

**LOCAL MEDIA PARTICIPATION IN 2007/2008 PRE/POST GENERAL
ELECTION CRISIS; CASE STUDY OF THE DAILY
NATION NEWSPAPERS IN KENYA**

A Thesis

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Postgraduate studies and research
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**In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Award of the Degree
Of Master of Arts in Conflict Resolution and Peace Building**

By

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September, 2011



DECLARATION A

I Gerald Liguyani Majany do hereby declare that this thesis is my original work done by me with neither whole nor part having been submitted to any academic institution for award of a degree or the equivalent.

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DECLARATION B

I confirm that this thesis is a result of the researcher's effort in the area of **local media participation in 2007/2008 pre/post election crisis, a case study of The Daily Newspapers – Kenya**, under my supervision as a university supervisor and submitted with my approval for submission for the Award of a Master of Arts In Conflict resolution and Peace building, to the School of Post Graduate Studies of **Kampala International University**.

Signed  _____


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APPROVAL SHEET

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DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to first and foremost my family, Ted Nigel and Teddy Praise and lastly to Kampala International University. Thank you for the support, love and encouragement you accorded me.

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Praise is to the almighty God who has kept us alive and enabled me to accomplish this thesis successfully.

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ABBREVIATIONS

PEV- Post Election Violence

ECK- Electoral Commission of Kenya

PNU- Party of National Unity

ODM- Orange Democratic Party

KBC- Kenya Broadcasting Co-operation

COTU- Central Organization of Trade Union

CIPEV-Commission of Inquiry into the Post Election Violence

AU- African Union

UN- United Nations

IDP- Internally Displaced Persons

CRN- Conflict Resolution Network

FKE- Federation of Kenya Employees

KIU- Kampala International University

KICC-Kenyatta International Centre

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ABSTRACT

The researcher studied the participation of the local media in the pre/post election crisis in Kenya 2007-2008. The researcher selected amongst others print media, The Daily Nation Newspaper because of its widest readership coverage in east Africa, Central Africa and most parts of the world.

The study is guided by the following objectives, to examine the challenges faced by the local media in disseminating information to resolve, manage and prevent conflicts, its agenda setting role and effects of its coverage and reportage of 2007/2008 general elections.

The study questions are; did the local media face difficulties during coverage and reportage of general elections 2007/2008 in Kenya?, whether the local media attempted to promote peace harmony and co-existence amongst Kenyans before during and after 2007/2008 elections crisis, is the local media trained in issues of conflict resolution and management to handle crisis, and how much coverage/reportage the local media gave to violence as opposed to causes of violence before, during and after 2007/2008 general elections in Kenya.

The research design is a cross-section descriptive case study. Data was collected from both primary and secondary sources using research instruments as questionnaire, interviews and observation.

Sampling technique used was random cluster sampling for the related reportage and coverage of items to pre/post election crisis 2007/2008 in Kenya.

Editors, Reporters and photographers had equal chance through purposive sampling. Using PRA tools like tables, pie charts, bar diagrams and venue diagrams to analyze information and compute the same using frequencies, percentages and the statistical packages for social science (SPSS).

The study explored issues such as professional standards, work experience, age and gender and balanced reportage, fair coverage, emphasis to violence.

The study is far from the conclusion that politics, economics, culture and environment are the key drives of media performance and social responsibility.

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CHAPTER ONE

PROBLEM AND ITS SCOPE

Introduction

This section presented the background of the study, statement of the problem, purpose of study, Objectives of the Study, General Objectives, Specific Objectives, and Research questions, Scope of the study, Significance of study and Operational definitions of key terms.

Background of the Study

The media establishes and identifies opportunities for productive engagements by local, national and international actors to support peaceful conflict management and resolution. The media engages in programs for non-violence and participative democracy as a means to gain social integration and economic development.

The media is an accessory of participation in democracy. Its role in the society is that of a mirror, a conciliator and a mouth piece of the public. It is accredited with the ability to inform and educate (sensitize) people on issues of good governance, and peaceful co-existence amongst themselves. The media informs on governance challenges, declining resources, food/water shortages, secessionist movements and violent extremisms. It uses strategic listening, conflict assessment, frameworks, scenario awareness and systems mapping to identify conflict drivers and assess risks of escalation. (Grabber, 2003).

Programs for non-violence, mobilization and direction on issues of rights, freedoms and liberty of a people are emphasized by the media with the view to yield attitudes and attention to a purposeful action. "The demand for a free media contributed to the spread of the civilizing process in which social interaction is marked by the greater self-restraint of individuals and their relative freedom from immediate physical violence as if a passionless id, somehow binds them to others (violence and civilization, 1988). In addition, there has

emerged a new style of political communication in democratic regimes, affecting both public opinion and more widely the political culture. Governments of whatever complexion have always had an unreliable relationship with the truth. Winning politicians are concerned primarily with retaining power and are thus ever sensitive to the need to maintain public support. The desire to accentuate the positive and conceal the negative is therefore irresistible (Mill, 1977).

In liberal democratic context in which the existence of free media rules out "official propaganda and crude ideological manipulation, governments have come to shape the news agenda by new techniques for control and dissemination of information after described as news management or political marketing" the spin has thus become the preoccupation of modern governments, this includes: (Herman and Chomsky, 1998).

- The careful vetting of information and arguments before, release to the media.
- The control of sources of information to ensure that only an "official line" is presented.
- The use of unattributable briefings "Leaks" the feeding of stories only to sympathetic media sources.
- The release of information close to media deadlines to prevent checking or identification of counter arguments.

The media is drawn into symbiotic relationships with powerful sources of information by economic necessity and reciprocity of interests which is more often than not government oriented.

This was intensified during Moi era where violence became institutionalized during presidential and parliamentary elections. Moi argued that the multiparty politics will be intensifying rivalry, be socially divisive and politically destabilizing and will impede development. It was evident that high ranking political figures, civil servants and others close to the head of the government organized and used gangs to intimidate people in areas of potential opposition. The people identified as responsible for ethnic clashes were never

punished (Kiliku parliamentary Commission, and the Akiwumi Report (1998).

The Ndun'gu report (2001) noted that throughout the 1980s and 1990s public land was illegally and irregularly allocated in total disregard to the public interest and in circumstances that it was in violation of the law.

In the Kenyatta and Moi governments the media was virtually controlled by the state. There was utmost scrutiny of what the media published by the government security agents, (Makali, 2003). Kibaki government succeeded Moi with a myriad of promises, it promised the Kenyan youth 500,000 jobs, to deliver a new constitution within 100 days, swore to fight corruption, to be transparent and decisive on ethnicity and crime. The government gave the media more space to criticize and expose evil in their news agenda.

News management of this kind is most advanced in the USA where it has become common for election strategists and campaigns managers to take up senior Whitehouse posts if their candidate wins the presidency, (Heywood and Palgrave, 2007). Kenya has gone through an enormity of transformation politics whose lessons have been learnt well with the question as to whether the media must actually sleep with the government hindering the midst of the populace, so as not to keep the society aware.

During Kenyatta's leadership, the government was characterized by clientelism in which he was the grand patron and the ultimate arbiter of factional conflict. In a manner reminiscent of King Hassan of Morocco. Whereas in Kenya, the party machinery was weak and personal, political alliances assumed added importance and political leaders at the centre who relied on media factual linkages at the local level. They politicized many supposedly apolitical borders sometimes including cooperatives societies, tribes, and the army. Thus the intra-elite competition in Kenya penetrated the trade unions and other related organizations also followed suit. These organizations lost their legitimacy to political authority in totality (Makali, 2003).

Political bickering, unemployment and more soaring corruption gored Kibaki's government. In the 2002 and 2007 general elections, Kibaki retained the seat as the president and his government was characterized by youth unemployment, violent gangs, a lot of money being spent on patronage instead of maintaining infrastructure and provision of social amenities.

This led to despondency amongst the grumbling gangs who started to provide their services by giving the unemployed youth work to do such as manning matatu terminus, collecting garbage, selling wares and providing estate security to residents in the name of vigilante youths. This made the gangs extremely powerful (Waki report, 2008).

The gangs' power later proved disastrous during the period 2007 – 2008. General elections in Kenya, the CIPEV report on causes of post election violence (2008). (Waki, report 2008), further depicts the injustices that some of the victims of the 2008 – 2008 PEV had suffered successive displacement from 1992, 1997, 2002 and 2007, "use of force" employed by the Kenyan police on civilians, land grabbing, unemployment, corruption and most of all the disputed elections, form the basis of Agenda setting and Social responsibility roles of the media. This roles are what this study intended to establish.

On 27th December 2007 early morning the citizens thronged election polling stations as early as 6.00 a.m. The elections were conducted smoothly despite little delays and lack of social amenities in some polling stations. On 29th December 2007, Electoral commission for Kenya ECK delayed announcing results as on the other side, the local media showed tallies of results gathered from the polling stations. Later in the day, violence had already started in most of the range Democratic Movement ODM strongholds in protestation of delayed results (The Daily Nation, 2007).

On 30th December 2007 the ECK chairman Samuel Kivuitu and Hon. James Orengo had an argument on the delay of presidential results.

The chairman was then reportedly escorted to another room and the entire media barred from reporting apart from the government owned Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) Reuters (2008). The permanent secretary the ministry of information and communication had lamented and said that the live broadcast of tallying the 2007 election results at the Kenyatta international conference centre (KICC) and the visible acrimony of political leaders inflamed tensions, bringing the country to a brink of violence. Sec 88 of the communication Act was invoked leading to live coverage ban. However the Attorney General in his testimony asserted that "the ban on live broadcasts was not proper, was unconstitutional and illegal. Further he alluded that the "recent post election violence" was among very close to crimes against humanity. (Waki report CIPEV, 2008).

After some hours, the ECK Chairman announced Mwai Kibaki the winner and was sworn into office immediately later in the evening. As this was going on the country had already been polarized and at least 100 people reported dead (The Daily Nation, 2007).

In crisis situations when consistent and pertinent systems have been disrupted and when people's nerves and tempers are also likely to be flayed resulting to a highly crucial volatile atmosphere, the role of media can easily be very decisive in helping to escalate the crisis or to assuage the tempers and bring the crisis under control (Schramm, 1997). The media creates its choice of information depending on the interest of the public and in crisis it has the ability to fuel or cool the situation.

Many countries still suffer spontaneous and long standing crisis which if unattended could jeopardize the co-existence of the nation's existence. (Land and Kang, 1959) suggest that sensational and biased media coverage of violence can produce an inflammatory contagion effect leading to an outbreak of further violence.

Against this background that the researcher was compelled to evaluate the role of the media in 2007/2008 general elections.

Statement of the Problem

The media as the fourth estate is charged with the responsibility to educate, inform and entertain the public. Power of the media to foster development in a dividend, fragmented political system, faced with complex cultural ethnic rifts, economic disparities and social decadence, adequate, consistent, correct and tangible information is imperative to prefers peace, security and stability, (Okigbo, 1999).

The media mediates worrying parties contesting on contemporary issues and defines traditional practices and values. It initiates a traditional practice and values. It initiates a level of constancy and uprightness needed to transform a society's social and political orientation, (Okigbo, 1999).

Media can help create a new world community by giving men everywhere knowledge of the world and of one other by promoting comprehension and appreciation of the goals of a free society (Altschull, 1995).

Inspite of the above mentioned, the hatred, killing and sporadic violence continued in 2007 /2008 general elections.

The researcher therefore posits to evaluate as to whether the media played its positive role in the period under study.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of the study is to emerge the relevant and viable information on the participation of the local media towards maintenance of peace and sustainable development, control and management of conflict and playing the role of social responsibility.

The local media plays a vital role in the electoral process as witnessed in 2007/2008 General elections and the world at large.

The media educates and informs the public to make a reasoned choice. The media further determines what choice the public makes rather than should make. Due to the above, the study intends to assess the participation of the local media in 2007 /2008 general elections with the view to explore its uses and gratification, social responsibility as well as agenda setting role.

The study seeks to find suggestions, ways as well as strategies that the local media shall adopt for mediation and negotiations in crisis situations and recommend the approaches necessary in conflict prevention and management.

Objectives of the study

General Objective

The general objective of the study was to examine the challenges faced by the local media disseminating information to resolve, manage and prevent conflict during general elections as was the case in 2007/2008 pre/post general elections in Kenya.

Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of the study was:

1. To identify whether the local media is well equipped to handle crisis as was the case in 2007/2008 general elections.
2. To determine whether the local media performed the Agenda setting role in 2007/2008 pre/post general elections crisis.
3. To establish the local media coverage and reportage in 2007/2008 pre/post general elections crisis
4. To make recommendations to the local media towards reportage/coverage of conflict to promote peace, co' existence, conflict resolution and management.

Research Questions

1. Did the local media face difficulties in the coverage and reportage of 2007/2008 pre/post general elections crisis in Kenya?
2. Did the local media attempt to promote peace, harmony and co-existence amongst Kenyans in 2007/2008 general elections crisis?
3. Is the local media trained in issues of conflict resolution and management to handle crisis as was the case in 2007/2008 general elections in Kenya?
4. How much coverage/reportage the local media gave to violence as opposed to causes of violence in 2007/2008 pre/post general elections crisis in Kenya?

Scope of the Study

This research study confined itself to the daily nation newspapers due to both time and financial constraints on the part of the researcher. It hinged on the local media participation in 2007/8 post election violence in terms of its reportage and coverage, agenda setting, gate keeping and provision of education and information to the public being part of its cardinal principles as a mirror of the society and the forth estate. The study focused on the active participation of the local media, case in point being the daily nation newspapers in relation to the reportage and coverage of 2007/2008 post election crisis in Kenya.

In this view, the study examines the relationship between the trend of violence with respect to the daily nation newspaper reports and coverage of the events preceding and after the 2007 – 2008 general elections in Kenya.

The researcher chose to analyze the newspaper produced two months before the elections, the elections month and two months after election. Thus the daily nation newspaper produced in October 2007 to February 2008. This was the most appropriate period under study during which period the nation witnessed horrifying events of violence at its climax.

Significance of Study

The findings and recommendation of this research will go along way in helping the media in reporting in situations similar to the Kenyan pre and post election violence. It will also help researchers generate new knowledge and to come up with strategies that can be used to avert violence in any election. It will also give an opportunity for the media scholars to critically analyse media's participation in conflict zones as was the case in 2007-2008 pre-post election crisis in Kenya.

Operational definitions of key terms

<i>Local media -</i>	This is generally refers to the print media specifically the daily nation newspaper as is the context of the study
<i>Local media participation –</i>	refers to the duties, responsibilities and undertakings of the media.
<i>2007 – 2008 PEV</i>	this is archaic (period which Kenya trumped into violence after 2007 general elections and upon President Kibaki PNU part of national unity the winner against his closest contender Odinga of ODM. Orange Democratic Movement.
<i>ECK</i>	election Commission of Kenya now disbanded was the body charged with the responsibility of organizing and conducting elections at the time under the chairmanship of Samuel Kivuitu.
<i>KBC –</i>	Kenya broadcasting cooperation is a parastatal. The only government owned media cooperation charged with the responsibility of promotion of governments' policies among others.
<i>IDPs</i>	Internally displaced persons, this are the victims of the post election violence who were evicted and or literally vacated by force or ran away for fear of their lives during the post election violence.
<i>CONFLICT/CRISIS</i>	When two or more parties have same competing interests each of them pushing own agenda to manipulate and dominate over the others then there is bound to be an air of dissatisfaction, provocation and this easily leads to violence.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Introduction

This Chapter presented a review of the findings related to the objectives under study. Many studies related to local media participation in 2007/2008 pre/post general election crisis in Kenya, were considered to provide information regard of research questions of the study.

Role of Journalism

The media has embodied itself with powerful structures of state machinery and corporate image. This impulsive agent of society is dictated by its employees, generally termed as journalists who do not owe allegiance to any electorate or any populist characterism because of the immense power of the pen and paper that they stamp.

Journalism seems and must seem to be the investigation and reporting of events, issues and trends to abroad audience. The ideal of journalism is to inform citizenry. (Lippmann, 1992) and American philosopher (Dewey, 1992) debated over the role of journalism in a democracy. Their differing philosophies still characterize a debate about the role of journalism and the nation.

According to a Lippmann, journalism was to act as a mediator or translator between public and policy making elites. Journalist is the middleman who listens and records information synthesis, it categorizes, it distills and remits the same to the public for their consumption. Journalists are the intermediaries needed to filter information for the general public. Thence, 'the public is not smart enough to understand complicated political issues'. The public is too consumed in their daily lives to care about complex public policy. Whereas the public had little to do with information they received from journalists, the public acted as a watchdog over the elites. They had a final say with their votes.

Dewey believed that journalists and the public were to work together to realize community and national goals. He believed in journalists engaging the public in forums so as to discuss and debate on issues at hand. The journalists were to engage the citizen's, experts and elites in all relevant areas of public policy. The journalists would then inform the public through shared information hence community journalism. Whereas Lippmann asserts that journalists are intermediaries and needed to filter information for the general public, and that the public is mute and not smart to understand complicated political issues. I do not concur with him in respect to his assertions particularly that the Kenyan public is mute and not smart.

In my opinion there is nothing more complicated in political issues that the Kenyan public cannot understand than the public itself? The Kenyan public is generally elitist and aware of political violence. It is not correct to state that the local media acted as intermediaries to filter information for the benefit of the general public. The media did not act within the whims of public policy but was prone to individual aggrandizements based on political linkages. The author fails to be cognizant to the fact that public policy is an essential pact for public good and the media must be seen to champion public good but not interests of a few selfish politicians, beauracrats and businessmen/women that are perceived to be elitists and wise.

Further Dewey postulates that media works hand in hand with public. The media engages the public in debates and forums to discussions about policy issues but the media does not seem to carry out a survey to establish its impact of forums and debates to the entire populace. This study therefore seeks to establish the extent of the media reportage /coverage of nformation and whether the media was well equipped to affect public policy to safeguard public good as witnessed before during and after 2007/2008 general crisis.

In "The elements of journalism", a book by Kovach and Rosenstein, in order for journalists to fulfill their duty of providing the people with information, they need to be free and self governing, obliged to the truth, pledge their first loyalty to the citizens, embrace disciplines of verification, provide forum for public criticism and compromise, keep comprehensive and

proportional news, exercise their personal conscience and cherish rights and responsibilities of citizens. while the population need to have the right to information and advise in the longer period , they do not really need what they are accessed everyday in the form of news. The main reason for this lies partly in the advantages for news media in terms of a staple commodity and partly in the enormous efforts made by journalist's interests in the wider sense as dependants on the politicians, media owners, and or ethnic religions, sex inclinations/ attachments.

I cannot agree with the authors any less but be in consonance with the postulates above, but I am compelled to examine the challenges faced by the local media disseminating information to resolve, manage and prevent conflict during general elections as was the case in 2007/2008 pr/post general elections crisis in Kenya.

Media and Governance

Media and democracy enjoy an everlasting marriage in all manner of style. In tyrannical or authoritarian societies the ruling class usurps power and controls the media to ensure conformity and total compliance. In democracies the media have a complex relationship with the establishments of authority and the political structures (APCON, 1992).

The media provides channels by which the state and its powerful structured systems address the people. Also acts as platforms for the views for political parties and other interests groups. They also promote the circulation of information and opinion within the politically and administratively interested groups. In its very first edition, the front page of the (Daily Nation newspaper, 1963) proclaimed "Fit as a Fiddle Sultan Returns". This was in reference to the Sultan of Zanzibar who had undergone treatment in Europe. Unfortunately the 81 year old Monarch died six days after the paper hit the streets with its assessments of his health.

In this same newspaper, the front page editorial stated the paper's intention "to do our utmost to help Kenya and the transition to African majority rule and full independence as peacefully and constructively as possible.

On the 7th July 1990 the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation had news bulletin where it showed the Kamukunji ground deserted and forlorn only with a cock scratching the ground for ants. In 1989 the World Bank described the situation in Africa as a crisis in governance since then, the term governance and increasingly good governance has permeated the development discourse like a colossus (Norris, 1996).

The public interest approach to media as deployed here focused especially on its potential contribution to governance, to development and to culture and identity. The World Bank describes governance as the traditions and institutions by which authority in a country is exercised for the common good. This includes the process by which those in authority are selected, monitored and replaced, the capacity of the government to sound policies, the respect of citizens and the solace for the institutions that govern economic and social interactions among them.

The United Nations Developments Program (UNDP) emphasizes the articulation of people's interests, "Governance is the system of value policies and institutions by which a society manages its economic political and social affairs through interactions within and among the state, civil society organizes and private sector." Governance is a way a society organizes itself to make and implement decisions – achieving mutual understanding, agreements and action. It comprises of mechanisms and processes for citizens and groups to articulate their intermediate their differences and exercises their legal rights and obligations.

Good governance according to UNDP is all about processes as well as out comes. Process that are participatory, transparent accountable and efficient and that involve the private sector and civil society as well vast estate.

Thus good governance is also important for development and considerable empirical evidence now points in that direction.

The role of media in improving governance cannot be underestimated in this era of democratic change where accountability has become an area of interest to enhance integration and cohesion to yield development in a community.

A free independent and pluralistic media environment offers the means and incentives for the widest participation and can have a profound influence on people's opportunities to access information and services. To understand and be able to exercise their rights, to participate in decision making that affect their lives, and to hold to account those in positions of power and responsibility, it is imperative that the media must be holistic and objective.

This is reflected in growing recognition in the context of international development of the central importance of effective and inclusive communications systems.

Both the UNDP and World Bank include media among the institutions and mechanisms that can contribute to good governance in the above definitions and elsewhere. Media can fulfill several critical tasks in the context of governance and reform overlapping with and reinforcing other factors such as access to information and freedom of expression.

According to Norris, the media had three key roles in contributing to democratization and good governance as a watchdog over the powerful, promoting accountability, transparency and public scrutiny as civic forum for political ideologies, facilitation of informed electoral choices and actions, as an agenda setter for policy makers, strengthening government responsiveness for instance to social problems.

Though in scarcity of systematic evaluation, a mammoth of individual cases point the role of the media in exposing corruption recognized as a key constraint to development. The media can achieve great strides in the right circumstances in which it is not gagged by the very

government rather the government works with media to expose corruption, improve accountability and transparency, enhance informed participation in the political process and facilitate and reinforce more equitable and inclusive policies and actions.

The media must ensure that the elections are free and fair, must act as a civic forum for genuine public debate and castigate maneuverings and abuses of fundamental human rights especially freedom of expression and access to information. They must castigate elections rigging and offer objective assessment of the process and the result of elections and offer recommendations for improvement.

The critical role of the media is to mediate between the state and citizens through facilitating debate about the major issues of the day and informing people about their leaders. If the channels of communication reflect the cultural and social pluralism and diversity of the society, in a fair and balanced manner, then multiple interest and voices are heard in public deliberations.

This role is particularly important during election campaigns as fair access to the air waves by opposition party group, and candidates. During campaigns in Kenya and worldwide, a free independent and pluralistic media provides citizens with information to compare and appraise the retrospective record, prospective policies and leadership characteristics of parties and candidates providing the indispensable conditions for informed choice.

It is in view of the above I concur with Norris that the media as watchdog over the powerful promotes accountability transparency, and public scrutiny, civic forum for political ideologies, facilitation for informed electoral choices, agenda setting and government responsiveness to social problems. However in dispensation of its role in governance the author fails to address the difficulties that are likely to hamper the media performance. I do not agree that the media while brushing shoulders with the rich and the powerful, was free and went about its

business without fear or favor. The media worked with the powerful to fight and expose corruption. Power vests in the government of the day and I'm inclined to explore whether the media operated within the confines of the executive manipulation and dominance and. "Must the media and the state go to bed if good governance is to thrive?" is this the greatest challenge that faces the media? This is what the study intends to find out.

According to (Mac quail, 2000) this general view of the neutral and mediating role of the media in governance has been modified to take into account of variant forms, especially one in which particular media choose to play a partisan role on behalf of a party or interest or are closely allied with some powerful economic interest or ideology. During campaigns, critics charge that news reporting focuses on the superficial, personal characteristics of candidates and ignore the issues underlying elections. Observers of the process also do target advertising which they say distorts positions and trivializes important issues. At the same time it is suggested that predominance of polling by news outlets turns elections into popularity contests and causes candidates to follow rather than lead voter opinion on contemporary issues.

Whatever it's positive or negative effects are, exposure to the news does influence the public awareness of elections. In a study of the 1988 Southern "Super Tuesday" regional primary, researchers found that exposure to all media to be positively and significantly related to the voter awareness and campaign hence provides opportunities for news management. I agree with the author that the concept of neutrality cannot easily be tenable in media. Despite criticism media remains partisan in reportage/coverage of news. In view of the above assertions, the study is set to find out whether the local media is well equipped to handle crisis as was in the 2007/2008 general elections.

Media and the constitution

The African continent has been subjected generally speaking to the same experience in terms of the origination and development of their constitutions. African countries have suffered

from the yoke of colonialism and the shock of suddenly finding themselves with a constitution advocating liberal or social democracy without the necessary economic and social structures that would make such thrive. They are grappled with those challenges in basically the same way, becoming more altercative and are now faced with the prospect of change. Kenya is not new to the very predicament that is facing the African continent in the question of constitutionalism.

African constitutional experience has been accustomed by social awareness, propagated by the media and now many African governments are increasingly exposing themselves to relatively free and fair elections, electoral defeat and loss of power. The pressure from international community is forcing political pluralism on the continent a situation given prominence by reports and coverage of the media (Makali, 2003).

Most African countries are yet to realize liberal or social democracy. Liberal democracy requires free enterprise systems which no African country possesses/ its success depends on the existence of strong middle and working class who can pressurize the ruling groups for liberal democracy. Besides, liberal democracy has a history and a culture which is a product of stable, thriving and mature capitalism. This culture is yet to take root in Africa.

However, Kenya has nurtured its quest for constitutionalism and in essence yielded to the promulgation of the new constitution on 27th August 2010. This wind of change in Kenya has brought a new beginning in democratization process of the systems of governance. There is a new hope provided by the new constitution for the populace. People expect the existence of enabling economic conditions in which resources are fairly and equitably distributed and where leaders are accountable and transparent. Failure to provide this leads to frustration, bitterness, hatred, resentment and contempt by citizens, towards government as they feel cheated by the government's failure to deliver its promises. (Muigai, 1991).

Kenya enjoys greater democracy and more transparent governance thanks to the

constitutional referendum that received 70% yes votes that ushered the East African nation into a democratic path. The new constitution accords Kenyans access to clean water, decent housing, basic sanitation and quality food. It aims at decentralization of political power, increased government accountability, create more robust checks and balances against corruption and foster a move towards fairer distribution of wealth.

President Mwai Kibaki said during the promulgation of the new constitution on 27th August, 2010: "The historic journey that we began over 20-years is now coming to an end. In reality forming a new constitution is only the beginning of another long road which the country needs to travel."

The media through vigilant civil society played a provoking public participation role and debate, promoting state transparency and accountability, maintaining pressure and ultimately achieving change. A recent blog on "Pambazuka Newsletter" discusses the pivotal contributions that organizations such as the Association of Professional Societies in East Africa, Kenya Land Alliance, and Kikuyu for Change and African-Asian Forum made during the Kenyan constitution making process.

According to the opinion poll in (Washington Times, 2010), both civil and media have played a part in the constitutional making process in Kenya and will continue to do so. "Kenya is blessed with free and vibrant media and vigilant civil society that relentlessly shines light into all corners of the governance activity." This will heighten scrutiny in the use of public finances and resources by the executive and legislature.

Various analysts assert that since independence the Kenyan media has been an important check on government power. The new media tools were also used during the constitution making process in Kenya. A customized version of "Ushahidi" a knight guarantee was developed for use in Kenya called "uchaguzi" which means decision in Kiswahili.

The collaborative deployment was supported by the constitution and reform education organization. During the referendum, the short code 3018 received over 1400 text messages (SMS) from around the country and reported incidents of electoral irregularities violence and peace activities.

Similarly Uwiano Peace platform was established to prevent violence during the Kenyan referendum. The system took advantage of mobile technology to get up-to-date information on tensions hate speech, incitement threats and violence from citizens nationwide.

The system allowed for free text messages from the public then verified, mapped and relayed the data on to rapid response mechanisms for quick intervention. The public knew how to report incidents because the platform was advertised in the electronic media, print media, and electoral commission materials.

The new constitution has captured the gains of the freedom of the media via chapter 4. Bill of rights. Article 33 (1) a, b, c. which reads (The constitution of Kenya, 2010).

Freedom of expression

- I. Every person has the right to freedom of expression which includes:-
- (a) Freedom of the media
 - (b) Freedom and independence of electronic and print and all types of media is guaranteed.
 - (c) Freedom to seek, receive and impart information.

Article 35 – deals with access to information.

- (1) every citizen has the right of access to : information held by the State and
- (2) information held by another person and required for exercise or protection

I'm in agreement with the authors on the view that the process of constitutional making has

been spearheaded by the media in most democracies of the world. More so is the fact that the media is in the forefront to educate, inform and entertain. In the process the media has over the years won public trust as the mouth piece of the people. It educates and informs, on governance, civic education and public policy.

However whereas the media is deemed to have its freedoms, rights and liberties as encapsulated and enshrined in the constitution; it is my humble submission that the media is yet to fathom the requisite training and knowhow in conflict resolution, prevention and management.

In view of the above the study was set to establish the extent to which the local media performed the Agenda setting role in 2007/2008 pre/post general elections crisis.

Media ownership and Culture

Media portrayal is reflected to the public for specific reasons. It may show economic, political, racial, class, gender, religious and ethnic bias of the media owners and of the governing class. (Herman and Chomsky, 1988) contented that the media is drawn into a symbiotic relationship with powerful sources of information by economic necessity and reciprocity of interests. The media need a steady and reliable flow of information to meet the daily news demands and imperative news schedules that are mandatory.

However, the media cannot afford to have reporters and photographers at all places where important news break. They are compelled to concentrate their resources where regular press conferences are held (Jarice and Maxcy, 1988).

(Herman and Chomsky, 1988) best describe the complex relationship between media owners and government. They explain filters that affect news choices. The dominant media firms are quite large. They are controlled by very local people or by managers who are subject to sharp constraints by owners and other market profit oriented forces and cultural affiliations. They

are closely interlocked and have important common interests with major political parties/ethnic inclinations, cooperative banks and the government. This is a powerful filter that affects news choices.

I wholesomely concur with the authors assertions as detailed above. However I endeavored to find out whether the media was filtered or constrained by one reason or the other in reportage/coverage of violence as opposed to causes of violence before during and after 2007/2008 general elections..

Media and Conflict

Many advocates of conflict prevention are convinced that the media can play a critical role in defusing the tensions and forging peace. The media can shape the opinion and decisions relating to the nature and scope of conflict. The media can also influence how to constructively handle actual and potential conflict. Some media cynic's argue that media must stay "objective" at all costs and that any sort of advocacy compromises the standards of journalism. However growing number of professionals postulate that the " media and conflict" debate is not about taking sides in reporting the conflict – except the side of peace and peace building but about journalists already being a third party in any conflict they are covering (Altschull, 1995). Consequently, the argument that there is a moral imperative to use that access constructively is steadily gaining ground. Conflict sells, cooperation or the process of resolving conflicts does not. It could be argued that because of this assumption the media tend to dramatize conflicts either openly or tacitly by focusing on the irreconcilable differences between party's extreme positions and inflammatory statement, violent or threatening acts and win-lose outcomes. Furthermore most news media ordinarily turn their attention to conflicts at points of high public interest such as dramatic escalation phases,

unusually violent incidents, and peace treaties, acts of extreme violence or threat to peace or other events considered especially newsworthy.

The Australian N.G.O. Conflict resolution Network developed a toolkit consisting of practical suggestions for journalism on how to bring parties in a conflict closer to one another. "Avoid simplistic representatives of baddies and goodies" is one of the recommendations, "report areas of agreement as well as disagreement. This encourages the problem solving process to continue.

The media can resolve conflicts and crisis by playing down on explosive or "hot" issues, careless reporting, generalization, unguarded coverage, ethnicity and prejudicial sentimentalism in media can easily spark off conflicts and wars within and between nations. (Okigbo, 1997). The media can also denounce vectors of bloody internecine and international squabbles such as narrow inordinate political ambitions, dominations, manipulation, discrimination, marginalization and sycophancy of the people and denial or degradation of human rights. This study further seeks to explore the extent to which the media generally and specifically handled this issues mentioned above in attempt to avert and or prevent the ugly sight of bloodshed, loss of human lives and destruction of property that was witnessed in the country during the 2007-2008 post election crisis in Kenya.

In essence, the media must not seem to cherish and work from the premise that conflict is interesting and agreement boring. A conflictual approach may attract listeners and sell newspapers but definitely has a negative impact on the society as a whole. The media must then be disposed to reach huge numbers in the conflict areas with a message of peace so as to counteract the so called Hate speech or Hate radio, the most Horrendous example is Rwanda's Radio Mille Colline's which urged the country on to genocide. The media must take the challenge of being the spokesman of the deprived, the poor, the marginalized and the physically challenged. The media should be on the forefront to agitate for those who stay in denial of their human rights, those who have no voice due to domination and discrimination,

those who are left out of the social, political, economic and cultural growth and integration within nations.

The media is also charged with the responsibility of being a light house of knowledge to the rural population on all matters of communal and national interest in the bid to widen their scope of understanding and rendering their consciousness from myopia to integral community and national concerns in the spirit of peace tranquility community integration and nation cohesion.

The media shall not dwell on negative reporting and selfish personal aggrandizement but must down play inflammatory hate speech divisive sentiments alarming derogatory prejudicial statements which are likely to forming crisis (Okigbo, 1997).

In many cases media has escalated conflict and often been accused of being a conflict entrepreneurs "since confluence approach may attract listeners and such newspapers" The media is accused of causing confusion by focusing only the conflict arena i.e. battlefield or location of violent incident and not factors influencing the violence. Focusing on the single or individual acts of violence while avoiding structural causes like government neglect, poverty, unequal distribution of natural resources, marginalization, police brutality, and misuse of custodian forces e.g. military, police and others. I cannot agree any less with regards to all the above, it is in the same breath that the study seeks to find out whether the local media made attempted to promote peace harmony and co-existence amongst Kenyans before, during and after 2007/2008 general elections in Kenya.

The media must be seen to minimize conflict and maximize peace building process by not engaging in the following

- Presenting violence as an inevitable and omitting alternatives
- Rendering warring parties into two (Dualism). Whenever a conflict arises, media has the habit of reducing the participants involved in the conflict into two yet more than two

actors are actually involved

- More often than not the media portrays one side as good and demonizes the other
- The media de contextualizes violence and focuses on the wrong reasons and irrational approaches of violence avoiding or downplaying real reasons for violence and factors polarizing society.

I'm in agreement of the above that the media must minimize conflict, but in as to whether the media maximized peace building processes, I m not certain that the media was impartial, dualistic, wholistic and or de contextualized violence. It is imperative to fill this gap in order to hail the media in its utmost status and repute.

It is in view of the above that this research study was set to establish the local media coverage/reportage in 2007/2008 general elections crisis in Kenya.

Role of the Media in the Society

According to the functionalist theory of the media, mass media is essential to the society for:

- 1) Harmony, integration and cooperation
- 2) Order, safety, stability and control
- 3) Accommodation, and adaptation to change
- 4) All inclusiveness and mobilization
- 5) Social engineering and conflict management
- 6) Continuity of culture and values (Mac quail, 2000)

Media cannot be wished a way when it comes to international, national, communal and family issues especially in achieving a number of political and social objectives ranging from critical areas of politics, economic knowledge and further highlight the importance of cultural

continuity and religious tolerance (Klapper, 1965, Graber, 1989).

Theoretical analysis of mass media effectiveness by (Masmoudi, 1992) draws a broad conclusion that the level of citizen's participation, their depth of political awareness and their general knowledge of the democratic process can be intensified or enhanced by the various media channels.

Malinowski points out that mass media enforce social norms by exposing deviation. He asserts that no organized social action is taken with regard to behavior deviation from a social norm until there has been a public announcement of the deviation. He contends that through media publicity people are compelled to take a stand. Hazarfeld and Merton conjure with this argument when they say that publicity closes the gap between public attitudes and public morality (Schramm, 1964). Aristotle and Plato (Thomson, 1964) for instance acknowledged the immense power of propaganda carried out in the face to face setting of their days. (Harold Lasswell 1969) establishes three functions performed by the ongoing events. Interpretation of the meaning of event and socialization into structural settings.

One of the functions attributed to the media is to provide public warnings of possible changes and risks. This is one of the explanations (if not justifications) offered for the disproportionate attention in news and fiction to crime, violence, disaster, death and disease (Mac quail 2000).

At various times media reports claiming dangerous reports that can lead to short term panic responses. Attention is skewed away from the mundane causes of death, violence, crime to actual figure and statistics. This can be said to mislead the public about the true nature of risks (lowery et al 2003, Roomer et al, 2003) Mass media disciplines authority to status.

According to Lazarsfeld and Merton, "mass media bestows prestige and enhances the authority of individuals and groups by legitimizing their status, recognition by the press radio, magazines or news, testifies that one has carried, that one is important enough to have been

singled out from the large anonymous masses that one's behavior and opinions are significant enough to require public notice"

(Van der Sand, 1994) points out that in democratic societies, one of the most important institutions in error detection and error correction is in the press or more generally the mass media. He added that the press should be "people's choice" in exposing wrong doing and thereby encourages accountable behavior by public officials and politicians. When the media allows wrongs to emerge and flourish and mature before focusing on them is an indication of low level of perceptiveness on the part of the press. If mistakes/ errors are identified early enough, larger crisis can be nipped in a bud to the credit of the media and the good of the society (Okigbo, 1998).

The media focused attention as to who was important, who was dangerous, what was necessary and what to write about. This media is a watchdog of the society and defines a greater length what people know or talk about.

In as much as I concur with the authors as concerns the role of media in the society as discussed, one would then ask what agenda the print media focused and promoted with reference to the 2007-2008 post election crisis in Kenya. Did the media precipitate violence by focusing on some issues and avoiding/ ignoring others? The print media in Kenya had a duty to inform the Kenyan public about the impending violence and the peaceful means of averting it. It is this duty that the study intends to evaluate.

Theoretical Perspective

This research study is based on Agenda Setting Theory, Social Responsibility Theory, and Uses and Gratifications Theory. The theoretical framework consists of theories, principles, generalizations and research findings which are closely related to the present study under investigation. It is in this framework where the present research questions under study evolved.

Agenda setting theory

Bernard Cohen noted that although the media can't tell people what to think, they are stunningly successful in telling them what to think about.

About a decade later, Journalism scholar Maxwell Mac Combs and Donald Shaw demonstrated that Cohen was into something. During the 1968 US presidential campaigns, they followed public opinion and media reports of the key issues in Chapel Hill North Carolina. They found out that strong positive relationship existed between what voters said was important and what media was reporting as important. Agenda setting is then described in general terms as the phenomenon of the media effects that seems to direct our attention to certain issues. Mac Combs and Shaw demonstrated that media can set the agenda for what we talk and think about

(Lang and Lang, 1959) stated that the Mass Media force attention to certain issues. They build up public images of political figures. They are constantly presenting objects, suggesting what individuals in the media should think about, know about and have feelings about.

According to (Mac quail, 2000) the agenda setting hypothesis is:

- 1) public debates represent salient issues of concern to the citizens
- 2) Agenda comes from public opinion and the proposals of political elites, competing interests seek to promote the salient issues
- 3) Mass media selects issues depending on the pressures exerted on them from the political elites, public opinion and real world events.

Agenda setting hypothesis cherishes public journalism which emphasizes on serving the community by identifying the important problems and issues focusing on them. (Sheppard, 1994) says that journalists "not only must they acknowledge an agenda; they must be able to persuade other media owners, politicians, critics and public that their agenda is proper."

Agenda setting hypothesis is important in conflict resolution because it suggests methods that the mass media can have an impact on society.

According to (Mac combs, 1972), newspapers authentically portray their tact and communication of information through page placement, framing, headline size and amount of space accorded to an item. Also news articles, opinions of writers, front page picture/photo, editorial news, are imperative in shaping the perception of the public coherently.

Kenya witnessed an abhorring wave of violence in 2007-2008 general elections. This prompts the researcher to establish difficulties the local media faced in coverage/reportage of 2007/2008 general elections pursuant to its agenda setting role.

Social Responsibility Theory

Social Responsibility theory is attributed to mass media in certain normative theories of the press and based on the preposition about the needs of democratic institutions. It comprises of the written obligations implicit in the freedom of publication as well as general ethical and moral principles relating to truth and justice (Mac quail, 2000)

Accordingly press should be responsible provide full truthful, comprehensive and intelligent account of the days occurrences in a contextual meaning. Press should give room for exchange of comments and criticism and be a carrier of public expression.

The concept of a diverse objective informative and independent press is upheld with the view of avoiding offense or criminal acts. Thus social responsibility should emphasize on self control but not government intervention of media.

Social responsibility bestow burden on the media practitioners ,the press is not free if those who operate it behave as though their position conferred on them the privileged of being deaf to ideas which the process of free speech has been brought to public attention

(Baran and Davis, 1995). It is important to establish how well the local print media in Kenya performed its role during the 2007-2008 crisis and the access it gave to ordinary citizen Vis
avis prominent personalities Political parties and Government (Mac quail, 1987) summarized the basic principles of the social responsibility theory as follows:-

- Media should accept and fulfill certain obligation to the society
- These obligations are met by selling high a professional standard of informativeness truth accuracy objectivity and balance.
- In accepting and applying these obligations, media should be self regulating within the framework of law and established institutions.
- Media should avoid whatever that would lead to crime violence or criminal disorder or give offence to minority groups.
- Media should be wholistic and pluralistic and reflect diversity of their society.
- Society and public have a right to access information hence expect high standards of performance and intervention can be justified to secure good Governance for the public good.
- Media practitioners/Professionals/journalists must be accruable to the society as well as to the employers and the market (Baran and Davis, 1995).

n a nutshell social responsibility theory delves in the ethical and moral principles of the media relating to truth and justice. In so far as the media believes in truth and justice, it should always report the truth in context of the day's occurrences and events. The media should not be seen to be compromised and subjective but must observe self restraint in the process of dispensing justice. It is in this spirit of self restraint that the media is seen to play the part of a consensus builder, a conciliator and pluralistic in order to avoid crime and situations that can create antagonism and result to violence.

This research attempts to evaluate the position and insights as to whether the media adhered to or obliterated the basic tenets of social responsibility theory in the wake of 2007-2008 pre and post election crises in Kenya.

Uses and gratifications theory

It is important to remember that not everyone regularly reads the daily Newspaper, watches the 6.00 O'clock news or listen to talk on Radio. Papers, TV and Radio are called Mass media but each person chooses on when and how to use Mass media. Uses and gratification theory asserts that people are active users of mass media and selective in the media they use.

Researchers have found out that people use media in the following ways:-

- As entertainment
- To scan environment for things that are important to them personally
- As a diversion
- As a substitute for personal relationships
- As a check on personal identity and values

(Blumer and Macquail, 1968) argue that Media is motivated by some or all of the following gratifications; Surveillance guidance, anticipated Communication, excitement reinforcement and so on.

(Berelson, 1954) found that people read the news paper to anticipate vicariously the newsworthy happenings to get useful information and for companionship. He observes that people read newspaper for:-

- Information and interpretation especially in public affairs
- Practical guide to living
- Escapism through Comics or Human interest material
- General vicarious materials feeling derived from sensational stories scandals and gossip

Recent Studies on uses and gratifications are based on the following assumptions

- Media use is goal oriented /directed
- The Receivers are satisfiers since they select type of Media and media Content to fulfill their needs.
- The Public is fully aware of their needs and can report them when asked:-

The Mass media diversity gives the public a variant of choices and opportunity to make a wide range of media selections. This selection has been based on the content layout, headings, story line and others. The public make their choices depending on the chances availed to them by the mass media. The media should have trained personnel to report objectively in conflict and contentious issues. Did the media provide the public with the opportunity to make the right choices in 2007/2008 general elections?

The researcher tends to explore the uses and gratification of the local media content particularly the daily nation newspapers with respect to coverage/reportage of political violence in the 2007-2008 pre/ post election crisis in Kenya.

The study was guided by the above mentioned theoretical perspectives in its findings and discussions.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter consists of the procedures and methods used to conduct research on the study area. The chapter discusses how the respondents were selected, how data was collected and analyzed. The chapter also presents research design, population of study sample size, sampling technique, research instruments data sources. Reliability and validity, data gathering procedures, data analysis and limitations of the study.

Research Design

In order to achieve the objectives of this study, a descriptive cross –sectional survey was used to explore and describe the target population. This allowed the researcher to examine relationships between variables and assess roles and their effects and expected measures to alleviate problems. The design allowed for comparison between variables. In this case, profile and demographic information of the reporters, photographers, editors and how this influenced their participation in coverage/reportage of conflict and also the content analysis in terms of news editorials, authors, writers opinions, pictures/photos, size of article, front page headlines and the extent they related to the 2007/2008 election crisis in Kenya.

The research design was also a case study of participation of the local daily nation newspapers in the 2007-2008 pre/post general election crisis in Kenya. The purpose of the choice was the desire of the researcher to study in-depth owing to its wide scope of readership and distribution in Kenya. The research selected the daily nation newspapers, print media owing to the fact that it is the mainstream in Kenya's media with a wide geographical reach and leaky leadership.

October 2007 and February 2008 is the period that Kenya was engulfed in the worst political violence after a closely contested general election whose presidential results were strongly disputed. The researcher was set to find out the extent of the Daily Nation newspapers reportage/coverage of violence, as was witnessed before during and after 2007/2008 general elections in Kenya.

Research Population

The study population was comprised of the editor's photographers and reporters of the Daily Nation Newspapers. The target population of this study selected was thirty (30). Target population refers to the cumulative elements of study from an environment in which information is gathered from. From the general population of study, the researcher used an accessible population comprising of the reporters photographers and editors as respondents (Kothari, 2009).

Another population under study included daily Nation News paper publication between the October 2007/Feb 2008 totaling 110 copies.

Table 1: Research population

Description		population
Category A	Editors	15
	Reporters	10
	Photographers	5
Total		30
Category B	Daily Nation News papers publication Between Oct 2007 to Feb 2008	110

Sampling size

During the research it was often impossible, impractical, or too expensive to collect data from all the potential units of analysis included in the research problem. Thus, a smaller number of units, a sample, are often chosen to represent the relevant attributes of the whole set of units, the population.

In selecting the research sample size, the following formula for determination is used:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

Source = <http://edis.ifas.ufl.edu/pd006>

Where N = Population size

α = level of significance or reliability level which is equal to 0.05

Table 2 : Sample Size of the study

Description		Population	Sample Size
Category A	Editors	15	14
	Reporters	10	9
	Photographers	5	5
Category B	Daily Nation News paper publications Oct 2007 to Feb 2008	110	104

Sampling procedure

The study employed stratified sample and purposeful random sampling techniques stratified sampling techniques were used to categorize the respondents to be included in the sample.

Stratified sampling technique is a technique that identifies subgroup in the population and selected from each subgroup to form a sample. Therefore stratified sampling technique was used to ensure that the target population is divided into different strata and each stratum is represented in the sample. Purposive sample was used for the daily nation newspapers and media personnel while stratified random sampling was used for selection of editorials articles, columns, news, story source causes of violence condemnation of violence, peaceful means of resolving violence and constructivist of articles for the period under study. Purposive sampling was used for inclusion and exclusion criteria.

Research Instruments

The data collection shall be done using questionnaires, interviews and observation. Open and closed questionnaires will be prepared. The likert scale shall be used in terms of quantitative analysis – Strongly Agree (SA) - 1, Agree (A) - 2, Disagree (D) - 3, Strongly Disagree (DA) - 4 and None (N) - 5.

The researcher shall distribute the questionnaires to the respondents to answer whichever way is relevant to them. Interviews shall be conducted by the researcher where the respondents will be interviewed about the research study (Mugenda and Mugenda 2003).

Validity and Reliability

Validity means accuracy and meaningfulness of inferences, which are based on the research results. (Fletcher et al). There is need to test content validity of research instruments this will help to ascertain that the items produce relevant responses for the study.

(Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999) assert that experienced researchers should be used to determine the content validity of research questions. For this reason the developed instruments will be availed to the research supervisor. To evaluate the exactness and the adequacy of the items in the questionnaire, interview, and observation schedules. They will then guide and advise accordingly on how to improve the instruments before commencing the data collection.

Reliability refers to consistency that an instrument demonstrates when applied under similar situations (.Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999). (Sekaran, 2003) reliability refers to whether an instrument is consistent, stable and free from error. Content validity index (CVI) was used to test the validity. If CVI is greater than 0.7 the instruments are valid the validity test using content validity index gave the validity of instruments as 0.800 which indicates that the instrument was valid for data collection. The CVI was done with the help of the formula below

$$CVI = \frac{\text{Number of items judged suitable}}{\text{Total number of items being judged}} * 100$$

Despite fluctuations in test taker administration or conditions under which the test was administered for this study, reliability and validity of the instruments were heightened by the fact that the researcher and his research assistants personally administered the sampling of data procedures ensuring that they were correctly filled.

Data Gathering Procedure

The researcher first got permission from the editorial administrative manager of Nation Media Group to carry out the research. Pilot test was carried out and the research started with the News editors, photographers and reporters. Both interviews and observations tests used concurrently to save time and yield to concrete results. The researcher gathered data for content analysis from the daily nation newspapers library at the nation building Nairobi and distributed the questionnaire, interview guide to the respondents and carried out observations in the course of conducting interviews.

The following were the instruments of data collection, questionnaires, observations and interviews. The researcher measured the agreement of issues on a five point scale ranging from, strongly agree, agree, none, disagree, and strongly disagree – that is - likert scale. Open ended and close ended questionnaire were prepared and distributed by the researcher to the respondents to answer where it was relevant to them. The main reason for using questionnaires was because of it's low cost, free from bias of interviewer and answers are in respondents' own words.

Personal interviews were conducted by the researcher asking questions in a face to face contact to the interviewees. Structured, semi structured and unstructured questions were also asked. The main reason for using interview was that more information which is of greater depth was obtained and samples were controlled more effectively as there arose no difficulty of the missing returns; non-response generally remained very low (Kothari, 2009). Interviews enabled the researcher to challenge ideas from the interviewees and thus correctly seek clarification where necessary. The questionnaires and interviews were structured and semi structured in order to allow a greater depth of responses for more complete answers.

Observations were conducted to enable researcher to have a clear view of the matters in question and to form a considered opinion in facts as they are. The researcher trained 2 research assistants who worked closely with them to ensure interviewing and observation skills were mastered and information correctly entered. Observation was also used to record information which interviewees were not willing to give and in cases where respondents could not give verbal reports.

Data Analysis

At the end of data collection the researcher examined all data obtained from questionnaires interview guides and observation schedules. It was coded appropriately and organized for analysis. Various correlation tests were run using SPSS. The data was then converted into mean, frequencies and percentages. Data collected was processed to suit descriptive statistics. Analysis also included inferences deductive and evaluative methods.

Ethical Considerations

To gain access to the information from respondents, the researcher sought written permission from the administrative editorial manager of the nation media group and in the process photographers, editors and reporters were pre informed of the researchers questionnaire interview guide and also permission to use the library. They were assured that no one would be victimized owing to the information they provided or their identities revealed. Also the information received was only to be used for the purposes intended.

Limitations of the Study

The respondents and most interviewees in the first instance showed hostility due to stigma arising from psychological effect of post election violence and feared that discussion of this topic was a policy issue to be sanctioned and attended by the executive. However the researcher was able to overcome this problem by convincing the respondents and interviewees that the information given was to be kept confidential and that their organization had granted permission to the researcher.

Time was a limitation such that most of the respondents were busy persons and it was hardly possible to be convinced to spare their valuable time for the course of the researcher. Thus the researcher had to really insist and compensated them by offering an allowance which they agreed to spare sometime to respond to the questionnaire.

Another problem was occasioned by difficulties in economic support. Most of the respondents were scattered hence the researcher had to spend money travelling to and from running after them so as to yield the time for the research.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION, DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

Introduction

This chapter presents data presentation, analysis and interpretation. The data analysis and interpretation was based on research questions as well as research objectives. The presentation is divided into two parts. First is the respondents profile and demographic Information. The second deals with is, presentation, analysis and interpretation of the objectives and research questions.

Presentation/ data analysis

Various methods of data analysis and presentation were used to facilitate interpretation of data collected. The researcher used both qualitative and quantitative data analysis techniques. The data collected were coded and converted into mean percentages, frequencies and cartographic presentations such as use of tables and graphs. The data was subjected to Statistical Packages for Social Sciences [SPSS] with the aim of making inference on the relationships between the variables.

Profile of Respondents

Table 3: Gender of respondents

Gender	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Male	20	66.67
Female	10	33.33
Total	30	100.00

From the above, 67 percent of the total respondents are male and 33 percent are female. This implies that most of the staff working in the media as Reporters, Editors and Photographers are male.

Table 4: Job description

Description	Frequency	Percentage (%)
News Editors	15	50
Reporters	10	33.3
Photographers	5	16.7
Total	30	100.00

The above table shows that majority of the respondents constitute News Editors that constitute 50 percent of the respondents. The Reporters are the next with 33.3 percent followed by the Photographers at 16.7 percent.

Table 5: Work experience

Area Brackets	Employment bracket	Frequency	Percentage %
News editors	5-20 yrs	14	46.67
Reporters	5-20 yrs	12	40
Photographers	5-20 yrs	4	13.33
	TOTAL	30	100

In the above table, majority of the employees/respondents of the media are in their employment for more than five years. The Editors are the most experienced since they have been in employment for most of the years – that is between 5-20 years and are most of the effective with the frequency of 14 and percentage of 46.67. If we have to adopt the notion that experience is the best teacher, thus the news editors enjoy and dominate the local media with their coverage/reportage of stories.

The reporters have the slightly lesser frequency of 12 and percentage of 40. This depicts them to be next to the news editors. The Photographers are also experienced as it is depicted by their years in employment. Their frequency reading 4 and a percentage of 13.3. This suggests that the photographer’s pictures with regards to coverage/reportage were nominal in comparison to the news editors’ and reporters.

In view of the above, I deduce that given the many years in service by the respondents in their respective positions, it’s evident that they must be well educated, literate persons whose level of education is above average. This implies that all employees/respondents of the media have achieved some kind of higher education that enabled them to understand and respond to the study questions adequately.

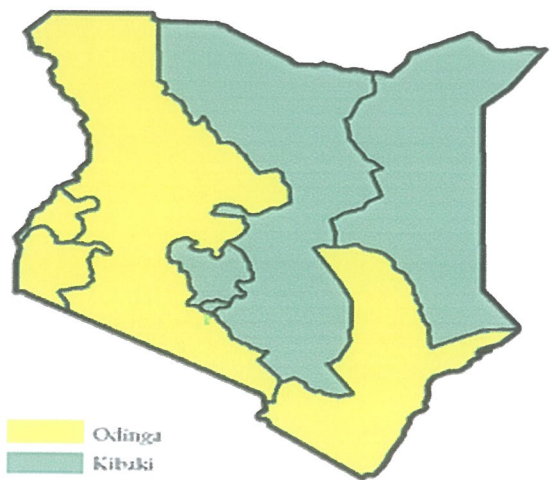


Figure 1: The Map of Kenya – Showing areas affected by 2007/2008 General elections

Map of Kenya, indicating majority per province for the two leading presidential candidates according to disputed official figures. Please note that the area size on the map does not indicate population density: the provinces to the East and North East are generally low population density provinces.

The post-election demonstration and violence stems from a mixture of motives. Some include:

- voting in elections has widely been along ethnic lines in most of Kenya's communities (Kenya's elections seen as badly flawed, Reuters 2008-09-9)
- there is a widespread perception that the count of the presidential election was modified in favor of Kibaki
- During colonial times Kikuyu people were displaced from their fertile highlands and after independence they were settled outside their traditional areas especially in the Rift Valley, where the ethnic Masai had populated originally before Kenya's colonization by the British. (Crisis in Kenya, land, displacement, and search for durable solutions. Overseas development institute 2008)
- there is a belief among other tribes that the Kikuyu community in Kenya has dominated the country since independence (information bulletin; Kenya ethnic clashes- Kenya red cross)

Reports by international observers about manipulations and admissions by members of the Electoral Commission that their staff provided them with incorrect figures have further fueled his anger, (scores dead in Kenya's polls clashes. BBC news 2007-12-31) The violence has been directed mainly against kikuyu, belonging to the same ethnic group as Kibaki disputed vote. (New York Times, 2008).

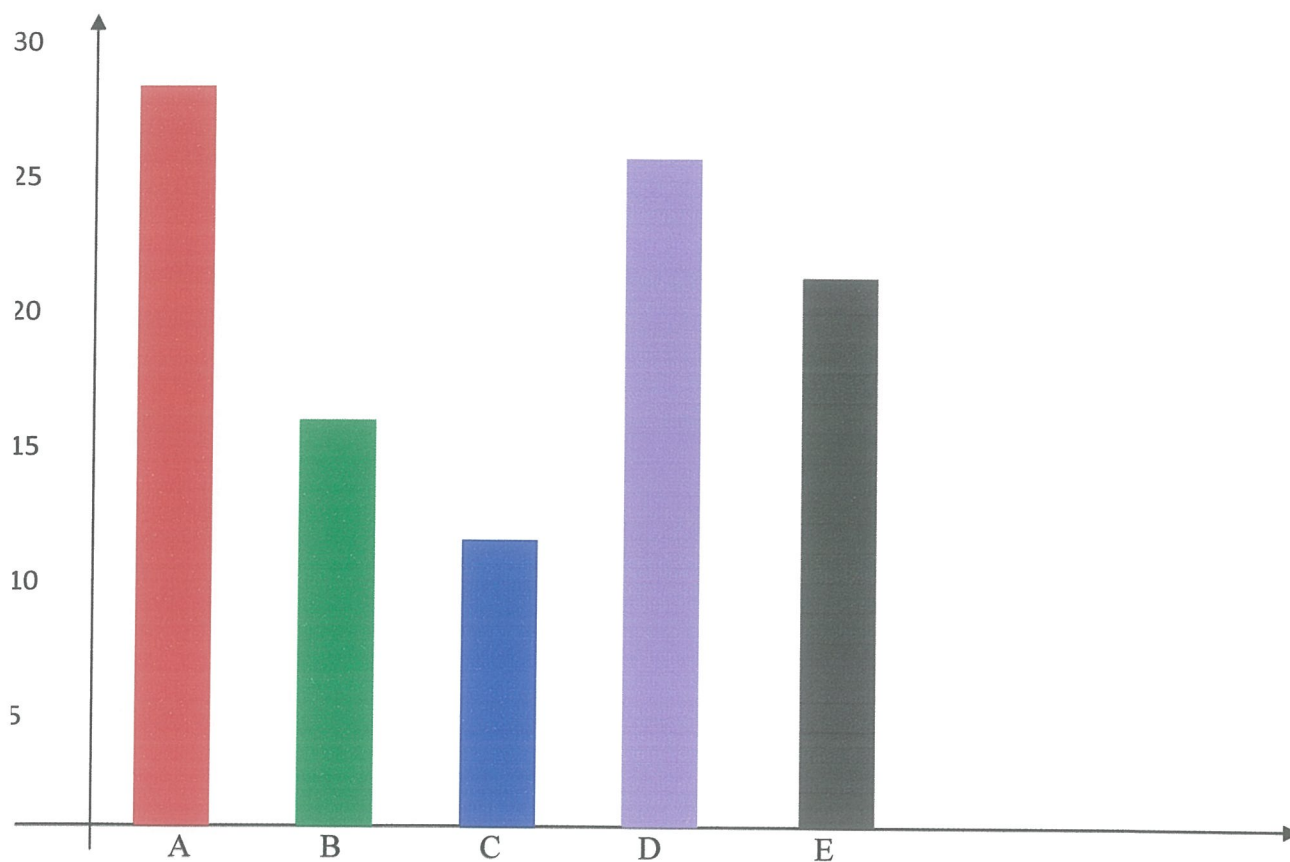
The violence against Kikuyu occurred mainly in areas like the Nairobi Slums, Nyanza province, the Rift valley, and the Coast, where opposition against Kibaki is particularly strong.

The ethnically diverse Nairobi slums have also seen violence by Kikuyu-dominated groups amongst them the infamous Mungiki

Table 6: content analysis of the daily nation newspapers reportage/coverage on 2007/2008 general elections crisis

Months	Categories/group	Frequencies	Percentage
A October-2007	Articles that condemn violence and news articles on corruption	27	27.55%
B November-2007	Editorial News on causes of violence	15	15.30%
C December-2007	Front page coverage of violent pictures/photos , Headlines	10	10.30%
D January-2008	News Articles on solutions to the crisis	25	25.55%
E February—2008	Opinion of writers on human rights issues.	21	21.50%
	TOTAL	N=98	100%

The table shows the items that the newspapers published between October 2007 and February, 2008. These items have been given preference in relation to the period or interval of their subsistence. The intervals are computed within one monthly spacing and the frequencies founded on descriptive statistical frequency where percentages are derived there from to give meaning to the core research questions as presented in the study.



4.9 FIGURE 2:

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL COVERAGE/ REPORTAGE BY THE DAILY NATION NEWSPAPERS IN 2007/2008 GENERAL ELECTION CRISIS

Category / Group

KEY

A		Articles that condemn violence and news articles on corruption
B		Editorial News on causes of violence
C		Front page coverage of violent pictures/photos headlines
D		News articles on solutions to crisis
E		Opinion of writers on human rights issues

Content Analysis is presented by description statistics which include mean, mode and median. The areas rated are categorized or computed in terms of monthly intervals consistently.

In the foregoing, October 2007 recorded the greatest percentage (27.55%) in terms of reportage and coverage of news articles with regards to condemning violence and also on corruption. In these premises then, it can be alluded that in this period, the public at large was very alert as concerns matters of violence and corruption. Kenyans were treated to 'intrigues' and election euphoria prompted by political polarity occasioned by the general elections mood in the country the media acted as part of the election control machinery and performed its Gate keeping role. The media carried out civic education to spread awareness campaign.

However it is worth noting that the local media became part of political inclinations in terms of party politics in these premises the media was seen as having usurped peoples power while inclining its well connected political partisanship support. Even then in doing so the local media cast the fears that there were indications of volatile anxiety which would capitulate into violent situations amongst the Kenyans occasioned by desperation high living costs insecurity rising levels of poverty and grand corruption in government. Hence the media played its early warning role.

In the month of November 2007 the local media emphasized passively on the editorial news about causes of violence. This was computed at 15.30%, these would be as a result of the lack of commitment from the administrative/bureaucratic systems to ease the media into dealing in the causes of violence. Also it would be attributed to the fact that most politicians were at climax with their last minute arrangements towards General elections and the media was vigilant to expose any acts of violence, this would vindicate prejudice the politicians chances of winning. However the media stands trial as to whether or not by its coverage/reportage may be among others a cause of conflict. This is an issue for further adding as concerns Medias' Gate keeping role.

During the month of December 2007 period, there were also scanty publications and or coverage on front pages with regards to photography/pictures depicted at 10.30% the violent pictures seemed to be censored by editor to avoid showing the magnitude of volatile situations in terms of violence, hunger, collapsed infrastructure and desperation across the country which could otherwise be misconstrued as incitement by the local media.

In as much as the media was fair and frank one wonders whether it was acting freely from any influence by politicians, foreign masters' media owners ethnic attachments or acted in professional acumen. . Headlines mostly depicted the schemes and political machinations of the two most contesting political parties; orange democratic movement (ODM) and party of national unity (PNU) the findings further allude that the media coverage/ reportage mostly was about personalities of the political class but not issues. The running of opinion polls manifestly dominated the media reports in photography and headlines in this month. This reports /coverage continued until the General Election day .The opinion polls had a bearing towards the subsequent violence that ensued instantaneously during the tallying of votes, final results announcement and preceding months of January and February 2008.

On 1 January 2008, the media stamped up its authority in terms of social responsibility role in exposing the malignant flawed general elections. The media expressed misgivings of the results in 2007/2008 general elections. The media informed that Kenya was on the brink of self destruction unless the parties engaged in the leadership contest considered the plight of Kenyans seriously and the future of the country at large. This is an indication that the Nation newspaper was in the fore front in stopping the violence by mass condemnation of senseless murders orchestrated by violent groups.

On 3 January 2008 The Daily Nation Newspaper published a front page editorial "save our beloved country". In the same month most of the writers, advocated for repeat of elections while a small fraction rooted for power sharing others supported dialogue and prayers.

The Nation Newspapers impressively underlined the need and urgency with which various stakeholders needed to resolve the violence in Kenya. The media still conveyed stories and articles containing a tinge of sensationalism; hate speech propaganda and ethnicity thus the daily nation newspaper hardly attempted to offer well informed and plausible suggestions to conflict control; prevention management and resolution.

In February 2008, human rights issues were at their optimum in then local media. These would be the reason to assert that Kenyans were now preparing for a new dispensation in terms of governance. Kenya as a country had been salvaged from oblivion courtesy of the panel of eminent persons chaired by former UN secretary General I Kofi Annan leading to the formation of coalition government.

The media was at the center stage fully informing the public as events unfolded the media largely gave prominence ethnicity as a factor and recipe for the chaos witnessed in 2007/2008 general elections.

This led to the formation of various commissions whose terms of reference revolved on the causes of pre/post election violence which included historical injustices ,extra judicial killing, unequal distribution of wealth, and corruption and all these are aligned to human rights issues even though the Daily Nation Newspaper attempted to avert or address violence by accurate reporting/coverage of 2007/2008pre/post elections violence, it would be more robust if it was objective and chose to report with neutrality.

The findings and interpretation of data as ingrained in the content analysis above attempt to address the gaps in the literature review. As concerns whether the media upheld peace, harmony and co-existence amongst communities in Kenya in 2007/2008pre/post general elections? The analysis clearly depicts that the local media adopted the Agenda setting role, it meticulously published articles and news items condemning violence and corruption. The local media was also in the front to publish news items and opinion of writers on human rights issues.

In accordance to the agenda setting theory, the media cannot tell people what to think, but what to think about. Similarly, Mac combs echoed that there is a strong relationship between what voters say and what media says. I strongly infer that the local media coverage and reportage in 2007/2008 general elections crisis was all about people interests and public opinion. It is in view of the above that I'm obliged to address the research question as to how much coverage/reportage local media gave to violence as opposed to causes of violence. In the 2007/2008 pre/post election crisis.

The researcher concurs with the postulates of (Mac quail, 2002) that for media to assert social responsibility role, it must be based on truth and justice. It must be moral and ethical to evoke reason and give information while observing objectivity and self restraint. Objectivity and self restraint was achieved by the local media being contextual. From these I deduce that the local media reported/covered violence more than causes of violence in 2007/2008 pre/post general elections crisis owing to the dictates of social responsibility theory.

The local media was objective, wholistic and exercised its mandate with self control and rationality within the framework of law. As concerns the difficulties faced by the media, the findings revealed that the local media was not an exception from political partisanship, euphoria anxiety ethnicity and institutional policy.

The uses and gratification theory outlines that people are active users of media and selective in the media they use. (Berelson, 1954) found that people read the news paper to anticipate vicariously the newsworthy happenings to get useful information and for companionship. He observes that people read newspaper for:-

- Information and interpretation especially in public affairs

- Practical guide to living

- Escapism through Comics or Human interest material

- General vicarious materials feeling derived from sensational stories scandals and gossip.

The local media was pluralistic, goal oriented and fully aware of its role. Thus the difficulties notwithstanding the daily nation newspapers covered/reported 2007/2008pre `post election violence. In view of the above it is clear that the local media did not abdicate it roles, duties and responsibilities in 2007/2008 pre/post elections crisis in Kenya. The media was well equipped to handle crisis in 2007/2008pre/post general election crisis in Kenya. Also the local media performed its agenda setting role and covered/reported 2007/2008 pre/post general elections professionally and adequately.

Table 7: Local Media Coverage/Reportage and 2007/2008 Pre/Post General Elections Crisis

AREA RATED	MEAN	OPTION
Articles of incitement hate speech and abuse to the public	1:20	Low
Ethnicity Prejudiced Partiality In Reporting Coverage	1:20	Low
Front page headlines and pictures sensitive to public peace and security	1:60	Very Low
News items about personalities but not real issues facing the counting	1:40	High
News articles about violence but not cause of violence	1.6	Very High
Overall mean	1.2	Very Low

om the above table, According to the respondents view, news articles depicting inflammatory statements that would constitute to incitement, hate speech and abusive to the

public were though traces but at a very low level. The respondents also agreed to the fact that the news reports depicted ethnicity, prejudice and that the daily nation newspaper was partial in coverage and reporting of the pre/post 2007/2008 election crisis in Kenya. The above however has not conclusively deduced that the daily nation newspaper in its coverage/reportage fuelled or encouraged the 2007/2008 pre/post general elections crisis. This explains why the mean grade is low.

As regards the headlines and front page pictures and photographs, the respondents disagreed that; this would have surmountable direct relation with the 2007/2008 pre/post election crisis. If any that it was negligible hence very low.

The respondents agree that there was a direct relationship in coverage/ reportage of personalities in news items other than the real issues facing the country.

That the news items captured individuals who made headlines in the circumstances but not issues such as hunger, inflation, poor road transport, poverty, poor healthcare, insecurity and corruption, thus the media coverage and reportage at this juncture was high in mean grade.

The respondents further agreed that the news articles about violence were more overwhelming as compared to those about the causes of violence. The news article captured areas with actual threats to violence that were sporadic in the period 2007/2008 general elections.

Most areas in central province, rift valley province, coast province, Nyanza province and western province were acutely affected. Proscribed groups such as the Mungiki, in most parts of central and rift valley Amachuma and kamjesh in Nyanza and Nairobi consecutively the ayabombo in the coast emerged to cause terror in the country. The Nation News Paper hardly delved into the causes of violence rather it meted spirited reportage and coverage of murders death, rapes, displacements of people attacks and counter attacks in a very high frequency.

However the overall mean shows that the coverage and reportage of the Daily Nation newspaper of 2007/08 pre/post election violence is very low. This in essence confirms that there was no relationship between the reportage/coverage of the nation newspapers and the

escalation of violence in 2007/2008 pre/post general elections crisis.

The literature review regarding media and culture raised concerns as to whether the media advocated for peaceful means of resolving conflicts, and whether it gave early warning in 2007/2008 pre/post election crisis in Kenya.

To fill these gaps, the findings were guided by the research questions, to identify as to whether the local media was trained in issues of conflict resolution and management to handle crisis, Whether the local media attempted to promote peace harmony and co-existence amongst Kenyans and how much coverage/reportage the local media gave to violence as opposed to causes of violence in 2007/2008 pre/post general elections crisis.

The findings showed that there was a high rate of publications in terms of news items about personalities and news articles about violence. In my view these reportage and coverage constituted attempts of the media to send signals about the deteriorating peace at the time. Hence early warning and that the media was equipped to handle the crisis and indeed handled the crisis by highlighting the major personalities and groups (ODM and PNU) as major actors in it.

The researcher consents that the local media adopted the Agenda setting role as postulated by Lang and Kurt Lang (1959). That media forces attention to certain issues, they build up public images for political figures, they are constantly presenting objects, suggesting what individuals think about, know about and have feeling about.

According to Sheppard, Agenda setting emphasizes on serving the community by identifying the important issues focusing on them. The local media emphasized on violence so as to be addressed and the perpetrators be put to book. These resulted to the need for public to enhance peace, harmony and co-existence amongst themselves.

Table 8: the daily nation newspapers: portrayal of 2007/2008 general elections crisis

AREA RATED	MEAN	OPTION
Informed, Educated, Warned about violence	1:20	Low
Cautioned mobilized, Prepared the public	0.80	Very Low
Accommodated Consoled, redeemed the public during and after violence	1:00	Low
Overall mean	1.00	Low

from the above respondent agree that the media informed educated and warned about violence in the 2007/08 general elections,

however, there is doubt as to whether the media undertook to its social responsibility role to imperatively inform, educate, to warn the public and other actors including the government of the impending dangers of conflict apparent as it was in 2007/2008 general elections.

the circumstances then deliberations of the daily nation news papers depended on many other extraneous factors such as institutional policy, ownership, political inclinations and business partners. This raises the credibility question hence the mean grade is low.

concerns whether the media cautioned, mobilized and prepared the public to handle this gruesome and most horrific times in Kenya, the respondents did not categorically deny but sparingly indicated that the media cautioned, mobilized and prepared the public in these difficult times. In the premises then the media scores very low mark. We may not know the action into which the media cautioned, mobilized and or prepared public during the period

under study.

Subsequently, the respondents reluctantly agree that the media accommodated, consoled and redeemed the public.

The media was rated low at pacifying the public. It did not actually accommodate public's predicaments but suggested ways of how the victims of violence could be accommodated. The nation media group provided foodstuffs, and clothing to the families displaced hence to some extent consoling them.

The local media called on the stakeholders to unite the warring groups and to bring calm but did not engage in the wider exercise of fending for the victims singularly. There were concerns that the media was operating on the dictates of the proprietors, owners and managers of the media institutions nothing else notwithstanding.

Hence, it is in light of the above the respondents ascertained that the media accommodated, consoled and redeemed the public during and after violence courtesy of their employer.

The overall mean is low and this indicates that, The daily nation newspapers was not in whole engaged in the portrayal of 2007/2008 pre/post general elections crisis in its extremity but rather took a general stand with relatively covering/reporting of the violence it was in 2007/2008 pre/post general elections crisis.

In view of the analysis as depicted above, it is imperative to note that the literature review on media and governance, and media and constitution raised pertinent issues, these issues created gaps in the study. This includes, whether the media was partisan particularly with the state and if media personnel were trained in conflict resolution even as it embraced the freedom of the press as encapsulated in the constitution.

These gaps were addressed through the researchers effort to answer the research questions as to whether the media is trained in issues of conflict resolution and management to handle the crisis, did the local media face difficulties in coverage/reportage of pre/post 2007/2008 general

election crisis and whether the local media attempted to promote peace harmony and co-existence amongst Kenyans.

In the foregoing, the local media undertook to its agenda setting role, set agenda of what we think and talk about, and that agenda emanated from public opinion and proposals of political elites and competing interests. In the circumstances the local media did not become exceptional to political partisanship with the state machinery. This became challenging with regards to objectivity. In specific terms it became evident that the local media personnel had no training in conflict resolution and management .this is evident in the portrayal of 2007/2008 general election crisis.

In view of the above the researcher recommended that there is urgency for media personnel to have training needs assessment in conflict resolution. And also recommendations on further reading on whether the local media should be regulated privately or by the state. This met the objectives, to find recommendations on the local media to improve in reportage coverage of conflicts to promote peace, co-existence conflict resolution and management, and to establish the local media coverage and reportage in 2007/2008 pre /post general elections crisis in Kenya.

Table 9: the daily nation newspapers reporters, editors and photographers content analysis

REA RATED	MEAN	OPTION
trained in conflict management/ Resolution	0:50	Very Low
objective, Honest, Fair	1.30	Low
political , Religious interference	1:40	High
corrupt , Biases	1.40	High
tribalism/Class formations	1.40	High
Overall Mean	1.20	Low

From the table above, the respondents disagree to have any formal training on conflict management and resolution. However, they intimate that due to their respective trainings in previous studies, may have acquired knowledge to assist in conflict management and resolution particularly to inform and educate the public about the danger of conflicts and its aftermath but not actual management, prevention, control and resolution of conflicts and methods of resolving conflicts which include mediation, negotiation and bargaining.

This is an inhibitive approach which in essence would not assist in conflict management. Thus the very low rating in terms of training in conflict resolution. The respondents agreed that they adhered to the code of ethics in as far as coverage and reportage is concerned. But this was low during the period under study.

However, Honesty and fairness could not have easily been portrayed since the media houses and agencies as a whole had also taken sides along the political divide and ideological differences. Whereas the code of ethics is clear and prevalent in the media, during the 2007/2008 pre/post election violence, this was abdicated and every media house did what could benefit it most but not in line with code of ethics or professionalism.

With regards to political and religious interference, majority of the respondents agreed that their coverage/reportage was mostly politically and religiously and culturally motivated due to the ideological differences between contending parties. This estranged the professionalism such that those who favored candidates of a particular party were influenced, enticed and enthused by money or otherwise their love and passion for their candidate as opposed to the other.

This was the same for the religion. Those in the Muslim Religion had taken a stand as opposed to the majority Christians who had also declared their concerns. Indeed this was evident and is highly rated as being the case in reportage/coverage of 2007/2008 general election crisis.

Strings of corruption and biases amongst the respondents asserted that some of their colleagues were paid to work and report certain stories about certain personalities. That some of the stories genuinely brought to the publication rooms did not see the light of day as a phone call rendered them derogatory. That some respondents were deep rooted in ethnic inclinations and affiliations and were not ready to let go this attitude. It is in this view they agreed that biases and corruption was an issue in coverage and reportage of 2007/2008 pre/post covered elections crisis.

Tribalism and class concern that another area of concern that the respondents agreed was high. Some tribes dominated others. In management what the dominate tribe said was to be followed forthwith. The later influenced the coverage and reportage of the 2007-2008 pre/post election crisis.

Also the class formations at the place of work caused segments/ divisions of two or more classes. Class formations are based on economic strength, gender, and tribe. This indicates had a bearing on the reportage and coverage of the 2007- 2008 pre/ post election crisis. Thus giving respondents much focus in the media.

However the overall mean indicated that the respondents specifically had no direct impact on the 2007/2008 pre/ post general election crisis. The mean suggests that the respondents hardly were collectively geared towards resolution management and or prevention of the conflict.

It demonstrates that the daily Nation Newspaper reporters, editor and photographers have variant working schemes and approaches dependent of other issues as discussed but not necessarily professionalism and or training.

Table 10: the analysis of 2007/2008 pre/post general elections crisis

Rated Area	Mean	Option
The media coverage/ reports on the events or elections leading crisis	1.00	Low
Other reasons of violence, disputed elections historical injustices, land police, judiciary	1.60	Very high
Media shows death destruction of property	1.20	Low
Crisis escalated due to coverage/ reportage	0.60	Very low
International, regional state/non state Actors join calls for peace/calm	1.60	Very high
Overall mean	1.20	Low

The respondents disagree that the 2007/2008 pre/ post election crisis accentuated by the Daily Nation Newspapers reports and coverage of events preceding during and after the 2007/2008 general elections thus rated low.

The respondents agreed that apart from the media reports on the disputed elections that were seen to be flawed by most of the election monitoring agencies including The Kenya Human Rights Commission, The USA Agencies, the UN Agencies and other foreign media, there are pertinent and solid grounds on whose basis one can confirm that contributed largely to the crisis. This include, the historical injustices that the people have been subjected to since the colonial rule, land reforms, police brutality/ extrajudicial killings and ailing economy that is infiltrated with corruption political interference and mal-administration. Thus it is not correct to assert that the media reports/coverage had a relationship with 2007/2008 general elections crisis.

Also with regards to death and destruction of property, the electronic media was actually on the forefront to depict images of displaced people, destruction of properties and death of men, women and children. The Daily Nation Newspapers least showed this desperation in its columns, editorials and or photography as compared to the Television screens of other media houses. This is evident by the daily nation newspapers' score of low mean grade.

As concerns escalation of crisis in 2007-2008 general elections, The most contributing factor was not as a result of reportage and coverage of the Daily Nation Newspaper but news was spread all over Televisions and Radio that people were killing each other especially from the major two contending political parties i.e. PNU and ODM areas of dominance. This was not the making of the Daily Nation Newspaper. Thus the research records a very low mean grade with regards to escalation of crisis by the daily nation newspaper reportage/coverage.


It is true that the Daily Nation Newspapers together with other media, international, regional state and non state actors joined hands in their respective ways and called for calm during these very difficult times in Kenya history.

Thus the daily Nation Newspaper was very much involved in peace and return to calm calls which gave it a very high rating.

However the overall mean grade is low which showed that the respondents disagreed that the 2007/ 2008 pre/ post general election crisis was influenced by The Nation Newspapers coverage and reportage of the same.

Relationship between the daily nation newspapers report/ coverage and 2007-2008 pre/ post elections crisis

Table 11: Pearson's product moment correlation product

Criteria	Compared r- value	Critical r value	interpretation
The Daily Nation Newspaper coverage/ reportage 2007-2008 pre/post election violence	 0834	-0.080	Very very low Correlation significance

In the view of the above correlation, the relationship between the Daily Nation Newspapers and 2007/2008 pre/ post election crisis is very weak. This in essence actually can be asserted that there is hardly any relationship between the local media coverage/reportage and 2007/2008 pre/post general elections crisis.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This chapter clearly presents the summary of the findings, conclusions and general recommendations by the researcher and is based on research objectives of the study.

The study focused on the participation of the daily nation newspapers in 2007/2008 pre/post election crisis in Kenya

Summary of findings

The objectives of the study include: generally to examine the challenges faced by the local media disseminating information to resolve, manage and prevent conflict during general elections as was the case 2007/2008 general election crisis in Kenya. Specific objectives are to identify whether the local media was well equipped to handle crisis as was the case in 2007/2009 general elections, to determine whether the local media performed the agenda setting role in 2007/2008 pre /post general elections crisis, to establish the local media coverage and reportage in 2007/2008 pre/post general elections crisis and to find recommendations to improve reportage /coverage of local media in conflict resolution and to promote peaceful co existence, conflict management in Kenya..

The first objective was to examine challenges faced by the local media disseminating information to resolve, manage and prevent conflict during general elections as was the case in 2007/2008 pre/post general election crisis. The country was clouded with euphoria for change from the old political order that was quipped in the 1963 imperial constitution. The media became partisan to this change instead of being non partisan and to perform its duty as the fourth estate. It provoked the public faith by taking sides along political party attachments and tribal inclinations. Media houses became partisan to certain ideologies. This

was demonized and vilified by the public as being dishonest, subjective and to a greater extent preconceived as incitement and betrayal of public's trust. The local media was infiltrated by ethnic attachment and political influence which put the coverage and reporting in jeopardy. The local media also faced the problem of being entrapped, entangled, enthused and enticed by individuals but not professionalism. Media put much emphasis on personalities other than real issues that are of great concern to the country such as causes of corruption, impending drought, poor conditions of our road transport, insecurity, rotten judiciary, decadence in police force and generally high level of impunity in the administration of justice in most levels of governance in the country. In view of this, one may adduce that the local media is not after all independent it is then evident that the local media was if not then manipulated by the other actors such as the politicians, the media owners, ethnicity and corruption. Thus professionalism in the local media was least appreciated and hardly adhered to in terms of ethics and code of conduct.

The local media was excited by the actual violence but not dwelling on the causes of violence so as to build a case on the establishing of the real causes of violence and how the same could be dealt with. Due to competing interests with the other print media the Daily Nation newspaper could not have wished to be perceived or misinterpreted as mundane to the reforms agenda. Hence it did contentiously console, accommodate and provide redemption to victims and Kenyans generally in the most difficult moment in Kenya's history since independence.

The local media ownership manifested its policy and framework to override any other interest in the circumstances. Every other coverage, reportage was not an individual's point of view free from scrutiny of the very well directed editorial teams taming every word and picture with caution, diligence and latitude in the spirit and letter of the employers and media owners anything else notwithstanding.

Intermittently it was very clearly demonstrated that majority of the employees were not well

vast with information and training on conflict management, prevention, control and resolution. In as much as majority are trained in media law and ethics and adhered to the code of ethics, it is also clear that training is one thing different from the pragmatic application of the academic discourse in the media. This is a very challenging issue and needs utmost attention

As earlier pointed out there was political and religious interference in reportage and coverage of the 2007/2008 elections. Ideological differences based on party politics, tribal alignments and class formations also divided the local media and this had far reaching effects on the reportage and coverage of 2007/2008 pre /post general elections crisis in Kenya.

In some incidences the local media was seen as displaying personal biases, being ethnic oriented in reportage /coverage, and engaging in sensitive reporting. Such characteristics of the local media pose a danger to the national cohesion and integration of a state and to unite in the spirit of oneness. The promulgation of the new constitution of the second republic of Kenya has provided for in sec27 equality and freedom from discrimination, sec 28 human dignity, that every person has inherent dignity and the right to have that dignity respected and protected. And sec 33 that deals with freedom of expression and the exceptions thereof. This in essence has a positive tenure to the future of the local media to engage in conflict transformation and resolution.

The second objective is to identify whether the local media was well equipped to handle crisis as it was in the case of 2007/ 2008 pre post election violence.

The local media has trained personnel that is knowledgeable and has writing skills that could be put good use to bring peace but not fuel conflict. Bernard Cohen's postulates that the media cannot tell people what to think they are stunningly successful in telling them what to think about. The local media had all the information with regard to grand corruption in most government institutions, historical injustices, rotten police force, land questions judicial ineptness and terror by proscribed groups such as the Mungiki, Kayabombo, Kamjesh, and

others.

The media was well equipped in terms of facilities, personnel and enjoyed the support from the high and mighty across the political and economic divide to inform and educate the public on the above issues before during and after the 2007/2008 pre post election violence in Kenya. This in essence fulfilled the social responsibility and agenda setting roles.

However study has demonstrated that the local media personnel had no specialized or specific training in conflict resolution, management and prevention. The local media lacked skills in mediation negotiation and bargaining. Thus in essence the media was least equipped to handle the conflict as it was in 2007/ 2008 pre/ post elections crisis.

The third objective was to determine whether the local media performed agenda setting role during the 2007/2008 pre/ post general elections crisis.

Mac Combs and Shaw demonstrate that the media can set agenda for what we talk and think about. Agenda setting is important in conflict resolution because it suggests the methods that mass media can engage to have an impact on the society

Indeed the Daily Nation Newspapers assuage the society through their news items about personalities. The news items were depicted in form of opinion polls and advertisements in terms of campaign manifestos, propaganda, innuendo and satire thus informed and educated and entertained the public.

It is depicted that the local media informed, educated and prepared the public for the 2007/2008 general elections. The local media through its editorial news covered issues on historical injustices, land questions, corruption and decaying judiciary and police force which needed change and change was to begin with the presidency.

The local media was at the forefront in its headline news to call for calm and supported return to peace call from the clergy, foreign partners, ambassadors and other stakeholders. The media highlighted the plight of the Kenyans and the dire need for Kenyans to seek

solutions of their problems for themselves. It is in this view that the Agenda setting of role by the media was actually achieved.

The forth objective is to establish the local media coverage and reportage in 2007/2008 pre/post general elections crisis in Kenya.

The Daily Nation Newspaper did not derogate its role of objectivity, even though there emerged situations that it displayed dissenting views to the public. Articles of incitement, prejudice, propaganda, hate speech and abusive in the public were very minimal. If any then were reports or coverage of the statements of candidates as they preceded in their political campaigns but not from the local media specifically since the same was captured by other print /electronic medium in 2007/2008 general elections.

The local media was very careful not to spiral ethnicity and prejudice which had already taken place in the public. The local media was also careful not to publish alarming headlines or pictures on front pages that would hinge the thoughts and feelings of the public leading to disturbance of public peace and security. It is imperative to note that the local media was very honest in provision of information about areas that were plunged in violence and this enabled the rest of the public to take precautionary measures. Thus the media warned and cautioned the public before, during and after 2007/2008 general elections crisis in Kenya.

The study also demonstrated that the local media coverage/ reported the 2007/2008 pre/post general election crisis has no relationship. One cannot be right allude that the ensuing violence was in any way connected and or related with the Daily Nation Newspapers reportage and coverage. This is evident with the computed r value 0.834 which is very high as compared to the opposite and dissenting critical r value of -0.080 which is very very low correlation significance.

Conclusion

The study focused on the local media participation in 2007/ 2008 pre/ post election crisis in Kenya. Based on the findings the following conclusions were made.

There are various factors that had to influence the coverage and reportage of the local media in 2007/ 2008 general elections. These include political inferences, training, tribal attachments, class formations and corruption.

The employer also had immense influence on the employees in terms of coverage and reportage. The reporters editors and photographers as employees of the Nation Media Group are bound by the policy of the institution they cannot be independent of their views as opposed to the policy and guidelines and provisions as set by the management.

The relationship between local media participation and pre post election crisis is very low with computed r value of 0.834 which is very high than the very low critical r value of -0.080. This dissatisfying relationship gives the impression that the crisis that ensued before, during and after 2007/2008 general elections in Kenya was not all elicited by the Daily Nation Newspaper report/ coverage.

Recommendations

Based on the findings and discussions of the research, the following recommendations were made:-

The local media should be trained on the conflict resolution issues. They should be well versed with skills and knowledge of mediation and negotiation.

The local media personnel should embrace professional values and shun tribalism, corruption

and class formations in dispensation of their duties and responsibilities as reporters, editors and photographers.

The institutional policy formulations should be in line with the constitutional provisions with regards to national values and bill of rights in order to curb the problem of proxy and allegiance to the employer other than the country. This would occur well when it comes to reportage and coverage of news such that it is done in the interest of the nation but not the employer or owner of the institution one is working for.

It is also imperative that the reporters, editors and photographers be remunerated adequately to avoid the problem of being swayed by politicians, or other interested persons and becoming victims of appeasement offers at the expense of their objectivity in coverage and reportage of information.

Areas for Further Reading

1. The importance of training needs assessment in conflict resolution to local media..
2. Whether the local media should be regulated by the private owners or the government.
3. Whether in the process of Agenda setting the local media promotes conflicts.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Transmittal Letter



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Website: www.kiu.ac.ug

OFFICE OF THE ASSOCIATE DEAN, SOCIAL SCIENCES SCHOOL OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH (SPGSR)

January 29, 2011

Sir/Madam,

REQUEST FOR GERALD LIGUYANI MAJANY MCR/20004/82/DF CONDUCT RESEARCH IN YOUR ORGANIZATION

above mentioned is a bonafide student of Kampala International University
uing a Masters of Arts in Conflict Resolution and Peace Building .
is currently conducting a field research of which the title is "Local Media
ticipation in 2007-2008 Post Election Crisis, A case Study of The Daily
ion Newspapers-Kenya" as part of his research work; he has to collect relevant
mation through questionnaires, interviews and other relevant reading materials.

r organization has been identified as a valuable source of information pertaining to
research project. The purpose of this letter is to request you to avail him with the
inent information he may need.

information shared with him your in organization, rest assured the data you provide
I be treated with utmost confidentiality.

assistance rendered to him will be highly appreciated.

rs truly,

R Mwaniki

Roseanne Mwaniki
ociate Dean Social Sciences, SPGSR)



*This is to confirm that
the candidate visited the
Nation Media Group for
his research project.
David Achuda
Editorial Admin Manager
NMG
21/11*

"Exploring the Heights"

Appendix B

Research Budget

NO	ITEM DESCRIPTION	QUANTITY	UNIT COST	TOTAL
1	Transport cost	6	5,000	30,000
2	Cost of food	One month	1,000	8,000
3	Communication	consolidated	-	5,000
4	Stationeries & printing	consolidated		20,000
5	Enumerators allowances	15	500	7500
6	Research report writing	4 copies	5000	20,000
TOTAL KSH				90,500

Appendix C

Time frame

NO	ACTIVITY	DURATION OF WEEKS	TENTATIVE DATES
	Writing Draft Proposal	3	1.10.2010
	Proposal review and approval	2	28.01.2011
	Data collection	8	5.02.2011
	Report Writing	3	March 2011
	Review and approval of Research Report	3	10.06.2011
	Writing final Report	2	July 2011
	Defense of thesis/project	1 day	August 2011

Appendix D

Informed Consent

This research is purely for academic purpose. The researcher Mr. Gerald Liguyani Majany is a Master of Arts in Conflict Resolution and Peace Building student of Kampala International University in Uganda. Your co-operation in answering the questions will be highly appreciated. All information given shall be treated, handled confidentially.

Thanks in advance

Yours sincerely

Gerald Liguyani Majany

IC2/20004/82/DF

Appendix E

KAMPALA INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF POST GRADUATE RESEARCH

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR REPORTERS / EDITORS / PHOTOGRAPHERS

You are requested to answer the questions honestly by writing your responses in the spaces provided. Where required and by putting a tick at the appropriate likert scale corresponding to the appropriate statement. The likert scale items are as follows;- (5) = strongly Agree, (4) Agree (A), (3) = Undecided (U), (2) Disagree (D), (1) Strongly Disagree (SD). DO NOT WRITE YOUR NAME, THE ANSWERED QUESTIONNAIRE and the information shall be confidential.

GENERAL INFORMATION

1)

- i. Name of your local media - The Daily Nation Newspapers
- ii. Language – English
- iii. Ownership – Private (His Highness the Aga Khan)
- iv. Circulation – Approximately 2,000,000,000 (2 million) daily
- v. Geographic reach / distribution – Eastern and central Africa

2) **What is your gender?**

- i. Male []
- ii. Female []

3) **Which division do you belong to, please specify.**

- i. News writing []
- ii. Photography []

iii. Others _____

(4) What is your level of education?

- i. High school Graduate []
- ii. College Graduate []
- iii. University Graduate []

(5) Indicate your employments level

- i. Freelance journalist []
- ii. Casual employee []
- iii. Contractual employee []
- iv. Permanent / and pension able employee []

PART B

COVERAGE/REPORTAGE OF EVENTS 2007/2008 PRE/POST ELECTON PERIOD

S/NO	ITEM	SA	A	U	D	SD
	Most of the articles published during this period were inciting members of the public against each other.					
	Most of the electronic editorials published during this period were ethnic and hate speech					
	Large number of letters to the editor published during this period were prejudicial					
	The front page headlines and the pictures during this period were sensitive public peace and security.					

5	The of columns, opinions and analysis of various reports as published during this period was biased ,partial and ethnic in character and presentation.					
5	The cartoons displayed and or published during this period were inciting and prejudicial.					
7	Number of News items published during this period were sensitive and about personalities but not the real issues facing the nation.					

Part B MEDIA PORTRAYAL OF 2007/2008 GENERAL ELECTIONS

	Informed the public					
	Educated the public					
	Warned / Alerted the public					
	Cautioned the public					
	Prepared /mobilized the public					
	Accommodate the public news					
	Console the public					
	Redeems – reassure the public					

**Part C
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NATION NEWSPAPER REPORTS AND POST
LECTION VIOLENCE 2007 – 2008 GENERAL ELECTIONS.**

	The language used in newspaper reports was inciting before and after 2007 – 2008 general elections.					
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2	The journalists / reporters / photographers hardly applied and or observed the journalistic code of conduct in the reporting the conflict.					
3	The media personal need adequate training in conflict resolution transformation and management.					
4	The daily Nation News papers have put in place mechanisms to yield efforts in conflict resolution.					
5	media owners resolve to institute policies towards peace building through Newspapers.					

Please rate the performance of the Nation News paper in participation of pre/post election crisis 2007 – 2008 as follows

Key: SA - strongly Agree, A - Agree, D.A – disagree, SD - Strongly Disagree, N - none

Factor	ITEM					
1	Did it have capacity to unite conflicting parties					
2	Careless reporting biased and prejudicial coverage of events					
3	No discrimination on the basis of ethnicity					
4	Reportage based on political/party inclinations					
5	Operated with a clear sense of vision mission and Objectivity.					
6	Reportage based on organizations management Policy					
7	Displaced skills technical knowledge competency and Professionalism in reportage/photography					
8	Reportage mostly affected the youth/women.					

**Part E RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN REPORTERS,JOURNALIST,PHOTOGRAPHERS
ACADEMIC RECORDS (TRAINING) AND THEIR PARTICIPATION IN 2007 –
2008 CRISIS**

1	The reportage of events by trained journalists differ from those not trained during 2007 – 2008 crisis in Kenya					
2	What is the rating of journalists trained in reporting such events a) Very good b) Good c) Fair d) Poor e) Very poor					
3	There are many challenges faced when reporting /photographing such events					

4) Do you think there are other factors that affect journalists in performance apart from training?

- Yes ☐
- No ☐

if yes what factors

(5) Do you think the pre / post election violence is in any way related to the local media reports / coverage

- Yes ☐
- No ☐

How and why

(6) Are there other factors facing that influence the local media participation in coverage /reportage of pre / post election violence 2007 – 2008?

- Yes ☐
- No ☐

f yes what are those factors affecting media participation

7) How do you hope to curb this problem?

INSTITUTE OF OPEN AND DISTANCE LEARNING (IODL)

KAMPALA INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

INTERVIEW GUIDE IN THE NATION MEDIA

**ON LOCAL MEDIA PARTICIPATION IN 2007 – 2008 POST ELECTION CRISIS A
CASE STUDY OF THE DAILY NATION NEWSPAPER KENYA**

The questionnaire seeks to collect data for a study towards attainment of a master's degree in conflict resolution and peace building at Kampala International University the title of the study is local media participation in 2007 – 2008 post election crisis. A case study of the Daily Nation Newspapers Kenya. The research will also help identify and propose the solutions to address the challenges that the media faces in attempts to play its role of informing, educating and entertaining in retrospect of violence as witnessed in the period under research

You have been identified as a key person to help answer the questionnaire so as to give the information that will make this research study a success.

The information given in this exercise will be treated with utmost confidentiality and will only be intended for the purpose of this research.

Your response can either be by filling in the blank spaces or indicating with a tick where applicable.

SECTION I

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Name

Sex

- a. male
- b. Female

Age

- a. 25 – 35
- b. 35 – 45
- c. 45 – 55
- d. 55 and above

Marital status

(a) single (b) married (c) widowed (d) divorced
level of education.

- a. College
- b. Undergraduate
- c. Post graduate and above

Nature of employment terms

- a. Casual
- b. Temporary employment
- c. Contractual (termly)
- d. Permanent and personable

Responsibly held in the NMG.

- a. CEO
- b. Chairman of committee/sub committer (editor)
- c. Managing editor
- d. ADM editor
- e. Sub editor
- f. Others (State)

REPORTS ON POST ELECTION VIOLENCE

Were Kenyans fighting amongst themselves during 2007/2008 General elections?

Yes ☐ No ☐

If yes what were the main causes of the violence

What measures did the local media adopt to address the situation to calm?

Has the crisis since been resolved?

Yes ☐ No ☐

If no suggest possible ways of resolving it

Does the local media help in resolving conflicts in this county?

Yes ☐ No ☐

If yes to what extend and how?

What challenges do the local media face in resolving conflicts?

How are the above challenges overcome

What do you suggest to help your organization to perform their duty of resolving conflicts in future?

Have you any training in conflict resolution at local national and organizations even international level?

Yes ☐ No ☐

If yes please describe the type and number of trainings t you have received in conflict prevention and resolution.

	Type	Number	Organizer
1			
2			
3			

Role of media in conflict resolution is the local media equipped to resolve conflicts?

Yes ☐ No ☐

If yes what are the methods

Do the local media face any problems in solving conflicts?

Yes ☐ No ☐

If yes how are this problems addressed?

Has the media laid down any strategies (framework) to solve conflicts?

Yes ☐ No ☐

If yes mention the strategies

Other than the local media who are the other agencies to help in resolution of conflicts.

Suggest what can be done to improve the performance of the media in solving conflicts and peace building in the society.

Thank you very much.

Appendix F

KAMPALA INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Researcher's Curriculum Vitae

Personal profile

Name : Gerald Liguyani Majany
Age : 42
Nationality : Kenyan
Mobile number : +254722731046
Mail address : gmajany2002@yahoo.com
Religious Affiliation : Christian

Educational Background

Level	Year	Name of School	Location
P/LE	1982	Musingu Primary school	kakamega county
KCE	1986	Ingotse secondary school	Kakamega county
KACE	1988	Kakamega high school	Kakamega county

Pre University(10+2)	1990	Punjab university	Chandigarh-India
B.A.Sociology/Econ	1993	Punjab University	Chandigarh-India
LLB	1996	Benares Hindu University	Varanasi-India
CL(Admitted)	1998	Kenya school of law	Nairobi-Kenya
PCR	2011	Kampala International university	Kampala-Uganda

Work Experience

Position	No. of Years	Institution/Company
Lead legal studies 3 (2000-2003)	Tracom college	Nakuru-Kenya
Legal Consultant	2002-2011	J .A.Gulenywa .Co &Adv Nairobi-Kenya
Resource.Media law/Ethics	2004-2011	Kenya institute of Mass communication(KIMC) Nairobi-Kenya

Lecturer(Law)

2005-2011

Multimedia university Nairobi-Kenya

.....

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