campaigns

In a democratic electioneering process, rivaling politicians must enjoy their freedom of media campaign exposure as they try to lure voters. Failure to exercising this freedom then

⁷³ Amutabi N. Maurice, 2009, *"Challenging the Orthodoxies: The Role of Ethnicity and Regional Nationalism in Leadership and Democracy in Africa"*, UNESCO Seminar, 28 – 30 September at Kisumu Sports Ground

⁷⁴ Rather. D., Herskowitz M., *The Camera Never Blinks: Adventures of a TV Journalist* (New York: William Morrow & Co. Inc., 1977)

their ideologies will not be heard. In some cases undemocratic the ruling political can inhibit directly or indirectly the avenues for this free expression by rival parties. Having noted the importance of exposure, politicians or government officials must appreciate and respect the media as they perform this function indiscriminately⁷⁵.

This leads to the point of independency of the judicial bodies that are free from influence of either the media or the government. It is the duty of the judiciary to ensure there are no loop holes in the rules and ensure they protect the citizens and the media from unfair trial or elections results. These rules should also be well spelt out for perpetrators of violence; such as repercussion of spreading hate speech or incorrect information through the state owned media or commercial media⁷⁶.

Voters should not be forced to vote for or support a particular agenda, in the event of this happening then the elections fails to be transparent and the voters feel cheated. The persuasion venues such as the government officials or the media should therefore avoid such election malpractice. This feeling often results in election violence as a way of expressing their dissatisfaction and sometime they try to establish their own government with their chosen leader. All in all these actions deter growth and realization of democracy.

A comparison of the governments practical work verses their manifestation can be an agenda of the media. This would inform the voter on how to vote which means that the media should have the freedom to do this investigative and comparison reports without fear of the government. They should be able to blow whistles in areas where things are not right such as corruption. In other words the media should look at the governments promised to build schools,

⁷⁵ Belknap M. *The CNN Effect: Strategic Enabler or Operational Risk?* U.S. Army War College, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania 2001,

⁷⁶ Barry E. Willey, *-The Conflict-Media Connection: For Better or For Worse*,² Military Review, vol. 78, no. 6

roads, and 5 years down the lane, the media can look at this and see if these promises were kept. Therefore a journalist ought to look at this and report on the politician's response.

3.3 Role of the Media in Electioneering Process

Elections tend to be events that citizens look forward to most of the time. Some look forward to this time to have change, or to have politicians running to support their communities with free gifts, or change of regime. Emotions are often high as divergent views are exchanged during this period. Verbal exchanges and competitions are also common with rival parties promising to do better than each other. For these reasons clarity of mind and fairness must be upheld by the media, government officials/politicians and the voters⁷⁷.

The Kenya election commission was faced with tough decisions to make in order to ensure that all the candidates are fair treated to date the Chairman of the Electoral Commission of Kenya admits that he doesn't know who won the election. It's ironical however that on the 5th of January he announcement of the presidential candidates as the president. This commission had the responsibility of making fair rules that protect the candidates and the voters from scorn, dispute or harm. It also emerged that the commissioner were election by the president without consulting the parliament which makes the decision on who is to be appointed. The media therefore scrutinized and often termed the commission as sympathizers of the incumbent president.

As expected politics are likely to do all they can to win elections. Government bodies such as the Electoral Commission, the Judiciary, and the Police can be overwhelmed by these

⁷⁷ Barry E. Willey, -*The Conflict-Media Connection: For Better or For Worse*,² Military Review, vol. 78, no. 6

politicians 'tricks of winning elections'⁷⁸. These efforts by the politicians can be extreme to that they undermine efforts for achieving democracy and abusing human rights at times. However, since genuine voters demand for free, honest and fair elections, the media comes in to play as a watchdog. The media can also best perform this function due to their wide and ability to reach a wide audience⁷⁹.

The media therefore informs the public of illegal activities and corruption, violation of human rights and rules of the election process. In the event the media works for the politicians, then they cannot expose these mishaps. The media therefore must be familiar with election process, and be able to anticipate any possible mishaps as well as mitigate them by exposing these activities to public criticism⁸⁰.

3.4 Role of the Media in Persuasion and Influence Social Behavior

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

⁷⁸ Sue Nelson, "The Electoral Process. An Overview" , Regional Workshop on Capacity Building in Electoral Administration in Africa, Tangier Morocco, 2001. P. 24-28

⁷⁹ Sue Nelson, "The Electoral Process. An Overview" , Regional Workshop on Capacity Building in Electoral Administration in Africa, Tangier Morocco, 2001. P. 24-28

⁸⁰ Bennett, L, 2005, *The Politics of Illusion* (Longman Classics Series in Political Science), Publisher: Longman Washington

media voluntarily or involuntarily causes the public to revolt or oppose the government on account of their failure.

In addition, Chouliaraki discusses the role of media contents and notes that the media makes spectators feel that they operate generously on their own and are endowed with spontaneous civic or humanitarian feelings that makes them react. In other words the media when used unethically can be used to create an uprising against the government or various authorities.

Joshua Meyrowitz in his analysis of the impact of media on social situations ‘also notes that exposure to the media can alter the receivers perception. This, he says, is created by an amalgamation of the personal and public spheres hence there is no clear separation of the two spheres in an individual’s internal process of thinking and decision making. In other words as a result of this merge, an audience watching a video clip of the government spokesperson justifying banning the media, find himself (personal sphere) in touch with the war/tension (public sphere) that is ongoing in the government offices and media houses. The resultant amalgamation is the action of agreement or revolting, demonstrating or fighting⁸¹.

3.5 Media’s Role in Influencing Peace or War

In order for news to have an impulsive response that causes the audience to react, there has to be vivid stories of those suffering or injustice brought to the sitting rooms of the audience. These stories become the back bone and origin of conflict, a war of words whose play ground is the media and its supporters or disapprovers are the public⁸² in my opinion.

⁸¹ Miles Hudson and John Stanier, 1998, *War and the Media: A Random Searchlight*. Washington Square: New York University Press

⁸² Amutabi N. Maurice, 2009, "Challenging the Orthodoxies: The Role of Ethnicity and Regional Nationalism in Leadership and Democracy in Africa", UNESCO Seminar, 28 – 30 September at Kisumu

3.6 Role of the Media in Perpetuating Politics of the Suffering

The amount of emotions that the media arouses and influences audiences to act has also been termed as politics. Hence the role of media coverage is not always out of good heart, but a political means to arrive at vested interest. News of various conflicts is but politics of ideologies or emotions that features concern as a main premise of the representation of those caught up in conflict. In other words, the media can be used to fuel politics by the government. When a particular media house doesn't support the politics of the government then the government is likely to have different political interests with them. This automatically sets a ground of animosity unless sanity rules⁸³.

The media therefore optimizes on reporting on the any infringement on their freedom to share information, and possible effects this would have on their audience. This they do in order to influence their audiences. This unique feature gives rise to an exemplary manifestation of media politics that appeal for sympathy from their audiences and mostly win their hearts. The media therefore uses any aggression toward the media as an act that oppose realization of democracy. Of course most citizens would reject to any threat on democracy to thrive hence, these messages to gang up against the government are mostly fruitful⁸⁴.

3.7 The Role of the Media in Creation of Unintended Reaction

This is a different effect from the majority of the response. It occurs when the media's attempt to provoke their audience to rally with them, fails to take place. Instead their audience

Sports Ground

⁸³ Bernard M. Joinet, 2008, *The Multi-Party System Debate*, Regular Newsletter to My Superiors, White Fathers, Dar-es-Salaam.

⁸⁴ Amutabi N. Maurice, 2009, "*Challenging the Orthodoxies: The Role of Ethnicity and Regional Nationalism in Leadership and Democracy in Africa*", UNESCO Seminar, 28 – 30 September at Kisumu Sports Ground

chooses to be indifferent and not to part of a conflict. In such cases the different parties using the media as a fighting ground fail since there none or minimum effect of their messages on their audience.

This constant exposure to differences, war, injustice, conflict, corpses, and sufferings causes exhaustion to an extent that the audience feels they can do nothing to help the situation. Eventually the audience is left unmoved, unshaken and non-responsive to the media messages. In this case if the media is preaching hate messages to perpetuate violence, the audience remains unmoved and the plot to create violence is thwarted.

3.8 Conclusion

Having looked at this literature the author believes that the media can be used positively or negatively in an electioneering process. The Kenyan situation is a good example of this scenario; especially on how exposure to the media can shape the audiences decisions, reaction and impact on social behaviour⁸⁵.

The media moreover intentionally or unintentionally creates identities and offers avenues for different views to be showcased. This as seen in the above literature can be used as a political tool. The media has a duty to expose the politicians, their parties, and manifestos to the public in order for the public to make sound judgments on which candidate to vote for. In other words, failure to expose or bias by the media to give a true representation of the political parties, can influence undemocratic voting patterns. Therefore the media can be used as positive avenue for exchange of political ideologies and visions for the country⁸⁶.

⁸⁵ Bernard M. Joinet, 2008, *The Multi-Party System Debate*, Regular Newsletter to My Superiors, White Fathers, Dar-es-Salaam.

⁸⁶ Bienien, H. 1974, Kenya: *The Politics of Participation and Control*. Princeton University Press, New Jersey.

The following chapter looks at the methods used to answer the various questions on the onset of this research in order to find convergent or divergent information as informed by the literature review.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF 2013 KENYA'S GENERAL ELECTIONS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to link the original research questions and theoretical framework in presenting the research findings and discussing these findings. The results are presented according to the objectives of the study which reflect the research questions that the researcher set out to answer. In addition, this chapter presents characteristic of the study subjects displayed by the qualitative findings. Qualitative data is presented based on the themes that emerged during the analysis. The section also demonstrates how some of the identified factors determined the role of the conflict between the government and the international media in Kenya's electioneering process in 2013.

4.1.1 The preparation of Elections process in Kenya 2013 general election

According to interviewees, preparations for the elections were conducted as expected. A new election commission, the IEBC, despite controversy over the timeline and the procurement of voter registration kits, still enjoys a reasonable degree of public trust⁸⁷. New constituency boundaries have been drawn and all related disputes resolved by the courts. The IEBC planned an array of fraud prevention measures and expedited provisional results communicated directly from polling stations to allay worries of manipulation⁸⁸.

⁸⁷ Reports of The International Centre for Policy and Conflict vs. Attorney General, Commission on implementation of the constitution and Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission", para. 15, 30 November 2012

⁸⁸ Kenya 2013. *A public list by AJELive · AJELive*. Al Jazeera reporters covering the Kenya 2013 presidential election. 6 Members

But considerable challenges remain. Parliamentarians watered down some necessary laws, and have failed to pass others, such as the campaign finance bill. The acting registrar of political parties appeared unable to enforce new rules during political party registration. The bungled voter registration procurement meant a delayed start to voter registration, which in turn impacts other preparations a particularly troubling development given that the ICC cases make the electoral timeline extremely sensitive for the current contenders. Any non-transparent changes to the timeline now, even on technical grounds, would undermine confidence in the IEBC and, worse still, be perceived as politically motivated. The election commission urgently ends up working with other stakeholders, particularly political parties, the judiciary and civil society, to address potential problems with the electoral timeline and keep the electorate informed about what it is doing⁸⁹.

According to interviewees Kenya opted using of a biometric system for voter registration to try to address the flaws and manipulation that had plagued previous registration exercises. However, a controversial procurement of expensive voter registration kits in the fall of 2012 undermined confidence in the IEBC⁹⁰. The bidding process was scrapped and the commission pledged to run voter registration without biometrics, until the government stepped in and purchased kits. The procurement saga played out blow-by-blow in the Kenyan media. It exposed the IEBC's inability to communicate effectively and its struggle to contain negative press. As Election Day approached, commissioners must develop a media outreach strategy to explain better the electoral process and they and their staff must speak with one voice to inspire

⁸⁹ Reports of The International Centre for Policy and Conflict vs. Attorney General, Commission on implementation of the constitution and Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission", para. 15, 30 November 2012

⁹⁰ Media Council of Kenya and IEBC to train journalists", Media Council of Kenya, January 2012

confidence⁹¹. The IEBC registered 14.4 million Kenyans: fewer than the 18 million citizens it had aimed for but more than the 12.4 that registered ahead of the 2010 constitutional referendum. The delayed start of voter registration (originally scheduled for 1-30 November 2012) places enormous pressure on the electoral timeline, as other aspects of electoral preparations particularly party and candidate registration rely on voters being registered.

Campaign financing previously was shrouded in secrecy, and political parties generally did little to disclose their sources of funding according to informants. Campaigns are very expensive. In the past, major corruption scandals were often linked to campaign and political financing. A 2012 draft Election Campaign Financing Bill would have forced parties to make public their finances and place a ceiling on the amount spent on campaigns. However, parliament did not reach agreement on the draft bill before its last session. The failure to pass the bill is seen as another sign that Kenya's politicians are stalling implementation of the new constitution and failing to meet citizens' expectations for reform⁹².

According to interviewees the IEBC plans extra measures to prevent fraud, ballot stuffing, bribery and manipulation of results that have been features of recent Kenyan elections; often with the complicity of electoral officials. It has tightened its recruitment practices. Many officials will not be allowed to perform their duties in their home areas and will be informed where they will work only at the last minute in an attempt to reduce their susceptibility to

⁹¹ Hargreaves BBC, personal interview on Electoral Politics in Kenya, Nairobi: Claripress. Interviewed on 6th September 2013.

⁹² Reports of The International Centre for Policy and Conflict vs. Attorney General, Commission on implementation of the constitution and Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission", para. 15, 30 November 2012

community pressure, bribery or intimidation⁹³. In addition to the new registration methodology, the IEBC plans to use electronic poll books the procurement of which is now underway in each polling stream on election day, which if they work should allow staff to identify voters through their finger prints. The electronic books should also make it easier for citizen observers and party agents to track how many ballots have been cast at each point during the day. In principle this should make it more difficult for ballot boxes to be topped up with any unused ballots by unscrupulous polling staff at the end of the day⁹⁴.

Interviewee cited that another major change in the legal framework for elections is the November 2011 Political Parties Act. Political parties in Kenya have long been problematic. Formed for the most part along ethnic lines, they tend to be ideology-free electoral vehicles for their leaders and central to the ethnic number-crunching and coalition building that take place ahead of each poll. Few have internal party democracy that is sufficiently robust to allow for the transparent selection of leaders, or to replenish leadership and offer young members a chance to progress through the ranks⁹⁵. Leaders or their financiers often meddle in primaries or candidate selection processes. Politicians traditionally jump from one party to another readily, or start new parties when they believe existing ones do not serve their interests. The last few months before the 2013 general election have seen a major migration of politicians, as incumbents and aspirants for elective office rush to join parties that are perceived as popular in their locales.

⁹³ ⁹³ Chris Cuomo is a CNN anchor and reports on The guidelines, signed by over fifteen media institutions, were developed together with the IEBC, the Kenya Union of Journalists and other media stakeholders, as well as with the government and were largely borrowed from the BBC

⁹⁴ ⁹⁴ Chris Cuomo is a CNN anchor and reports on The guidelines, signed by over fifteen media institutions, were developed together with the IEBC, the Kenya Union of Journalists and other media stakeholders, as well as with the government and were largely borrowed from the BBC

⁹⁵ Media Council of Kenya and IEBC to train journalists”, Media Council of Kenya, January 2012

4.1.2 Electoral System Approach in Kenya 2013 elections.

According to informants the Kriegler report identified weaknesses in the previous election commission, the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK), as having contributed to the 2007-2008 violence. Its weak management of a flawed results process, particularly for the presidential polls, sparked the initial protests⁹⁶. Deep distrust in the ECK meant that opposition politicians suspected it of election rigging and had little reason to believe commissioners would address their complaints fairly. The commission's weakness and lack of credibility could be traced in part to the president's ability at the time to unilaterally appoint its members. To address these problems, the Kriegler report recommended, and the new constitution required (Article 88), that commissioners to the IEBC be appointed through a consultative process. A selection panel, set up in August 2011 through consultations between the president and prime minister, identified commissioners who were formally nominated by the president. The list was vetted and approved by parliament in transparent hearings, some of which were even streamed online⁹⁷.

Despite complaints from some politicians that the process was insufficiently transparent, a promising constellation of commissioners was appointed. The majority are a change from previous appointments of semi-retired civil servants and diplomats. They now serve for only a single, non-renewable six-year term⁹⁸. They are also more difficult to dismiss, and thus appear to have less incentive to curry favour with politicians to seek renewal or stay in post. Together these measures provide the security of tenure that the Kriegler report recognized was important

⁹⁶ Report of Stasavage, D. of BBC on Democracy and education spending in Africa. *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (2), 343–358

⁹⁷ Media Council of Kenya and IEBC to train journalists", Media Council of Kenya, January 2012

⁹⁸ The Kriegler commission report Prior to the election, many media outlets released opinion polls that

to ensure commissioners' independence. The IEBC until recently enjoyed broad political and public support, in part because of its successful management of the 2010 constitutional referendum and various by elections. The IEBC also performed delimitation of county boundaries one of its first tasks related to the 2013 polls reasonably adeptly. The commission's recent handling of the procurement of expensive biometric voter registration kits, however, as well as its inability to enforce new rules on political parties and the controversy over the elections date, appear to have somewhat eroded its solid reputation. The bungled procurement process in particular, although the IEBC was not solely responsible, exposed its inexperience and weakness⁹⁹. Despite these problems, the IEBC remains one of Kenya's more trusted institutions, but the intense political pressure as March approached provided a stiff test. Since many of its decisions between then and March were likely to be contentious, it would have should exploited opportunities through the Political Parties Liaison Committee to discuss them fully with all political factions, ideally involving them in key decisions. Local IEBC regional offices had to do the same with candidates for local office, especially for the gubernatorial election.

Drawing in and building a strong alliance with civil society groups had also strengthened confidence in the IEBC. Transparency and effective outreach and communication were being key to maintaining public support. The commission had to also consider taking strong early action against violators of campaign rules, particularly those who use inflammatory language, to send warning signal that, like the judiciary, it is unafraid to take on powerful politicians. Making an early example would help set the tone for the campaign¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁹ Hargreaves BBC, personal interview on Electoral Politics in Kenya, Nairobi: Claripress. Interviewed on 6th September 2013.

¹⁰⁰¹⁰⁰ Chris Cuomo is a CNN anchor and reports on The guidelines, signed by over fifteen media institutions, were developed together with the IEBC, the Kenya Union of Journalists and other media stakeholders, as well as with the government and were largely borrowed from the BBC

4.1.3 The impact of the Constitution to the Kenya 2013 general elections

According to majority of interviewee the 2010 Constitution radically restructured power and overhauled public institutions, with important consequences for the elections¹⁰¹. It strips some power from the presidency, vesting it instead in the judiciary, legislature and local governments, and increases the size of parliament, reserving more seats for women and other traditionally underrepresented constituencies¹⁰². It also mandates major judicial and police reform, as well as reform of the political party system, campaign finance and the media¹⁰³.

Interviewees note that some of the most significant changes aim to dilute presidential power. On paper, this should not only strengthen democracy, but also reduce the stakes of the presidential polls and the dangers of zero-sum politics, which were identified as among the main drivers of the 2007-2008 violence. Many powers formerly held by the president are now shared with the judiciary and legislature. In particular, the new constitution denies the president the prerogative of unilaterally appointing key public officials, including election commissioners. Most appointments must be vetted and approved by parliament whether these changes will make the contest for the presidency any less fierce remains to be seen. Kenya's most powerful politicians still appear to want the top job more than any other, probably because it is likely to exercise considerable informal power. Moreover, the next president could do much to undermine the new constitution's checks and balances.

¹⁰¹ Media Council of Kenya and IEBC to train journalists", Media Council of Kenya, January 2012

¹⁰² Report of Stasavage, D. of BBC on Democracy and education spending in Africa. American Journal of Political Science 49 (2), 343–358

¹⁰³ The Kriegler commission report Prior to the election, many media outlets released opinion polls that

The constitution also introduces a new level of governance, the impact of which may be even greater than the checks on executive power in Nairobi. There are now 47 counties, each with its own elected governor, assembly and senator to a newly established upper house, the Senate. This body will be responsible mostly for regional affairs, including allocating the national budget outside Nairobi.

The new constitution also reforms the electoral system. For presidential elections, a candidate needs to win a majority (50 plus one) rather than plurality of votes and must secure more than a quarter of votes in 24 of the 47 counties to avoid a run-off. In principle, this means a winning candidate should enjoy support from different communities¹⁰⁴. The new provisions also encourage coalition building across ethnicities¹⁰⁵. Alliances have been a key feature of Kenya's politics since 2002, when a united opposition through NARC defeated the incumbent KANU. The new constitution makes it almost impossible for one party, or ethnic group, to win the presidency single-handedly, thus reinforcing this trend. In the next election, presidential candidates that do not qualify for the run-off, and their supporters, will likely have to wait for the run-off to decide which candidate to throw their support to.

4.2 International Media in Persuasion and Influence Social Behavior through electoral process in Kenya.

International Media in Persuasion and Influence Social Behavior through electoral process in Kenya have been instrumental through the impact of International media in Kenya as Policymaker and International media as Gatekeeper to Kenyan elections.

¹⁰⁴ The Kriegler commission report Prior to the election, many media outlets released opinion polls that

¹⁰⁵ Media Council of Kenya and IEBC to train journalists”, Media Council of Kenya, January 2012

4.2.1 The impact of International media in Kenya as Policymaker

According to interviewees international media in Kenya's has been vibrant; provided a platform for the opposition groups during the struggle for multiparty politics, highlighted the Moi regime's corruption, and called on him to open up political space. Over the last decade, there has been a proliferation of radio stations¹⁰⁶. However, at the same time politicians and politically connected businessmen have been buying stakes in many media houses and increasing their influence. The media were ill-prepared for the 2007-2008 post-election violence. They were unable to communicate the election results and the subsequent violence without partisan flavour. Worse still, some media houses, particularly the vernacular radio stations, have been claimed to have stirred tensions by taking sides and providing politicians with avenues to disseminate hate speech. Later, as violence intensified, some media houses advocated for peace¹⁰⁷.

4.2.2 International media as Gatekeeper to Kenyan elections

Interviewees held that despite the proliferation of digital monitoring mechanisms, Kenyan government minister Muthui Kariuki issued a cryptic warning to international journalists covering the election on 4th March 2013. Accusing journalists and pollsters of catalyzing violence in the past, he asserted that reporters will be summoned if they publish stories that polarize the electorate. He admonished journalists by stating, "We will set you on fire before you set us on fire¹⁰⁸". The issue of journalism is complicated because local media outlets undeniably contributed to hate speech that fuelled ethnic tensions and clashes in the weeks after the 2007

¹⁰⁶ Report of Stasavage, D. of BBC on Democracy and education spending in Africa. *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (2), 343–358.

¹⁰⁷ Media Council of Kenya and IEBC to train journalists", Media Council of Kenya, January 2012

¹⁰⁸ McKenzie CNN, Gachiri Albert CNN personal interview 'The Power of Knowledge: Voter Education and Electoral Behaviour in a Kenyan Constituency' interviewed on 4th September 2013

elections. Although most local radio stations called for calm during the 2007-2008 violence, a *BBC* investigation found that some stations broadcasted blatant hate speech targeting specific ethnic groups that stoked the unrest. The statements by Kariuki hinted at wide-scale press restrictions and drew international criticism. The *Associated Press* called the decree a veiled threat and Tom Rhodes of the Committee to Protect Journalists decried the statement as utterly reprehensible and unbecoming of a government spokesman.

4.3. The role of International Media in Influencing Peace or War in Kenya electoral process

According to interviewee 2007-2008 International Media hubs and platforms hate speech sent via SMS messages was used to rally crowds and inflame ethnic divisions. In 2012, social media outlets have reportedly deployed teams of technologists to undermine groups or individuals that utilize technology to instigate violence¹⁰⁹. Umati has gained notoriety for its plans to monitor new media, identify dangerous speech and then disseminate information about the distributor and the content of the messages. Reports published by Umati demonstrate how its staff has identified commentators of hate speech and then paired the commentators with specific instructions¹¹⁰. Examples of such calls to action include directions to discriminate, forcefully evict, beat, and even kill. The organisation enjoys support from well-known institutions like American University and Ushahidi. As the election approaches, Umati has had massive followers.

¹⁰⁹ Owen Bennett Jones BBC personal interview on the debates are to be broadcast on television channels and. The first one aired on 26 November. Interviewed on 3/09/2013

¹¹⁰ Media Council of Kenya and IEBC to train journalists”, Media Council of Kenya, January 2012

4.3.1 Contribution of International media as Peace and Consensus Builder in Kenya 2013 election

The International media provided extensive coverage of the activities of the IEBC and the electoral process in general. In the lead up to the election, almost all media houses signed the Code of Conduct on Elections Coverage as required by the Media Council of Kenya (MCK)¹¹¹. The media largely upheld the Code of Conduct and were in the main either positive or neutral in their coverage of both the electoral process and the polling day itself. Further, the media also made a conscious effort to avoid providing a platform for hate speech and other forms of communication that could lead to public incitement¹¹². While the Mission commends the Kenyan Media for its generally positive and constructive coverage of the activities and processes of the March 4, 2013, general elections, it observes that media coverage was more skewed in favor of the two dominant political party coalitions, i.e. CORD and Jubilee, with rather low coverage for the smaller parties, female and independent candidates.

4.3.2 The role of the Media in Perpetuating Politics of the Suffering in Kenya

Some international media houses therefore optimized the free opportunity and were irresponsible in the content they aired. Recklessness was present since some media houses lacked signed codes of conduct for their reporters, often hiring untrained journalists who were regarded to have lacked objectivity and were not nonpartisan during the 2007 elections. They were often

¹¹¹ Chris Cuomo is a CNN anchor and reports on The guidelines, signed by over fifteen media institutions, were developed together with the IEBC, the Kenya Union of Journalists and other media stakeholders, as well as with the government and were largely borrowed from the BBC

¹¹² Media Council of Kenya and IEBC to train journalists”, Media Council of Kenya, January 2012

biased, sensational, compromised and unnecessarily alarmed their audiences with messages of fear, inciting them against the government.

The biggest province of Kenya, Rift Valley, was the most hit by the election violence. And all the government officials' participants noted that the media in Rift Valley was mostly responsible for the massacres. The massacres whose victims were the incumbent presidents tribe mates was said to have escalated after the media ban by the government¹¹³. The situation was as grave as the public attacking the office of the state owned media house in Rift Valley. However the government still defended itself that the citizen's reaction to burn property and massacre their fellow Kenyans was a result of the media inciting the public. All government participants believed that even after the ban, the media still got loop holes and sent hate messages. Leaflets and fliers were daily sources of news in such a province from anonymous sources.

4.3.3 Negative effects of International media on Election in Kenya

Both the Waki and Kriegler reports identified hate speech as a key issue and offered recommendations for improving media regulation. Enforcing a ban on hate speech must take place on two levels: stopping and prosecuting those who employ it, as well as ensuring media bodies do not play a complicit or active role in its dissemination. The 2008 Kenya Communications (Amendment) Act was passed to address some of these issues. In addition, the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) were established in 2008 to end hate speech and foster national cohesion and integration. There have been some attempts to curb hate speech, although more could be done. On 4 July 2012, three musicians were charged with hate

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speech and incitement to violence the case is still pending and some parliamentarians have also been charged. Others have been acquitted. New binding media guidelines published on 2 April 2012 by the Media Council of Kenya (MCK) intend to promote accurate, comprehensive, impartial, fair and responsible coverage of the upcoming elections and to ensure journalists are sensitive to the risk of conflict¹¹⁴. Their objective is to enable voters to make informed choices and to hold media houses to account for their content, with the MCK publishing a monthly monitoring report on the press¹¹⁵. However, according to a news editor, the media have learned little from the last elections violence, and, if anything, remain polarized. Following the commitment to the new guidelines, the media will stage live televised presidential debates that will also be broadcast over the radio. Three debates featuring all the presidential candidates have were planned, with a possible fourth to be organized if the election lead to a run-off.

On 19 September 2011, the MCK complaints commission issued an important judgment against *The Standard* newspaper for violating Article 4 of the Code of Conduct for the Practice of Journalism in Kenya when it published an article that falsely accused Francis Muthaura, an ICC suspect, of attempting to orchestrate Kenya.

¹¹⁴ Chris Cuomo is a CNN anchor and reports on The guidelines, signed by over fifteen media institutions, were developed together with the IEBC, the Kenya Union of Journalists and other media stakeholders, as well as with the government and were largely borrowed from the BBC

¹¹⁵ Media Council of Kenya and IEBC to train journalists”, Media Council of Kenya, January 2012

4.3.4 The Role of the International Media in Creation of Unintended Reaction in electoral process in Kenya

Banning the media after announcing that President Kibaki won the election triggered the violence. The day the bloodshed began we had various listeners calling in and narrating what was happening and saying the government was out to kill and silence its opposition. They said their houses were on fire. They were asking us to contact the NGOs and not the police to come to their rescue. From the station one could hear the panic and fear in the listener's voices. As the media we did our part to alert the police on where to go. So on the contrary to dividing, the media stepped in to control the violence¹¹⁶.

Six participants attributed the mounting tension among Kenya to the live broadcast of opinion polls and vote tallying by the media and the government releasing their own opinion polls. Eventually the government through the Ministry of Information and Communication found it fit to ban live broadcast. "I agree with this move, because the media was getting out of control. I believe the Kenya media could have done better to forestall the stalemate." Observed a government respondent.

4.4 The role of International Media in Electioneering Process in Kenya 2013 election

According to interviewee it is observable today that the media plays a key role, positive or negative in electoral process, in the world's affairs such as conflict, policy making and humanitarian response¹¹⁷. That is to mean, the media's power can put forth a critical pressure whether destructive or constructive in any given situation. Bernard Kouchner, a renowned United

¹¹⁶ Evan Perez, CNN Justice Reporter personal interview on international media, Elections and the Constitutional and Legal: regime in Kenya', 9/9/2013

¹¹⁷ Personal interview to William R. Sweeney, Jr. President & CEO, International Foundation for Electoral Systems on international media role in Kenya 2013 general election. Interviewed on 1/09/2013.

Nations High Representative in Kosovo, also commented on his humanitarian efforts that: In situations of conflict, without the media you can do nothing¹¹⁸.

Media officials should carry out the electioneering process professionally. In order to set an example to their opposition parties, these officials should refrain from inflaming voter's emotions and inciting. The media should collaborate with government through arms such as the police, judiciary, and electoral commission should ensure the elections are conducted in a fair way that upholds democracy. As a tool that carries democracy deserves the international media support in their endeavors¹¹⁹.

Reliable correspondents are needed as a watchdog against corruption and other illegal activities during elections¹²⁰. It is the role of correspondents to report on problems, cases of possible violation of the rules as well as to inform/educate voters about issues and the political parties and candidates' policies. Correspondents must endeavor and take initiative to be aware of the election rules, the operations of the Electoral Commission of Kenya and the voting process. To effectively perform their duty towards promotion of media responsibility correspondents should be aware of and report on the following:

4.5 The contributions of International media in Political Mobilization in Kenya 2013 election

Way before the election campaigns, the government was using most of the leading media houses in Kenya to campaign. It ironic however, then this relationship however went sour when

¹¹⁸ Evan Perez, CNN Justice Reporter personal interview on international media, Elections and the Constitutional and Legal: regime in Kenya', 9/9/2013

¹¹⁹ Ibid 92

¹²⁰ Media Council of Kenya and IEBC to train journalists", Media Council of Kenya, January 2012

the media either became objective and started broadcasting the opposition parties (alongside the incumbent government) or was convinced that the government was not what they said they were. Slowly government campaigns were anti media and while the opposition parties kept thriving when this cold war escalating. Opinion polls also kept highlighting the decreasing public approval and support of the government. Through investigative journalism, the media also kept highlighting instances where government vehicles were being used to ferry weapons, leaflets of hate messages among others. These actions by the media target the government actions so much that at the peak of the electioneering process, the government banned media coverage. The result was uprising and revolts from all the parts of the country. As observed during the conflict, most participants believed that the Kenyan public took any news coming from the media as gospel truth rather than questioning the information. The way in which the media packaged the information was authoritative and convincing.

4.5.1 International media influence Close Competition in Kenya 2013 election

In a partnership with Storyful, Google launched the Kenya Election Hub, a YouTube channel that hosted presidential debates and plans to monitor campaign activities and election results through 04 March. The online space was an increasingly important tool for outreach, engagement and reflection during the political process, said Mark-ham Nolan, the managing editor at Storyful, Google's chief partner in the election hub initiative.

“In some counties competition for governorships will be fierce, and the potential for violence is high, especially since many local conflicts are about access to power and resources. Candidates could exploit and aggravate local grievances and disputes to mobilise support. Any attempt to do so should be monitored carefully and action taken quickly by the relevant

authorities, notably the IEBC, judiciary, police and the National Cohesion and Integration Commission, which should identify those counties at risk counties. Some organisations, are already mapping risk areas across the country, and ideally these efforts should inform an official response. Particular attention might be paid to counties in which a majority community splits and allows a minority to win office, or where a minority that has traditionally held power locally faces defeat by a majority group, or where competition for office aligns with older disputes all of which are potential conflict scenarios.”

4.6 Influence of Electoral Institutions to the Electoral Process in Kenya 2013 election

According to interviewees the independent and electoral boundaries commission (IEBC) had improved outreach and communication with stakeholders, including political parties, candidates, and the media and, in particular, civil society, with which a strong alliance is especially important to resist political pressure; and provide citizen observer groups the information they need in a timely manner. Press for all candidates at national and county level and political parties to adhere stringently to the Code of Conduct enacted as part of the 2011 Elections Act¹²¹. This keeps tight focus on operational planning, especially on vote counting and tallying of results, including the likelihood of presidential run-off; and make results for both rounds publicly available and disaggregated by polling stream to allow for their verification by citizen observers and party agents. Take action, in coordination with the National Cohesion and Integration Commission, against political parties and candidates that violate rules, campaign divisively or use hate speech.

¹²¹ Personal interview to William R. Sweeney, Jr. President & CEO, International Foundation for Electoral Systems on international media role in Kenya 2013 general election. Interviewed on 1/09/2013.

4.7 International media influence in Election Administration in Kenya 2013 election.

According to interviewees International media provide support to Governments and international organisations on approaches that capitalized on the sophistication of technology users in Kenya that are relayed on digital platforms to provide information about polling sites, candidates, and other election details¹²². Kenya Open Data is a government-sponsored initiative in collaboration with international media that aims to improve governance and transparency by making government records, including voting regulations and election data, accessible online as well as the UN Organisation for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) has produced a map of conflicts by district as inter-community violence escalates prior to the election¹²³. The Constitution and Reform Education Consortium (CRECO) represents a broad coalition of Kenyan organisations that conducted a baseline study to identify the most volatile counties based on a range of social, economic and security factors. CRECO then outlined specific local-level reforms that might mitigate post-election violence.

4.8 International media influence Conditions for Election Night as a Journalistic Event in Kenya 2013 election

All the international media houses interviewed said that they have code of conducts that their journalist ought to sign before employment¹²⁴. In addition they confirm that all the staff in their media houses has signed the code of conduct that should guard against irresponsible

¹²² Kenya 2013. A public list by AJELive · AJELive. Al Jazeera reporters covering the Kenya 2013 presidential election. 6 Members

¹²³ The Waki commission report collected data regarding the media's involvement in the post-elections violence. The report concluded the media contributed to the ethnic fervour as well as confusion and misinformation

¹²⁴ Clark C. Gibson, James D. Long Personal interview on the presidential and parliamentary elections in Kenya, march 2013 Department of Political Science, University of California. Interviewed on 2/09/2013.

journalism. The government officials also believed that the international media should employ professional journalists on their academic and professional merit as opposed to talent since most of them did not have journalistic ethics of guarding their audiences by vetting information.

4.9 The role of International Media in Political Campaigns in Kenya 2013 election

According to informants the International Media has lent unprecedented support to the Kenyan electoral process in 2013¹²⁵. The country has an estimated 13.5 million internet users, most of who rely on mobile phones to access content. Civil society organisations (CSOs), corporations and free-lancers are using technology to arm voters with tools that will encourage conflict-free elections and enforce transparency in the polling process¹²⁶. Efforts have primarily focused on three core functions: sharing information about how and where to vote; monitoring and preventing hate speech that is intended to incite violence; and expanding access to crowd sourcing tools that can report incidents of violence and voting irregularities as they occur during real-time. Daudi Were, one of Kenya’s most prominent bloggers summarized the efforts; “We are protecting the vote, protecting the electoral progress”¹²⁷

4.10 Conclusion

The international media in particular played a role in shaping the Kenya politics by electronically stepping in to inform the citizens on what was happening in various parts of the

¹²⁵ James Oswago, reports on Kenya 2013 Election Watch Forum, lecture, Sarova Stanley, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung and Africa Policy Institute, Nairobi, 19 January 2013.

¹²⁶ Kenya 2013. *A public list by AJELive · AJELive*. Al Jazeera reporters *covering the Kenya 2013 presidential election*. 6 Members

¹²⁷ Reports of The International Centre for Policy and Conflict vs. Attorney General, Commission on implementation of the constitution and Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission”, para. 15, 30 November 2012

country. The international media also engaged in frequent updates of their online platforms upto five times a day. This could have either increased or reduced the effect of the conflict hence remains an answered question whether it was a positive or negative action. The dilemma is created by whether the international media would have used it tools to spread more peace or more war.

The research also concludes that the international media mostly just tracked events but failed to explain what led to those events. They therefore focused on appalling news hence became problem-focused.

There is a need for International Media officials to carry out the electioneering process professionally. In order to set an example to their opposition parties, these officials should refrain from inflaming voter's emotions and inciting. The media should collaborate with government through arms such as the police, judiciary, and electoral commission so as to ensure that the elections are conducted in a fair way that upholds democracy.

In addition, the author observed that Kenyan election administration and the international media had appreciably enhanced their rapport since the days of single ruling party system in Kenya till the 2013 general election. On the side of the government, the author observed a suddenly lack of appreciation of the international media and no foreseeing or planning to counter the effects of expansion of the international media and issuing of various licenses to biased local media owners. Certainly, resistance between the government and the international media is not about to end. If the Kenyan society must uphold democratic election and practice the various freedoms and rights stipulated in the constitution then the two sides need to take up a sympathetic view of each other's role and social responsibility.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

At the onset of this research the author sought to find the role of the international media on third –world electoral process, the case of 2013 Kenya’s general elections. Most of the questions that this research explored were answered. However, some of the answer were one sided. This means that the international media practitioners believed they had a positive role in the conflict of mainly exposing the government’s negative plots. This plots ranged from equipping their local communities for war as well as using state resources to favour the incumbent campaigns.

5.2 Summary of findings

In Summary of findings legitimacy of an electioneering process calls for the following: The media sharing the information without bias, the government issuing press freedom to the media to share news, the judiciary body to keep a check on both the media and the government to ensure the election rules are adhered to, voters education through various media. In the Kenyan case, it was difficult to achieve the above requirements hence the elections cannot be termed as democratic. The media being a key source of information, one cannot dispute that the majority of the voters were influenced by the stand of the international media. The media in other words influences our political stand, support, especially by the frequency of reporting on politicians. Professional journalism calls for the media to offer all and unbiased news on how they should vote. It was however ironical to the author that all the participants praised the

government's decision to lift the ban on the media. They also agreed that calm was restored when the ban was lifted during the 2007/08 post election violence¹²⁸.

Government Official participant praised the work of the international media saying, the media was very instrumental after the violence had ended. The media also rallied conflicting politicians and started a peace campaign later when order was restored. I believe this brought normalcy to the country. Though not convincingly conclusive, the author believes that the government official appreciate the power of the media. They also take blame for licensing many radio stations which had not been checked properly. This radio stations are believed to have spread hate messages against other tribes, the incumbent president and the governments. The role of the international media after the 2013 general election was noted as very important by the government officials, mainly because the International Media had more resources and the freedom to broadcast information or news, news that would otherwise not have been broadcast.

5.3 Conclusion

The international media was also used in sharing how the voters can vote, new changes, news voting rules, length of registration and campaigns, penalties of election misconduct. During this process the media highlighted any irregularities, incidences of favoritism to any party. The media also monitored the electioneering process and acted as a watchdog to the governments activities. Irresponsible journalists also failed to refrain from defamation, twisting facts, derivative, malicious, reporting offensive inciting news, malice, corruption, or repeatedly sending false information to the public that in the end, the message begun to be factual due to the

¹²⁸ Clark C. Gibson, James D. Long Personal interview on the presidential and parliamentary elections in Kenya, march 2013 Department of Political Science, University of California. Interviewed on 2/09/2013.

frequency of reporting. These actions escalated and caused possible harm to the politicians, government and public protest. The professional international media houses in Kenya highlighted the differences in policies and manifesto. They tried to inform the public on what the voter should expect from the politicians if they won the elections. They also probed and asked the hard questions; asked the politicians what the policies meant to the voters.

Most politicians find it important to campaign using international media hubs with the same ideological slogan that is involved with bettering the lives of the voters. And they did so in the Kenyan election with the hopes of being leaders of government business when the results were announced. The politicians, coming from different tribes; some of the tribes have not been friendly to each other since time back. It was therefore the duty of the media to highlight all the stands they hold.

The print media in particular played a role in shaping the Kenyan politics by stepping in to inform the citizens on what was happening in various parts of the country. The print media also engaged in frequent production of their papers, to even twice a day. This could have either increased or reduced the effect of the conflict hence this remains an answered question as whether it was a positive or negative action. The dilemma is created by whether the media would have used its tools to spread more peace or more war. The government has continued to blame the international media for live coverage and using their resources to preach partisan politics. The government officials therefore, answered affirmative the questions that the international media should take responsibility for impact of their information on their audiences.

5.4 Recommendation

Despite this inevitable friction, strategic government officials must increase the power of the international media as a tool that can be useful in executing commands as well as an avenue for relaying information. There is need for a legislative framework governing the international media while it still respects media freedom and autonomy. The legislative framework will perhaps entail details on whether the government has the right to ban media coverage. In other words, the government should harness the power of the media as a powerful tool and hedge against any public aggression. The government should also be strict on issuance of license or veto media ownership. This will mitigate media ownership by the media by politicians who end up using the media for their political interest that harm the public.

The ideal situation in a peaceful government-media relationship should be a natural coexistence with clear responsibilities spelled out. This means the responsibility of the media is to provide the public with information while the government issues licenses as well as commission an agreed constitution clauses that governs media freedom in a democratic manner. The new issues that emerged in this study are mainly to do with dilemma of media ownership, media freedom, verses government control in a country which boasts of practicing democracy and respecting human rights. As a direction or suggestion for further related research on the Kenyan election conflict, an examination of the Kenyan media audience as the primary subject of study, as opposed to the international media and government officials as this research did would give a bigger picture on the role of the international media.

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