MEDIA CHALLENGES IN THE POST- ELECTION VIOLENCE IN KENYA.

A CASE STUDY OF NAIROBI.

BY

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UNIVERSITY

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DECLARATION

I Jane Murutu, declare that this is my original work and has never been presented to any University or institution of higher learning for the award of any academic qualification.

Signature ....

Jane Murutu.

Date ...16/10/2019......

APPROVAL

This work has been submitted for examination under a university supervisor.

Signature ……………………

DR. MWANIKI ROSEAN

Date ……16/10/2009.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to Konrad- Adenauer Stiftung, My mother Melap Nasike, my husband Robert Kibet Tonui, brother Charles Simiyu, my only sister Judy Clare and friends from the Media Council of Kenya namely Stella Gakii and Ephraim Muchemi.

My heartfelt gratitude goes to Matu Nguri, a seasoned Journalist and media trainer also a lecturer at Moi University who first read through my research proposal and advised me accordingly.

I can`t forget pastors Wilson Nyale and George Owinner from whom I drew spiritual inspiration.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to establish the media challenges faced during the post election violence in the city of Nairobi. The research was cross-sectional with both explanatory and descriptive approaches. The target population was the women, youth, middle aged and elderly, besides politicians as a special group. The population of the study was 300 residents of Nairobi. Key informant interviews and questionnaires were used in collecting data.

Data analysis method was based on qualitative and quantitative approach using Excel and Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) program. The results were presented in tables and Figures.

The major finding in the study showed that reporting post elections presented challenges amongst which includes no experience or training in reporting conflicts, weak constitutional and legal framework, inadequate equipment and poor research capacity.

Finally, a number of recommendations such as updating the journalists training manual, government to invite people from other countries to share programmes they have used for healing negative ethnicity, media owners to develop a training programme for journalists on local and national integrity systems

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the researcher presents the background of the study, statement of problem, objectives of the study, the research questions, the scope of the study ,the conceptual framework and significance of the study,.

1.1 Background of the study

Although a tight election was developing and many pollsters pointed to a close finish, in the minds of many Kenyans it was never to be as contentious and as bloody as it became. Both the Party of National Unity and the ODM attracted huge support across the country.

On 30th December 2007, the then Electoral Commission of Kenya Chairman, Mr. Samuel Kivuitu declared Hon. Mwai Kibaki, the Party of National Unity (PNU) presidential candidate winner of the National General Election, with 4.5 million votes followed by Hon. Raila Odinga of Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) who garnered 4.3 million votes. This election results were disputed by various parties according to PeaceNet', a non-governmental organization publication, titled *"Post Election Violence in Kenya: Facts and Figures"*.

The political situation following the election in December 2007, led to violent riots in various parts of Kenya, with the resultant increased pressure on Media professionals working within Kenya. Journalists were exposed to various dangers including arrests, others shot at while covering the riots and a wave of death threats launched against them according to International Media support[1]. The metropolitan worst affected by the post election violence included Nairobi, Mombassa, Nakuru, Eldoret and Kisumu.

According to IRIN, Kenya: spreading the word of hate, January 22, 2008[2], international reports began to appear, claiming that media, and particularly vernacular radio stations in Kenya, were responsible for precipitating ethnic hatred and fuelling violence.

In Kenya, two major failures in the reporting of election results emerged; one on the part of the Kenyan media and the second involving the government. Both of these had implications for the violence that ensued.

The news media has been criticized for broadcasting unverified election results. According to testimony before the Kriegler Commission investigating the conduct of the election, radio and television stations aired vote counts provided by the competing political parties and released partial results from individual polling stations where early returns favoured Odinga. "We have witnessed cases where some media houses were releasing unverified results that may have misled the public to believe there was rigging," one local government official told the commission.

Simon Mbugua Njoroge, a veteran freelance reporter for *The Nation*, *The Standard*, and Citizen TV in Nakuru, argued that vernacular radio stations in particular took to broadcasting results from polling stations in their home region with no explanation that the numbers did not reflect national results. This appears to have been particularly true of the local vernacular stations.

"The leaking of early vote totals convinced supporters that they had won. Once that perception is entrenched, it leads to violence when someone else wins," Njoroge said. "Media is supposed to have access to all polling stations, but you cannot report results that are not official."

Those who believe there was extensive vote rigging by the Kibaki camp, however, credit the reporting of partial results for alerting Kenyans to the fact that the election was being stolen. Reporters collecting vote totals at the precinct level could double-check numbers released by the central ECK in cases where fraud was suspected.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Complaints have been raised that the media in Kenya during the period just before and after the election precipitated violence through advertisements and announcements. Two commission reports namely; the Independent Review Commission (IREC) which investigated all aspects of the 2007 presidential elections and the Commission of Inquiry into Post-Election Violence (CIPEV) which investigated the facts and surrounding circumstances related to the violence have implicated the media in this allegation in the sense that the media contributed to a climate of hate, negative ethnicity and may have incited violence. Besides, the international and domestic observers share in the same sentiments.

In the 2007 elections, live broadcast of vote tallying of the 2007 election results at the KICC was cut off (and later banned) when visible acrimony of political leaders at the tallying hall became too obvious. This inflamed tension, bringing the country to the brink.

When the government cut off the media from covering the proceedings at the counting hall in Kenyatta International Conference Centre (KICC), tension rose higher in different parts of the country and the media's role to inform on what was taking place all over the country became pertinent. As the media played their traditional role, they got caught in the dilemma of being accused of fuelling tension.

Tension soon burst into violence and the media still had the duty of informing their audience on what was taking place all over. This information rightly or otherwise was used by the protagonists to perpetuate the violence and in this way, the media got sucked into the post election violence.

1.3 Objectives of the study

1.3.1 General Objective

- To find out the challenges faced by the media in the post election violence in Kenya.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

- To find out the influence of the media on the public in Nairobi city.
- To find out the performance of the media during the post election violence in Kenya.
- To find out the relationship between the government and the Media.

1.4 Research questions

- Did the media influence the public in Nairobi city?
- How would you rate media performance during the post election violence in Kenya?
- How is the relationship between the government and Media in Kenya?

1.5 Scope of the study

1.5.1 Geographical scope:

This research will be carried out by the researcher in Nairobi City. The journalists in both mainstream and Vernacular radio stations in Nairobi town will be interviewed to help in identifying the challenges they faced when covering the post election violence in Kenya. Politicians too will be included in the interview as a special group.

1.5.2 Time scope:

The research will focus on the period between 30th December 2007 through February 2008, after the signing of the peace accord initiated by chief mediator Koffi Annan.

1.5.3 Content Scope:

The women, youth, middle aged and elderly people are targets alongside politicians who will be incorporated as a special group.

1.6 Conceptual framework

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┌─────────────────┐                              ┌─────────────────┐
│ MEDIA           │─────────────────────────────▶│ PEOPLE          │
│ Informs         │                              │ Listen          │
│ Educates        │                              │ Call-in         │
│ Entertains      │                              │ Read            │
│                 │                              │ Write mails     │
└──────┬──────────┘                              └─────────────────┘
       │       ╲
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       │        │ CHALLENGES      │
       │        │ Reporting       │
       ▼        │ Legislation     │
┌─────────────┐ │ Corruption      │
│ GOVERNMENT  │ │ Ownership       │
│ Law         │ └─────────────────┘
│ Policies    │
│ Statutory bodies │
└─────────────┘
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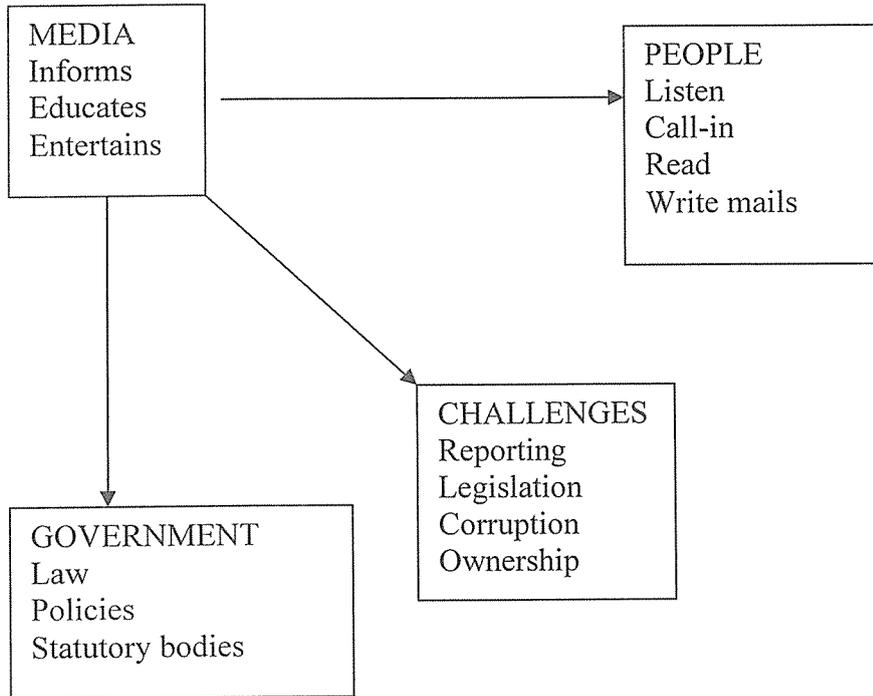
During the post-election violence period in Kenya, the media had a difficult time on what to report. The dilemma was that reporting an incident of violence perpetrated by members of one community against the other was news, but what were the repercussions? While it would be considered to be big news to report violence, the result would be invariably being taken to be incitement against the other community.

The media's principle mission is news and to expect them to ignore tribal violence in their reporting with the excuse that reporting it would be tantamount to incitement is not only unrealistic but also unfair.

However when the media reports such violence, the result is that members of other community get to know that their compatriots are under threat and therefore take action. In this way the media inadvertently fuels more violence.

This is a challenge to the media practitioners that touches the core of their practice of news reporting. This challenge featured prominently during the post election violence when tribe rose against tribe to dispute the general election results that saw President Mwai Kibaki declared the winner against Prime Minister Raila Odinga.

It was difficult to randomly sample public officials and the personnel involved in processes. The researcher therefore sampled all the groups using purposive sampling.

1.7 Significance of the study

The Kenyan media had prior to the post election violence been respected, thriving, sophisticated and innovative in Africa. The reputation is now being challenged by recent commission reports of precipitating ethnic hatred. This research will help reveal what went wrong and through interpretation of results help the media to regain public trust. Since it is a recent phenomenon, no studies have been done yet in this area hence the importance of this particular research..

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter, definition of media, background of Kenyan media, the press, broadcasting, the role of Kenya media in reporting post election violence, comparison with Rwanda, government owned media and independent media and scholarly view of the role of media is discussed.

2.1 Definition of Media

The Media Act 2007 defines the Media as inclusive of both electronic and print media engaged in any production for circulation to the public, but does not include book publishing.

2.2 Background of Kenya Media

The modern media in Kenya was started by the Missionaries and the British settlers. The early examples included the Taveta Chronicle which was published by Rev. Robert Stegal of the Church Missionary Society in 1895. It was circulated among Europeans and interested persons in England. It was later followed in 1899 by the Leader of the British East Africa Company and Uganda Mail which was published in Mombasa. The basic objective of these papers was to provide information for the missionaries and settlers of news that came from home (England).

Secondly, the media at this time was used as a "device to maintain the status quo" by legitimizing the rights of the colonial masters to rule Kenya. Thirdly, the media provided a channel for social communication among the settlers in Kenya from different parts of the country.

The Radio was also started in 1928 to play the same kind of roles. The Asians later ventured into the business of ownership of some sections of the media. Their main reason was to use the media to legitimize their second place to the whites in Kenya. The Africans on the other hand,

later venture into the media ownership basically to use the media as tools for putting across their demands for freedom, justice and equality.

After the second world war in particular, many aspiring political leaders used the indigenous press to built and cement political organizations. These were essentially agitational which made them crucial in the realization of independence goals.

The political transition from British colony to independent country was mirrored by changes in the mass media in Kenya. In 1963 when Kenya became independent the vast majority of broadcasts on government-owned radio and television stations were imported British and American programmes, but this was set to change. Kenyan culture was promoted via the mass media under the presidency of Jomo Kenyatta as more programmes were broadcast in Swahili and there was a focus on African music and dance. Likewise, newspapers covered more African traditions and culture.

The press later suffered under Kenyatta's successor Daniel Arap Moi and his one-party state, which was written into the constitution in 1982. A clampdown on journalists led to arrests and imprisonment as state officials were worried about the media challenging the government.

The scene changed and the press expanded markedly with the birth of multi-party politics in 1992, which was a response to pressure from Kenyan activists and the international community. The daily newspaper market increased to four when the People Daily was set up and the alternative press -commonly called the gutter press- also emerged.

Harsh criticism of the state by the press went hand-in-hand with the emergence of opposition politics and this environment was a far cry from the conformist media of the earlier era. Yet journalists were still intimidated, threatened and imprisoned by the government and in May 2002 a new unpopular media bill was passed. It requires publishers to purchase a bond for 1million Kenyan shillings (£6,900) before publishing. The move scared off a number of small time publishers, especially in the magazine sector, as they could not afford the bond. .

Kenya's media is noteworthy given the continent's history that has had a devastating effect on the industry. At independence most African states had media that could have been developed

into vibrant institutions (de Beer, Kasoma, Megwa & Steyn, 1995). In most cases, however, African nations engineered systematic schemes that decimated the industry as G.B.N. Ayittey (1992, 1999) chronicles. What sets kenya apart is her ability to travel this tortured path behaving like every other African media bullying nation, yet maintain one of the few, by African standards, vibrant media outlets.

While Kenyatta's reign from 1963 to 1978 had been characterized by less stringent control of the media at least from the President himself, the press in Kenya under Moi, was very different. This is not to say that there were no efforts to control the press under Kenyatta's regime.

Kenyatta had assured the media that "Kenya's press need have no fears regarding curtailment of its freedom..." (Faringer 60) as long as the media exercised responsibility. While the media in Kenya was then foreign owned they generally supported the government. Probably as a result the government saw no need of owning a medium of their own. But those around Kenyatta, Barton notes, were very keen on owning a newspaper (82). When Moi came to power his government purchased then *Nairobi Times* and christened it Kenya Times. It was managed by Kenya Times Media Trust (KTMT).

2.3 Influence of Media on the public

Media plays a crucial role in forming and reflecting public opinion, connecting the world to individuals and reproducing the self-image of society. Critiques in the early-to-mid twentieth century suggested that media weaken or delimit the individual's capacity to act autonomously sometimes being ascribed an influence reminiscent of the telescreens of the dystopian novel *1984*. Mid twentieth-century empirical studies, however, suggested more moderate effects of the media.

Current scholarship presents a more complex interaction between the media and society, with the media on generating information from a network of relations and influences and with the individual interpretations and evaluations of the information provided, as well as generating information outside of media contexts. The consequences and ramifications of the mass media relate not merely to the way newsworthy events are perceived (and which are reported at all), but also to a multitude of cultural influences that operate through the media.

The media have a strong social and cultural impact upon society. This is predicated upon their ability to reach a wide audience with a strong and influential message. Marshall McLuhan uses the phrase "the medium is the message" as a means of explaining how the distribution of a message can often be more important than content of the message itself. It is through the persuasiveness of media such as television, radio and print media that messages reach their target audiences. These have been influential media as they have been largely responsible for structuring people's daily lives and routines. Television broadcasting has a large amount of control over the content society watches and the times in which it is viewed.

This is a distinguishing feature of traditional media which new media have challenged by altering the participation habits of the public. The internet creates a space for more diverse political opinions, social and cultural viewpoints and a heightened level of consumer participation. There have been suggestions that allowing consumers to produce information through the internet will lead to an overload of information.

2.4 The performance of media during the post- election violence

According to Howard in her book titled "Conflict Sensitive Journalism", (2008 : 8) three views emerged over the role of the media in the post-election violence in Kenya that killed at least one thousand and displaced half a million people. The first view, which was supported by review missions, is that the Kenyan media did not stoke the violence but failed in its duty to report in full the bloodletting and political crisis.

The second is that media did, in fact add fuel to the fire. This is an opinion shared by the authorities. In the days following President Mwai Kibaki's disputed re-election on 27 December 2007, the government accused some vernacular radio stations of inciting ethnic unrest and imposed a ban on live broadcasts. The government apparently feared Rwanda- style bloodletting encouraged by inflammatory broadcasts.

The third point of view is that the media was made a scapegoat. The eruption of violence was bound to happen. It was the result of historical and economic inequalities. The perpetrators were just venting their bottled-up anger and frustrations.

All the three viewpoints regardless of the stand taken, justify the challenges media encountered during the post election violence period.

According to Deane and Abdi both of BBC World Service Trust in their article ; the Kenya 2007 elections and their aftermath, the role of the media in Kenya's violence has raised questions of whether media can be too free in fragile states such as Kenya. The briefing argues that the role of the local language media during the crisis was the product of a chaotic regulatory policy and the lack of training - especially of talk show hosts, whose programmes provided the platform for most of the hate speech. It argues that many local language radio stations played a role in calming tensions as well as inflaming them, and could be a powerful mechanism for reconciliation."

Its historical preamble represents the Kenyan media as respected, thriving, and sophisticated, after a 15-year boom in which diverse advertising markets and a "voracious", highly literate population brought an "an explosion in media over recent years." The media "has played a substantial role in mediating relationships between citizens and state; ...has transformed...how...the ...marginalised in society access information on issues that shape their lives;" and has helped to bring Kenya from a one party state to a multiparty democracy. In addition, the media is seen as exposing corruption; as acting as a forum for public debate; and as "a guardian of the public interest against over weaning state power".

2.5 Relationship between government and media

Relations between the state and press in Kenya have also attracted international attention and have been recorded in the US Department of State's report on Human Rights Practices for Kenya for 2003. The investigation highlighted that the Kenyan Constitution provides for freedom of speech and the press, but that these rights had sometimes been restricted by the government. It mentioned that journalists were harassed, beaten and arrested by the security forces, yet it mentioned that there were fewer such reports than in previous years.

Government officials were reported to have put pressure on journalists to not cover certain issues and some editors and journalists were believed to have practiced self-censorship because of government pressure or bribes. The report added that international journalists were free to

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work in Kenya and that about 100 media organizations reported from the Kenyan capital Nairobi without official interference.

2.6 Contemporary development of media in Kenya

A much freer press was expected with the election of the NARC (National Rainbow Coalition) in December 2002. But the new government, which ended almost 40 years of KANU (Kenya Africa National Union) rule, has not repealed the heavily criticized 2002 media bill and it plans to introduce another media bill to regulate the media.

A total of 250 libel cases against journalists are still pending under the penal code. Under this criminal law individuals, rather than publishing houses, are prosecuted. One such case against a journalist who accused a government minister of corruption was withdrawn after pressure from the Kenya Union of Journalists (KUJ), media owners and seven foreign missions.

The media industry opposes the government's position and favors self-regulation. It set up the Media Council of Kenya in 2002 to pursue this aim, resolve complaints and improve journalistic standards. The Council has also drawn up a code of practice for ethical journalism.

2.7 Government owned media and Independent Media

After independence in 1963, similar patterns of media ownership and development continued as they were under the colonial rule. For example, the independent African government entered the shoes of the colonial rulers. These governments had full control of the electronic media run under the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting headed by a Minister appointed by the President. Its other department's were the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation and the Kenya News Agency.

The Kenyan Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) is the largest broadcasting organization in Kenya the only service with nationwide coverage and it is owned by the government. The KBC was formed in 1961 and in 1964 it was nationalized under an Act of Parliament to become the Voice of Kenya. In 1989 its name was changed back to the KBC after another Act of Parliament.

The ruling party then, the Kenya African National Union also owns and runs a party Daily Newspaper, The Kenya *Times* and a television station. Their overall objective is to Inform, educate, entertain and to propagate all that consolidates" national unity, peace and stability in Kenya". They are essentially therefore, government communications organs fully controlled by the government of the day.

The second type of media in Kenya includes the privately owned dailies such as the Nation Group of Newspapers and the Standard .The Daily Nation - established in 1960 and published by the Nation Media Group (NMG). The NMG also owns Nation TV and radio and The East African - a regional weekly paper with its core market in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. NMG is the largest media house in Eastern and Central Africa.

The Standard (formerly the East African Standard) - established in 1902. People Daily - established in 1992. Kenya Times - established in 1983 by the KANU party - the party of former Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi.

These privately owned dailies are fairly autonomous in their editorial policy and have a strong financial base built for a long time before and after independence. They are, however, not immune from governmental controls which take the form of political representations to the owners and threats to sue through courts of law.

The third category of the media in Kenya are the more vulnerable group indigenous magazines and weeklies such as the Weekly Review, Finance, The Nairobi Law Monthly, Parents, and Step. This category depends on the good will of the government of the day as their capital base is weak. They have less circulation confined mainly to most urban centers and consequently do not draw a great deal of commercial advertising from the seemingly saturated small readership market in the urban centers of Kenya.

Radio is the most influential form of media in Kenya as radios can be found in very remote areas, unlike televisions which are concentrated in urban areas and watched by the wealthy with their satellite dishes. There are more than 20 FM radio stations that operate mainly in Nairobi and its surrounding areas.

National broadcaster KBC -described above under broadcasting- provides KBC Channel 1, Pay Television Channel 2 and Entertainment Metro Television Channel 31.

Nation TV is owned by NMG -the same owners of the Daily Nation and The East African newspapers- and began broadcasting in 1999. Kenya Television Network (KTN) became the first private TV station in the country when it was allowed to broadcast in Nairobi in 1989. It is owned by the group which runs The Standard newspaper. Citizen TV is owned by a business magnate S.K. Macharia, a pro-government figure.

As stated in the briefing, while there are critics of media behaviour within the media itself, there is also media resistance to a government review of the media role in the crisis due to fears of limitation and regulation impinging on press freedom.

In an article by Rap 21, an electronic network for the African press, Ward, the EU observer mission member who oversaw the media, pinpointed the bulk of the flawed reporting in the heavily biased government media such as the Television station Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC).

Through speaking to journalists in Kenya, the report's researchers found that journalists were often constrained by their own fear of perhaps inciting violence and deeper ethnic divisions through coverage. Others suggested that the media imploded on itself, unable to fulfil its "mission as watchdogs of democracy." Opanga said to the mission, "journalists had not pushed to find out the truth after it was clear the results were rigged." Many believe that is the main role they should have filled, even in the face of government constraints, institutional shortcomings, and the overall polluted climate they were plunged into.

The Nairobi Round Table, carried out by the Editors' Guild of Kenya and Kenyan Union of Journalists, convened on 12 February to address the problems facing the media. The round table which brought together forty participants representing the main media organisations in Kenya, academia and civil society organizations identified a series of challenges that hindered journalists before and after the election period. The findings and recommendations point to the fact that the Kenyan media was under a lot of pressure during the General Elections and

particularly in the post- election crisis period (Kenya Media under pressure: The Nairobi Round Table recommendations published by International Media Support (IMS).

Responding to the mounting pressure on media, International Media Support (IMS) convened in February 2008 the Nairobi Round Table mapping the key challenges to the Kenyan media community and presenting a series of recommendations.

"Journalists and media practitioners are traumatized but are lacking counselling to deal with the post violence trauma and self denial," as concluded by the Nairobi Round Table.

ARTICLE 19, International Media support and Reporters without borders, observed in its report released in March this year that the coverage of the post-election crisis by the Kenya media was low-key, even timid. The media apparently self-censored, calling instead for harmony and apparently abandoned their watchdog function for `` preachy editorials and analysis. ``

2.8 Scholarly view of the role of media

Lynette Burns (2002) observes that journalists have some control over what people tell them; often exercised through the questions they choose to ask (Burns Lynette, 2001, p91).

Kolker (1999) observes how the orchestration of the television gaze is so influential amongst viewers (Kolker Robert, 1999, p37).

Lindberg (2001) observes the following, `` The aspects of things that are most important for us are hidden because of their simplicity (one is unable to notice something because it is always before ones eyes) `` (Lindberg Jordan, 2001, p255).

Waugh(19690 was assessing the attributes of modern tragedy as an art form and he concluded that they are still modelled along Aristotle's pattern with ``demands for seriousness, completeness, scope, beauty, working through the media of pity and terror.``(Waugh Arthur, 1969, p110)These are transformatory emotional movements in human beings excited by what happens to others like them.

Lindesmith et al (1988 identifies the role of language in individuals-`` Not only does society provide the linguistic and other devices used by the individual in registering an event, recalling, identifying and placing it (a group experiencing creates a group memory) ``(Lindesmith Alfred et al, 1988, p129- 130).

The researcher has identified gaps in the review of literature because the Commission heard many allegations of what was said in the FM vernacular stations, but it did not interact with journalists to ascertain what went wrong during this very critical period.

Also the role of media in the epicentres that bore the brunt of violence has not been ascertained. Crucial to the role of journalist is truth telling hence there is no mention whatsoever of recorded information during the post election violence.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter describes the research methodology of the study and includes research design, sample size, sampling design, area and population of study, sources of data, research instruments, data analysis and limitations are discussed.

3.1 Research Design

The research has been carried out by use of descriptive and analytical design that will be selected in form of effective research presentation that is based on both quantitative and qualitative data.

Secondary data will be obtained from previous publications and studying previous projects documentation.

3.2 Area of study

The research study was chosen Nairobi city because it is the area where most media houses are located.

The researcher targeted three hundred people through random sampling. The interviews were conducted for media both mainstream and vernacular journalists including newspapers as detailed in the sample and sampling procedure below

3.3 Sampling Design

Relevant and accurate information has been researched mainly from the Journalists, students, business men and women, politicians and government officials. This is because media informs masses about politics and dangers can easily be identified and also ensuring peace and unity among different ethnic communities.

3.4 Data collection and Instruments

Two sources of data collection have been used.

3.4.1 Primary Data

This has been obtained through telephone interviews with respondents (key informants) and by structured questionnaires administered by enumerators.

3.4.2 Secondary Data

Involved gathering information and views from published reports, newspapers

Questions were brain stormed with each question was checked for clarity, bias, sensitivity, redundancy, fullness and omniscience.

3.5 Research Instruments

The study used primary and secondary sources of data from, the selected people and the research instruments used were

3.5.1 Questionnaires

This was pre-tested in order to eliminate questions that are vague, ambiguous and leading hence selected sample and corrections are made necessary. Questionnaires were used because responses are gathered in a standardised way, they are more objective, compared to interviews, relatively quick to collect information, and potentially information can be collected from a large group. People are able to relate their experiences, They can be administered to by trained enumerators and save on time, above all questionnaires are the cheapest method of acquiring information from respondents.

Their major disadvantage is like many evaluation tools occur after an event participants may forget important issues and some people may demand for incentives before being interviewed.

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3.5.2 Key informant interviews

This helped in guiding and piloting various questions, the interview guides were pre-tested in order to avoid and remove questions that are vague, ambiguous and misleading. This method was quick and first hand message was acquired hence recording the responses. Also detailed and rich data can be gathered in a relatively easy and inexpensive way and the researcher can contact informants to clarify issues as needed.

Later on code and evaluate them, here questions were rephrased to the interviewee for easy understanding. However this method is disadvantageous because it's challenging to reach and select ``key`` informants and difficult to schedule interviews with busy or hard to reach respondents.

3.5.3 Existing records documents

Newspapers, magazines and other documents have been used to supplement to already collected data

3.6 Data

The researcher collected both qualitative and quantitative data. The former was used in the descriptive discourse of various variables.

Other secondary data included journals and other publications from meetings and reports from institutions involved in conflict and peace building issues. The secondary source comprised review of other people's research in this area and newspapers.

Telephone interviews were very effective. Thirty people were identified as key informants in Nairobi and were indeed knowledgeable on the study. The Media Council staff helped identify a few editors and journalists from both mainstream and vernacular FM stations for this study. The Provincial Administration was instrumental and getting me contacts of politicians and government officials as well as other community leaders.

3.7 Data Analysis

Data was collected and results were compiled, edited, sorted and classified
Qualitative data was summarized and categorized as per the emerging themes, and in line with the research questions being generated, this data analysis involves attention, detailed, descriptive vocabulary.

The analysis of the collected data begun by editing and examination of responses of returned questionnaires. The quantitative data was generated through in depth interview and questionnaires. The data was then coded, appropriately categorized and processed using Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS). The study used descriptive statistics to analyze data collected. The data for each item was processed and reported through descriptive narrative. Analysis of the data was accomplished by use of frequencies, means, calculating percentage and tabulating them appropriately. This was followed by drawing of inferences which formed the basic of the research finding.

Advantages of data analysis

Awareness of time and history

Greater awareness of the perspectives of research respondents

Capability of understanding dynamic development in the research as it involves.

Sensitivity to the influence of context

Ability to enter the research area without continued pre-conceptions

3.8 Limitations

Various limitations towards the project expected to be experienced are shortage of time, money and logistical difficulties. For the period of violence(December 30th, 2007 –February,27th 2008) the investigation will be after close to a year – a retrospective research hence the informants may have moved due to internal displacement or may distort some information because it may be difficult to recall everything due to trauma among other factors.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

1.1 Introduction.

This chapter of the report provides a presentation of the study findings and data analysis. The data was gathered from the primary sources through well structured coded questionnaires

4.2 Background of the respondents

1.2.1 Age

This section aimed at establishing the age of the respondents under study. Results are presented in figure 1.

Figure 1: Age of the respondents
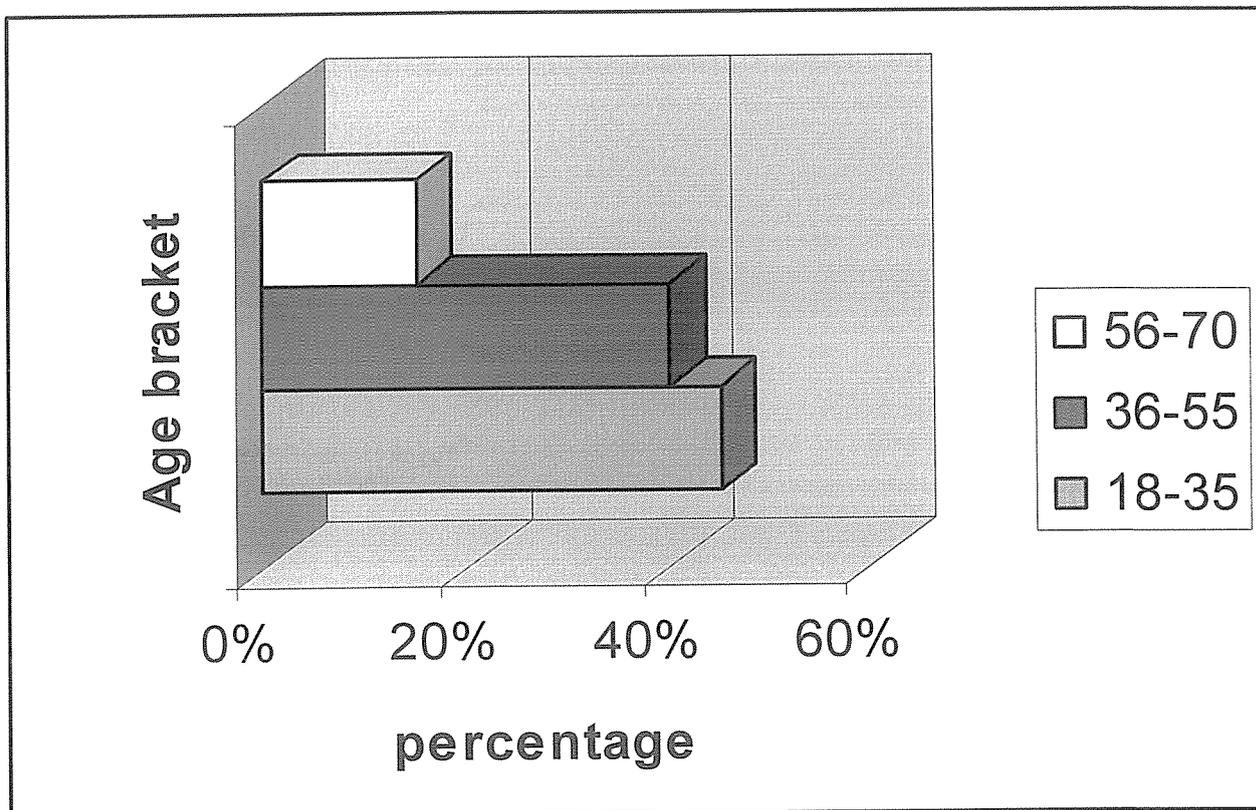
From the study, it was revealed that, majority of the respondents were the youthful category, 45% aged between eighteen and thirty five years. Meanwhile, those who were aged between thirty six and fifty five years constituted 40 % of the respondents. The elderly age group, 56-70 years, constituted only 15%. The reason as to why the youths were the majority is because the research was conducted in Mathare, Kibera and Kariobangi areas which were epicentres that bore the brunt of the post election violence and these areas consists predominantly of a youthful population. Majority of whom are idle and parade on roadsides doing extortion business from buses and ``matatu`s.

4.3 Gender

Respondents were categorized as being either male or female. There was gender imparity among the respondents as indicated below in Figure 2. Males being more than females at 53% and 47% respectively. This can be attributed to mass movement that occurred during the post election violence. Most respondents said their wives/children left for rural areas after the post election

Figure 2: Gender
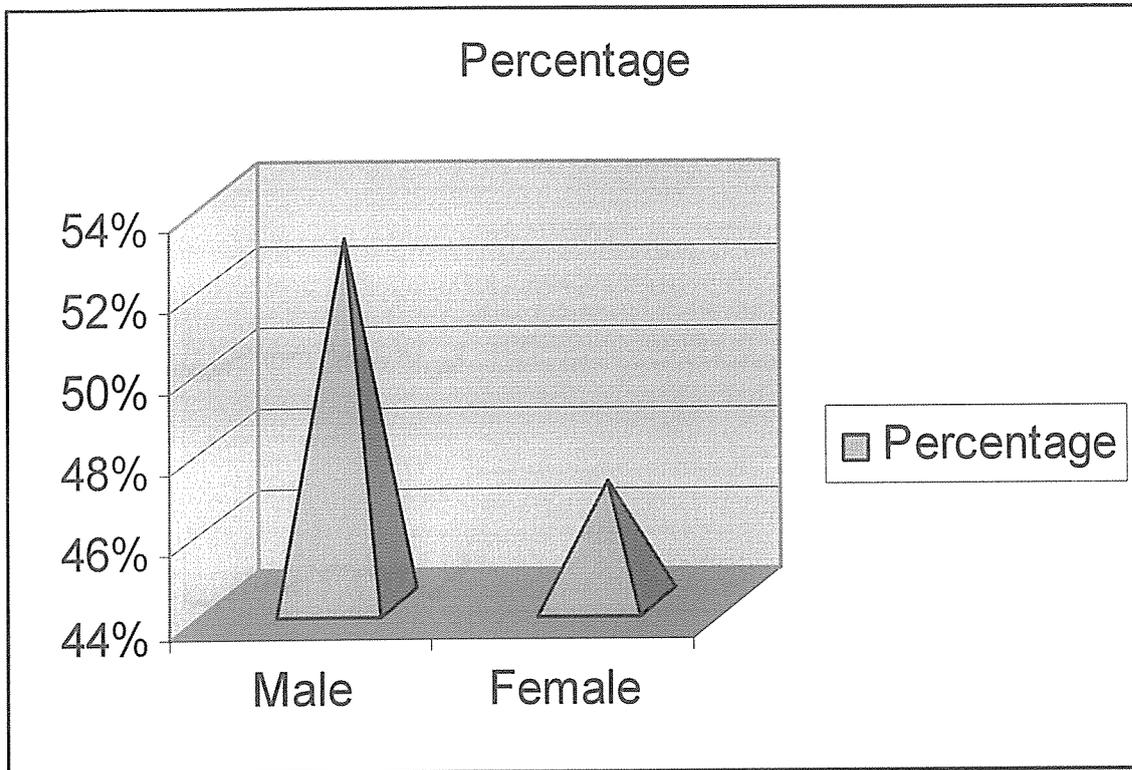
1.4 Occupation

Table 1: Occupation

Occupation	Frequency	Percent
Journalist	65	21.7
Government Official	30	10
Politician	15	5
Student/others	124	41.3
Businessman/woman	66	22
Total	**300**	**100.0**

Table 1: Table 1 above shows the findings on occupation where majority comprising of 41.3 % of the respondents were student/others, while 22% were businessman/woman and 21.7% were Journalist. A proportion of 10% were Government Official and a minority of 5% were

'oliticians. The student population was high because most of the respondents interviewed were ollege going students and preferred cheaper housing and Kibera, Mathare and Kariobangi in Jairobi have the most cheap house rents.

Figure 3: Media Awareness
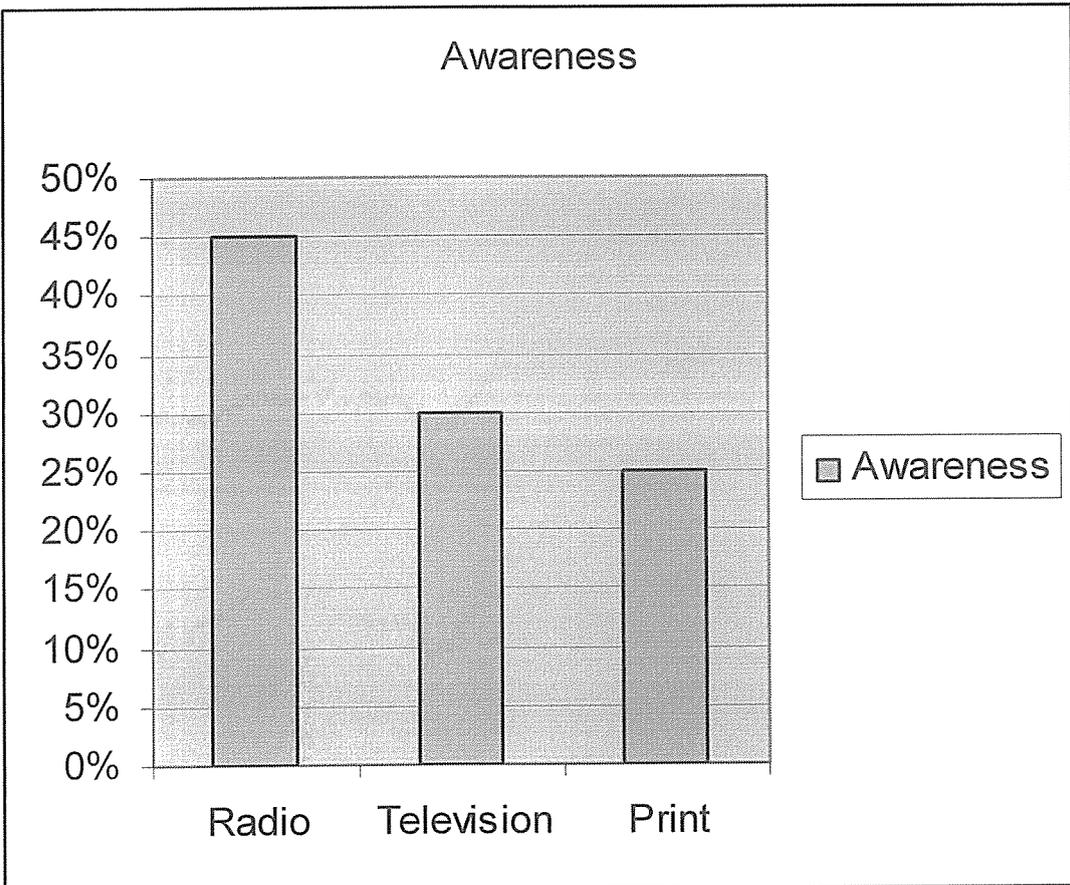
1.5 Media Awareness

From figure 3 above 45% of respondents cited that they were aware of the Radio, 30% Television and 25% print. The awareness about radio dominated the rest because most of the espondents interviewed owned a radio or listened to the radio, integrated on their mobile hones. Also most respondents interviewed owned a television but it was not easy for espondents to buy the local dailies or being aware of other print media in the market because it roved to be an expensive venture.

Figure 4: Media Challenges
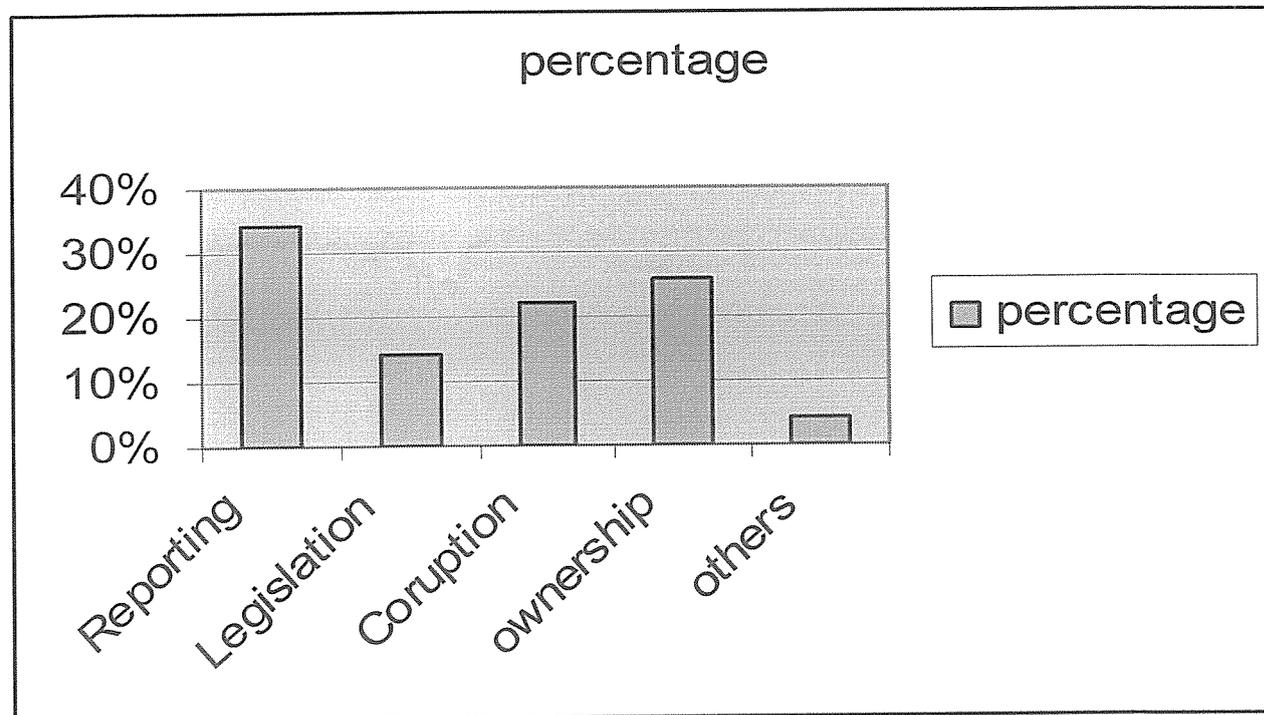
4.6 Media challenges

The respondents who admitted that they were media challenges during the post election violence, constituted reporting 34%, Legislation 14%, corruption 22%, ownership 26% and others were 4%. Most respondents were not happy with the way some media houses were reporting the violence. Majority were of the view that there was exaggeration of deaths and casualties since to date, nobody knows exactly how many people died or were displaced.

The ban from government of the live coverage was repetitively referred to by most respondents about the legislation. The new media bill introduced recently was seen by some as providing the government with essential tools for regulating media but was criticized by others for giving the government excessive power to control content.

Corruption by mostly correspondents was also cited by the respondents. Media houses were overwhelmed and they relied on people who were not professionals. They went around the Universities in Kenya to recruit undergraduate student to do the reporting, yet the payment was as little as one thousand Kenya shillings for every story published hence compromised on their integrity to be objective.

Most journalists relied on handouts during the post election violence period to survive because money was not forthcoming. Most media houses put news before the security of journalists. The respondents faulted radio hosts, most of whom were not trained journalists. They were quick to point out that radio station employ entertainers/celebs, not journalists. Hence unable to control people who call into their shows and spew tribal hatreds.

The moment politicians realized they could penetrate the tribal air waves to push their agenda, they took advantage of it.

About ownership most media houses were owned by politicians or were inclined to the government or the opposition. The news was lopsided and respondents especially journalists attest to this and those who tried to practice fairness in reporting lost their jobs and a reasonable number of the respondents interviewed became victims of ownership. The journalists were to report according to the way the owner wants but not factual. The norm was people based and not issue based.

About the rating on others, respondents explained that at times failures of professionalism occurred because personnel often were under heavy pressure to put forward a particular agenda. Those who did not cooperate were in some cases held hostage in the station, forced to hide in their homes, or chose to flee the area forever.

Table 2: Media satisfaction

Media	Frequency	Percentage
Mainstream	100	33.3
Vernacular	90	30
Community	110	36.7
Total	300	100.0

4.7 Media satisfaction

Table 2 above shows the satisfaction derived from the different media. Community topped the survey with36.7%, followed by mainstream and eventually Vernacular closely at 30%. Most respondents interviewed lauded community radios as opposed to the mainstream or vernacular. The reason they gave is that they identify themselves with them because they talk of typical local issues and played a big part in the reconciliation. The Radios interviewed the perceived ``Rogue`` youths who were aggressors but after some time the same people were in the studio`s calling for peace appealing to their neighbours to come back and preaching peace, by this they cut a niche for themselves.

The mainstream media closely because of their use of the national language especially Kiswahili and was closely followed by vernacular fm, which appealed mainly to the elderly, politicians and businessmen and women.

Figure 5: Media Failure
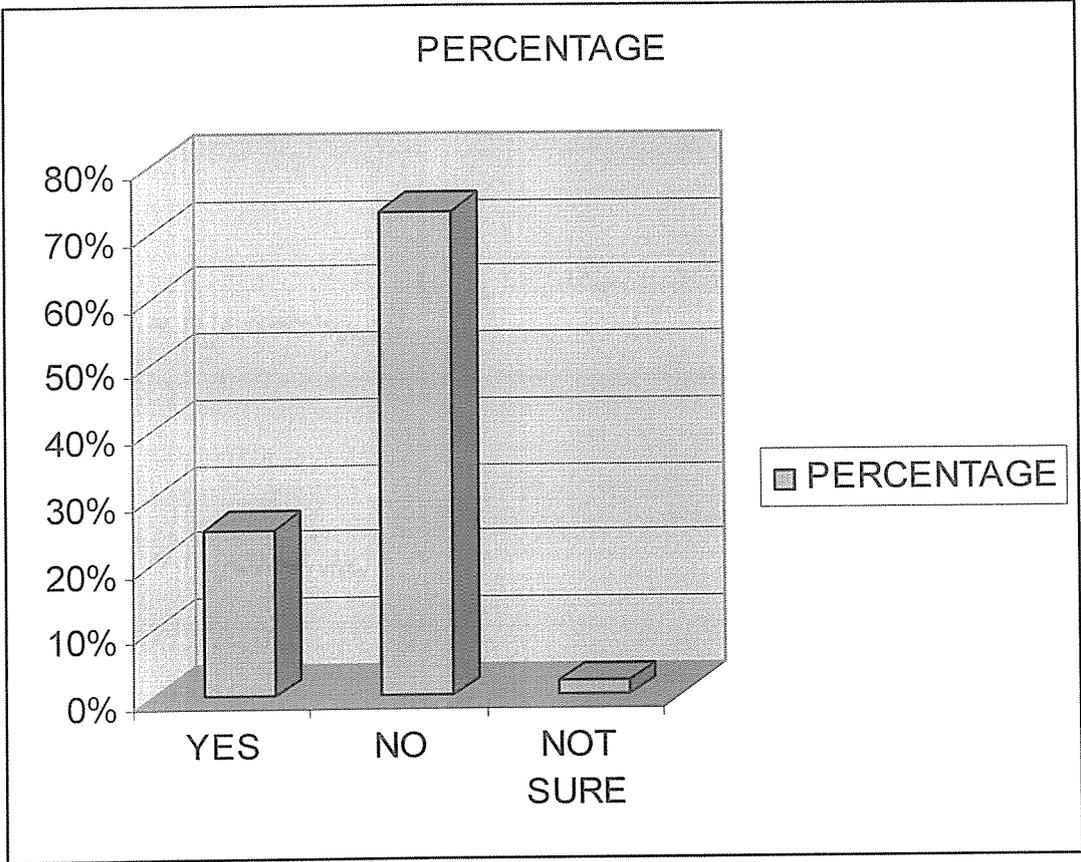
4.8 Media failure

In Figure 5 above , 73% of respondents interviewed felt that the media did not fail during the post election violence in Kenya while 25% felt that id did and 2% remained non- committal. The respondents said it was the Electoral commission of Kenya that failed them but not the media. They were claiming that votes were stolen depending on which party they belonged to.

Those who stood out to complain that the media failed believed that the media was supposed to be in every polling station and was supposed to broadcast the results that were announced at the polling station because they believed they were doctored at Kenyatta International Conference centre.

Those not sure said they blamed the media and government and therefore none performed better than the other. They bore the same responsibility of negligence.

Figure 6: Identifiable areas
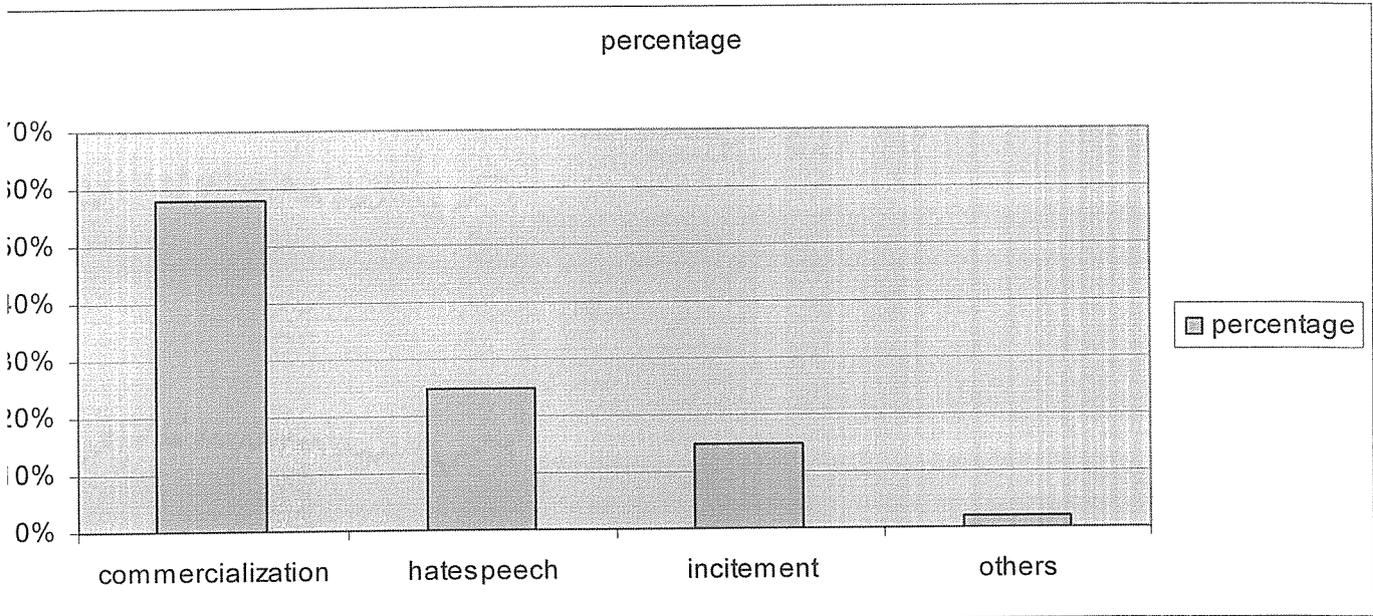
4.9 Identifiable Areas

Figure 6 above establishes the results from respondents in which, commercialization or profit making topped with 58%, hate speech 25%,incitement 15 5 and others at 2%.Most respondents felt that profit making was the driving force as opposed to professionalism. They felt that the overriding goal of most media houses especially with the liberalization of the air waves, owners were out at this time to get maximum from political parties and politicians.

During that time hate speech was propagated through vernacular fm stations, Marshall Songs were played, one community was incited against another, and name calling was the order in most of the fm stations.

Some respondents felt that the media contributed in the incitement of violence by their commentaries.

The small percentage of others was raised as a concern by a few respondents who said telephone and blogs were part of the identifiable areas that should be dealt with. During this time text messages and blogs were jammed with hate and incitement messages.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of key findings, conclusions and recommendations of the study. It starts with a summary of the research findings, followed by the discussion, conclusion and recommendations. The research was cross-sectional with both explanatory and descriptive approaches. The target population was the women, youth, middle aged and elderly people, besides politicians will also be included as a special group. The population of the study was three hundred people.

The data from the field was first coded according to the themes researched on the study. Analysis was done with aid of the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) package. Descriptive statistics generated such as percentages, mean scores and proportions were presented in tables and figures. Qualitative data from open questions was presented in prose.

5.1 Discussion of the Key Findings

The findings on the factors specified in the objectives of the study are discussed below.

Kenyan journalists have had no experience or training, in reporting conflicts of the magnitude that erupted in the country, following the disputed elections. Out of the 21.7% Journalists who were interviewed all of them admitted, having very scanty knowledge in the area of conflict reporting. Therefore they admitted to have a bad influence on the public in the city of Nairobi. They owned up to the fact that their language and wording should be reconciliatory as opposed to incitement. They were also not supposed to name the tribe of the aggressor or recipient but were doing the contrary.

Other issues raised during key informant interviews; include the Weak constitutional and legal framework including non enforcement of existing labour laws which have led to abuse of labour rights among journalists. This particular notion was shared mainly by correspondents.

Media houses are not adequately equipped to control quality/content during live talk shows and call-ins. live shows focusing on politics were popular in all TV and radio stations. These shows had call in sections which posed a big challenge to the stations as they were not able to anticipate and sieve what messages came through. Some media houses however said they had equipment that could delay calls for vetting before going on air. Therefore the performance deteriorated compared to other general election years for example in 2002, during the advent of multi-party elections where the Kenyan media as hailed and branded by many as the ``peoples watchdog``.

Kenya's many vernacular radio stations broadcasting in Luo, Kikuyu, Kalenjin and other local language stations, callers to live radio stations were heard exhorting the thinly veiled hate speech such as ``cut grass`` and ``get rid of weeds`` or to drive out ``settlers``.
Each of these is a thinly veiled reference to the other groups. Songs broadcast on vernacular stations referred to members of other ethnic groups as `` beasts`` and ``baboons`` and to candidates as murderers and Child traffickers.

Hate speech in the Kenya election period consisted of both overt incitements and mere settled metaphoric epithets intelligible only to speakers of individual vernaculars.

There was high dependency by media houses on correspondents who were in most cases untrained. They lacked basic journalistic skills and were not familiar with the Code of Conduct and Practice of Journalism in Kenya yet they would form the bulk of reporters in the field during the elections.

Poor research capacity was shared across the board by students who formed the bulk of respondents in table 1 rated at 41.3% and journalists of various media houses scaled at 21.7% during the key informant interviews by way of telephone.

Media ownership and policy in interfering with journalist professionalism as the ownership in some media houses influences content and what the public finally gets to know. Some media

houses had a particular leaning to a political party and this made nonsense of fundamental principles and ethic of journalism. This was prevalent as seen in Figure 4 with ownership cited by respondents as a challenge with 25% score.

Embedding of correspondents to politicians: editors said this does not happen in any other part of the world apart from Africa. It involves a journalist taking sides with a candidate or party and going all out to trumpet their issues irrespective of their news-worthiness, balance, fairness or accuracy. Journalists were also losing their neutrality in anchoring programmes, they were taking sides and influencing viewers towards a certain direction as evident in Figure 4 reporting by respondents was a challenge by 35%.

Journalists seemed to get away with imbalanced stories, stories that do not reveal sources of their stories or test the brevity of claims made by politicians who are their friends. Some journalists took sides with politicians.

The influence of poor remuneration and infrastructure for journalists covering elections was watering down professionalism. Corruption took centre stage as seen in Figure 4 with 21%. In areas with inadequate infrastructure for their work, journalists depended on politicians to reach, say a rally which would be addressed by the same politician who gave him/her a lift and bought lunch. How can they remain neutral? This was a challenge to editors as they were not in a position to influence purchases and provision of equipment and other requirements.

Journalists were not familiar with the laws relating to journalism, elections, defections, coalition building and elections.

The question of journalists' security during elections arose. The Media bills had caused friction between journalist and MPs, and they were worried about journalists' security while reporting elections. They were also concerned about reporting in political parties' stronghold. This presented challenges as they would be in trouble if they filed stories that were unfavourable to the preferred candidate.

Balancing between profit making (advertising/sales) and fulfilling the role of the media. This was especially challenging during the post election violence when political parties used paid up adverts to send partisan and biased messages across to their audiences.

The relationship between the government and media is not cordial. Kenya's regulatory framework has not been adapted to deal with the new system, the media in particular the large number of private radio stations broadcasting in local languages were criticized by the government for their role in inciting violence.

Whereby the media feels they are being gagged and the government believes that the media is not practising responsible journalism hence the introduction of the media bill which among other things gives leeway to the minister to retrieve licence from any media house without notice or ban live broadcasts.

5.2 Conclusions

The problem facing Kenya's media is not an excess of media freedom but rather a lack of it. Journalists and broadcasters face immense commercial and political constraints which are constraining their journalistic independence and integrity. The local media seems to align itself with or against the power depending on ownership, whether it's pro or against government.

Some local language radio stations have incited fear and hatred. Talk shows have provided the greatest opportunities for hate speech and. host are not trained in conflict reporting or moderation.

Local language stations appear to have been playing an important role in calming tension and promoting dialogue. A strengthening of such a role will form a critical contribution.

Training remains a major priority, particularly training talk show hosts and others engaged in facilitating public debate. Training journalists on conflict reporting is now considered an urgent need.

The document's overall conclusion is that despite logistical challenges, if media had practised responsible journalism entirely preventable, the violence itself may well have been much more limited. Its role in the future may be critical in the reconciliation and restoration of democratic legitimacy in the months and years ahead.

Many media outlets are owned by politicians, who determined the content. These led to underreporting the unfolding political crisis in their anxiety to `` calm passions and encourage reconciliation``.

In spite of media facing challenges during the post election violence in Nairobi Kenya, it should not be misconstrued as merely accidental. On the contrary the media needs to be held accountable while professionalism and responsibility should be the cardinal principle for all journalists, editors and media owners.

The damage has been done, but lessons learnt should be implemented to prevent future challenges especially relating to elections reporting or any future unforeseen violence of whatever magnitude.

5.3 Recommendations.

For poor training in Journalism, I recommend an update of the Journalists' Training Manual used during the Media and Elections Project to cover areas of need. This can be done through the Media Council of Kenya in collaboration with reputable journalists training institution. It should start as soon as possible to arrest further damage and Media houses should offer short term in- house refresher courses to media houses on identified and timely topics.

On negative ethnicity, the media should play an integral role of uniting Kenyans. I would recommend that People from countries which have suffered as a result of negative ethnicity and hate speech should be invited by the government and even independent media houses to share programmes that they have used in their country to train journalists on the issue. Also Media owners and other stake holders should initiate efforts to develop a Media and Elections

Policy and speed up the enactment of the Freedom of Information bill which is pending in Parliament.

About corruption I recommend Media owners to develop a training programme for journalists on local and national integrity systems. This should be done across board and across all levels of media practitioners.

On the code of conduct and practice of journalism in Kenya and the guidelines for elections coverage training on the above should continue with special emphasis on vernacular stations. This should be a prerogative of the media council of Kenya.

I also recommend media and reconciliation, human rights, gender and governance to be part of any training curriculum for journalists. The Kenya Union of Journalists (KUJ), Editors guild, Media owners association (MOA) and the Alternative Free Independent Media (AFIM), should work together to come up with a comprehensive curriculum.

5.5 Suggestions for future research

While little has been written on media challenges in Africa, there is a rich literature on media and elections primarily focusing on North America and Europe and a growing body of literature in elections and violence.

The research was based on random sampling; future research should be based on content analysis frame which is used to analyze recorded transcripts of interviews with participants, it is scholarly and very accurate if the coding is done properly. Through incorporation of Audio and Visual cassettes, therefore more research should be done in this area. It is still a grey area.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: QUESTIONAIRE

Hello. My name is Mr/Mrs .... I would like to ask you a few questions on the topic of media challenges during post election violence with a bias to Nairobi city.. The questionnaire will take about 10 minutes. The information you provide will be used in strict confidence and your name will not be attached to the questionnaire. The purpose of the questionnaire is to find out your knowledge on the challenges that media underwent during the post election violence in Kenya. Please feel free to answer the questions as honestly as possible. I will give you an opportunity to ask questions or seek clarification at the end of the interview.

1. Title of Respondent   _____

2. Age

     18 – 35 years

     36 – 55years

     56 – 70years

3. Sex

    a) Male ☐

    b) Female ☐

4. Occupation of Respondent

☐ Journalist

☐ Politician

☐ Government Official

☐ Student/other

☐ Businessman/woman

5. Marital Status

☐ Single   ☐ Married

7. Are you aware of any Media houses?

Yes   ☐

No   ☐

8. If yes, which one (s) are you aware of?

Radio   ☐

T.V. Station   ☐

Print Media   ☐

Others (please indicate which one)?.....................................

9. In your opinion did Media face any challenges during the post election violence in Kenya?

Yes   ☐   No   ☐

10. If yes, please indicate which one (s)

Reporting   ☐

Legislation   ☐

Corruption   ☐

Ownership   ☐

Others (please indicate which one?) ....

11. In your opinion where did the media score during the post election violence?

News wrap   ☐

In-coming calls   ☐

Live shows   ☐

Vox- pop   ☐

Others (please specify) ---

----

12. Did the media fail?

Yes ☐   No ☐

13. If Yes, where?

Hate Speech

Incitement

Commercialization

Others(please

specify)..

....

....

14. In your opinion, do you think media should be regulated?

a) Yes   ☐

b) No   ☐

Please, explain briefly your response---

----

16. Are you satisfied with mainstream, vernacular or community media?

a) Vernacular   ☐

b) Mainstream   ☐

c) Community   ☐

Please explain

....

....

Kampala International University
PO Box 20000
Kampala

Institute of Open and Distance Learning
<u>kulewarren@gmail.com</u>

21.09.2009

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE : MURUTU JANE NANJALA (MCR/20383/71/DF)

This is to introduce to you the above named who is a student in the Institute of Open and Distance Learning, pursuing a Master of Arts in Conflict Resolution and Peace Building.

She would like to carry out research in your organization entitled: Media Challenges in the Post-Election Violence in Kenya. A Case Study of Nairobi.

Any assistance rendered to her regarding her research will be highly appreciated.

Yours truly,

Kule Julius Warren
Deputy Director,
Institute of Open and Distance Learning
+256782654429
+254710141914
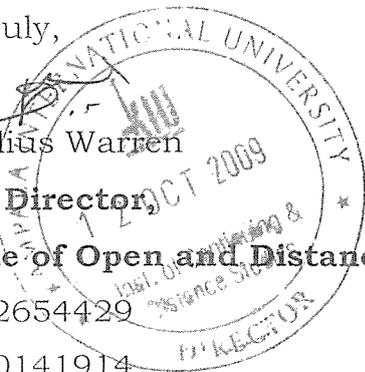
APPENDIX III

BUDGET

Item	Number of units	Unit cost Ksh	Total cost of each item (ksh)	Grand total (ksh)
1.travel & subsistence cost	Nairobi	30 days @ 1,000	30,000	30,000
Telephone interview	30	30	300	9,000
2.stationery	Note books Pens 1 ream printing paper	10 @ 30 20 @ 10 10 @ 350	300 200 3500	4,000
3.allowances for research assistants	4 research assistants	4@500 per day by 30 days	60,000	60,000
4.secretarial services	P/copying Typing	500 @ 3 100 @ 30	1,500 3,000	4,500
4.data treatment &analysis	Data entry assistants Data analyst	3 by 1000 by 5 days 1 @ 3000 by 5 days	15,000 15,000	30,000
Production of research reports	Printing Binding	100 @ 10 5 @ 2000	1,000 10000	11,000
Grand total				148,500

43

APPENDIX IV: TIME FRAME

	Dec	Jan	Feb	March	April	May	June	July
Problem Identification	■	■						
Review of literature	■		■	■	■	■	■	
Writing Research proposal	■	■						
Data collection		■	■	■				
Data analysis				■	■	■		
Documentation			■	■	■	■	■	
Project presentation								■