MEDIA INFLUENCE ON THE CONDUCT OF ELECTIONEERING PROCESS IN KENYA WITH REFERENCE TO KISUMU COUNTY

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DECLARATION AND CERTIFICATION

DECLARATION BY THE CANDIDATE

This thesis is my original work prepared with no other than the indicated sources, support and has not been presented elsewhere for a degree or any other award.

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The undersigned certify that they have read and hereby recommend for acceptance of Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology a thesis entitled "***Media influence on the conduct of electioneering process in Kenya with reference to Kisumu County***"

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my late grandfather Daniel Mituh, my parents and all peoples'

of goodwill who acknowledge and carry out peace-building initiatives worldwide.

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ABSTRACT

The role of the media in conflicts has been a concern across the world. Its effect has intensified enormously and scholars are yet to concur on the extent of the media effect on conflicts and peace-building. The general objective of the study was to assess the media influence on the conduct of electioneering process in Kenya with reference to Kisumu County. The specific objectives of the study were to: investigate the type of influence of the media during electioneering process in Kenya with reference to Kisumu County; examine the causes and types of conflicts during electioneering process in Kenya with reference to Kisumu County and finally assess the challenges experienced by the media during electioneering process in Kenya with reference to Kisumu County. The study adopted a conceptual model which was guided by four main theories: Libertarian theory, Galtung's theories of structural violence and structural peace-building, Agenda Setting theory and Social Responsibility theory. Also the study was guided by the concepts of media reporting, coverage and peace journalism. The study was limited from re-introduction of multi-party democracy in Kenya in 1992 to 2017 with focus on private and public electronic and social media. The study ended in 2017 as that was the year when massive electioneering violence was witnessed in Kisumu County last. The area of study was Kisumu County, Kenya specifically Nyakach and Kisumu Central sub-counties. Key government officials, security officials and journalists were key informants who were drawn from the two constituencies' headquarters while other respondents were drawn from Kisumu residents. The sampled respondents were a total of 864. The study employed qualitative and quantitative methods for investigation. The study adopted probability (simple random) and non-probability (purposive, convenience, snowball and systematic random) sampling techniques. The data were collected through questionnaires, interviews schedule, FGDs guides and review of literature through document analysis. FGD comprised 10 homogenous key informants and six FGDs were conducted. Qualitative data were analyzed by thematic while quantitative data were analyzed using descriptive and inferential statistics. The data collected were analyzed by SPSS version 21 and Microsoft excel. The data were presented in tables, pie charts and later interpreted into meaningful information. The study found out that both print, electronic and social media were the major types of media and they had great influence on people's opinions and behaviors during electioneering process. The media influenced people both positively and negatively based on their daily agendas. The findings of the study revealed that Kisumu County experienced electoral and politically instigated ethnic conflicts during electioneering process. These conflicts have had greater impacts on socio-economic, psychological and health aspects of people. Finally the study found out that media experienced challenges such as insecurity, unprofessionalism, poor working conditions and brutality from citizens and police. The study, therefore, concluded that media influences people greatly during electioneering process thus determining the nature of electioneering process. Therefore, the overall conclusion of this study was that the media has contributed to the peaceful electioneering process by not only educating and training, but by also addressing the historical injustices, structural and cultural conflicts. However, it was observed that these influences of media have not been without challenges. The study recommended that media be regulated and trained on peace-journalism. The study further recommended that historical injustices and structural conflicts be addressed. Youths should be involved in peace initiatives as they are the major perpetrators of violence. Finally the study recommended that all stakeholders should partner with media in enhancing peaceful electioneering process.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

xii

LIST OF FIGURES

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BBC – British Broadcasting Corporation

BBCWS – British Broadcasting Corporation World Service

BDP- Botswana Democratic Party

CDP- Conflict Data Project

CCK – Communication Commission of Kenya

CNN- Cable News Network

CPJ - Committee for Protection of Journalist

ECK – Electoral Commission of Kenya

ERIS – Electoral Reform International Services

GoK- Government of Kenya

ICC – International Criminal Court

ICHRP- International Human Rights Policy

IDP – Internally Displaced Persons

IHL- International Humanitarian Law

KANU – Kenya African National Union (a political party in Kenya)

KBC – Kenya Broadcasting Corporation

KNA- Kenya News Agency

KNCHR – Kenya National Commission of Human Rights

KTN – Kenya Television Network

KRC- Kenya Red Cross

LRA – Lord Resistance Army

MCK- Media Council of Kenya

MFAF – Media Focus on Africa Foundation

MFWA – Media Foundation for West Africa

MOSD – Ministry of State for Defense

NARC- National Rainbow Coalition

NGO- Non-Governmental Organization

NTV – Nation Television Network

OBN- Open Broadcast Network

ODM – Orange Democratic Movement (a political party in Kenya)

ODM-K - Orange Democratic Movement – Kenya (a political party in Kenya)

OHR- Office of the High Representative

PEV – Post Election Violence

PNU – Party of National Unity (a political party in Kenya)

RIG- Radical Islamic Group

RNL- Radio Ndeke Luka

RTLM – Radio Television Librie des Millers

RWB – Reporters Without Borders

SFCG- Search for Common Ground

UNESCO- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UPDF – Uganda Peoples' Defence Forces

USA- United States of America

OPERATIONALIZATION OF KEY CONCEPTS

The following key concepts used in the study have been operationalized and will exclusively refer to meanings ascribed herein:

Conflict Transformation –This concept is used to refer to the process by which conflicts, such as ethnic, political and electoral conflicts are transformed into peaceful outcomes during electioneering process in Kisumu County by use of media.

Conflict – This concept is applied to this study to mean competition between groups or individuals over perceived incompatible goals, scarce/abundant resources, or the power needed to acquire them. This competition if not properly managed, flares into confrontation between parties involved. It is that dispute that exists when people living in the region wish to carry out acts which are mutually inconsistent. This definition of conflict can be extended from individuals to groups.

Constituency/Sub-County- In this study, constituency has been used to mean a region where voters are represented in the country's legislative assembly by an elected member of parliament. In other words, it is the body of voters or the residents of a district represented by an elected legislator or official. In Kenya, a total of 294 constituencies are represented where Kisumu County has seven representatives but for purposes of this study, main focus was on two constituencies (Nyakach and Kisumu Central).

Conduct of electioneering process- In this study, it is used to mean either peaceful, legitimate or conflict escalation activities carried out from time of dissolution of parliament to one month after casting of ballot.

Culture- The study applies this concept to refer to the socially inherited, shared and learnt ways of living practice by people living in Kisumu County by nature of their membership to social groups. In this study, culture covers a very wide perspective

including food which is known to specific groups, language, dressing code, etc. Some cultural practices elicit ethnic conflicts while others deter theme.

Ethnicity- It refers to that classification of people in relation to their ethnicities and affiliation to political parties. Ethnicity in this study has been used as a tool for political mobilization and therefore, ethnic conflict.

Electoral Violence – In this study, electoral violence refers to the use of threats or physical act carried out by an individual against another for political reasons. The electoral violence is confined to the electioneering seasons which happen after every five years in Kenya and how it impact Kisumu County.

Electioneering process – According to this study, electioneering process refers to all the activities and timeframe from dissolution of parliament to one month after the casting of ballots in Kisumu County which occurs after every five years.

Ethnic conflict- This study adopts the definition of ethnic conflict as uncontrolled differences between members of different ethnic groups living in the area of study who have incompatible goals, which may be perceived or real. In case of Kisumu County, in this relationship the competitors seek not only to overcome their rivals, but strive to eliminate them from the competition.

Fishermen – According to this study, fishermen is a term referring to a particular ethnic community as only good fishermen and cannot be trusted in the leadership of the nation. In Kisumu County, the Agikuyu community referred to Luos as fishermen who are only good in fishing.

Foreigners – In this study, foreigners refers to any settler/ communities who acquired land away from their ancestral origins and the host communities see them as lesser beings who do not deserve a share of property ownership and political say in their new

dwellings. In Kisumu, Agikuyu community were referred to as foreigners by the Luo community.

Hate speech –In this study, hate speech refers to a form of speech that degrades others and promotes hatred and encourages violence against a group on the basis of a criterion including religion, race, colour or ethnicity.

Media – The media as used in this study refers to diversified media technologies that are intended to reach large audience by mass communication. This study's definition of media, therefore, is communication channels through which news, entertainment, education, date or promotional messages are disseminated. In the context of this study, they include electronic (radio stations, Televisions), Print and social media platforms (Facebook, twitter, blogs, whatsapps).

Media influence- According to this study, this refers to how media shapes and effects people's opinions through their reporting and coverage, partisan, slides and photos, and neutrality.

Media imbalance- In this study, media imbalance refers to media practitioners or journalists taking sides in their coverage or reporting during electioneering process in Kisumu County.

Media practitioner/journalist- A journalist, who collects, writes and distributes news and other information about conflicts, electioneering season and peace-building in Kisumu County.

Peace- In this study, peace refers to that condition or status upon which an individual or community's root causes of conflicts or disharmony have been addressed by the media.

Peace building – In this study, peace-building refers to all strategies designed to promote a secure and stable lasting peace in which the basic human needs of the population are met and violent conflicts do not reoccur. In this study, therefore, peace-building refers to

all strategies that the media used in reconciling the conflicting parties and fostering positive attitudes in Kisumu County during electioneering season.

Peace Enforcement – In this study, peace enforcement refers to the techniques or strategies that the media stations or houses employed during the electioneering process to maintain or restore peace and order in Kisumu County for instance education, dialogue, cohesion among others.

Peace Journalism – In this study, peace journalism refers to how the media reported issues that do not champion warfare, but promote peace in Kisumu County during electioneering process.

Peacemaking – In this study, it refers to using diplomatic or dialogue approaches to persuade parties in conflict to cease hostilities and negotiate peaceful co-existence. In this study, peacemaking includes the initial steps media in Kisumu County undertook in handling the victims and portraying the situation during electioneering conflicts.

Private media- The study limited itself to private media being media houses that are privately owned by individuals. They included media houses like Lake Victoria, Namlolwe, KTN, Citizen and Ramogi FM.

Public Media- In this study, public media refers to media houses that are state owned, for example, the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC).

Post-Election Violence (PEV) – In this study, PEV refers to the violence that an individual/group committed against another based on political differences in Kisumu County after the general election from the resuscitation of multi-party democracy 1992 to 2017 after every five years.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Kenya has demonstrated to be predominantly susceptible to ethnicized political violence. Since the start of multi-party politics, it has suffered political violence in 1992, 1997 and in the 2007/2008 post-election violence. This chapter provides information on the background to the study, research problem, objectives of the study, research questions, justification and scope of the study. The chapter ends with a summary.

1.1 Background to the Study

Today, intra-state conflict is the major type of conflict in the world in general, and especially in Africa (Rupesinghe *et al*., 1996:26; Sandole, 1999:136; Lund 2006:3; Dokken 2008:3). Walter (2009:3) argues that exceeding half of all civil wars in 2008 were fought between ethnic minorities and their central governments over superior autonomy or independence. According to Lund (2006:3), the vast majority of conflicts are national in nature, dealing with secessionist, ethnic, or ideological issues. Dokken (2008:3), writing at the time, observed that 56.6% of African states were experiencing some form of intrastate conflict.

Sisk (2003:1) contends that democracy as a structure of political determination is in many ways a technique of conflict management in which the aftermaths are anonymous but the ultimate rules of the game provide a benign ground in which to contest. For this motive, many profoundly divided postwar cultures in the 1990s have curved to democracy as a system to depart from intractable conflicts (Sisk 2003:1). Along these lines, Brahm (2005: 3) and Lyons (2009:91-92) assert that elections have been a portion of almost all bargained settlements of civil warfare in the post-Cold War epoch. Where secession or

division is not an alternative (and it seldom given customs of sovereignty), unadventurous wisdom is that uncensored elections are the truly efficient means of channeling competition to peaceful means. In a different perspective, Deng (1996:226) maintains that Western-Style consensus of the vote, with the 'winner take all' effect, runs pawn to the African native principle of power- allotment and conciliation, and consequently, cannot be a core for dispute resolution in the African traditional milieu.

Schake (1997:110), argues that elections can be destabilizing and that elections alone does not constitute democracy; they can even serve to further disenfranchisement. Matanga *et al*., (2012) observe that it is not predominantly the proceedings on Election Day but rather the developments leading up to the election and the varieties of inducements and prospects developed that embolden warring factions to shift their stratagems from carnage to electoral philosophies.

Security challenges are becoming increasingly diverse and fragmented posing more threat to world peace and stability than ever. Similarly, the comprehension of the proximate causes of clashes and the interrelation between security and conflict management from the global perspective has increasingly become dynamic (Morgenthau & Thompson, 1985). As a result, recent security defies are engendered within individual cultures extent across borders to their immediate environment. This has also been intensified by unhealthy regional dynamics resulting from the aggressive power tussles within and among nations as have been witnessed in several countries of the Global South including those in Africa.

The strategies of the armed forces, feelings by media and the society with regard to broadcast reportage of violence was shaped immensely by the encounters with Vietnam

War. The supremacy of influence of media on conflict was observed in the Vietnam War during the US participation in the war owing to the momentous development of communication advancement presented by unearthing of television. For instance, the Vietnam War flung the press into contrasting directions. On the one hand, the innovation in that war that the U.S. administration and armed forces had frequently lied to the public on the tangible details of the advancement and comportment of the conflict led the public, through press reportage, to admit a likelihood that all U.S. foreign dogmas might have been pigeon-holed by deception (Praeger, 1994).

The continent of Africa has agonized several armed conflicts, some of which the media played a key role. Media has been accused as one of the gears for stimulating conflict. Researches have shown that contribution of mass media on conflicts were by inflaming violence, failing to focus on emerging wars and procrastinating to report struggles. For instance, the Rwandese Radio- Television Libre des Milles Collines (RTLM) is a unique examples of media that abetted stimulate conflict by encouraging the Hutu population to exterminate the Tutsi terming them as "cockroaches" that must be eliminated to ensure peace in Rwanda (Mutua 2001). This resulted in the massacre of almost 1,000,000 Tutsi and displacement of many others.

The widespread community clashes in African continent has repeatedly frolicked contrarily to milieu of high ignorance, dearth, and feeble administrative structures diluted by unfavorable indebtedness and leadership botches (Zartman, 1995). It is contended that amalgamation of resource struggle, ethnicity, socioeconomic and politics triggered several electioneering violence in African continent.

The recent influence of media in war intensification is the Arab spring in Middle East and North Africa. This revolution saw the upheaval in Tunisia, Libya, Egypt and Yemeni regimes via mass action wangled by social media. Commenting on the media role in the uprising, for example, The Times Magazine (*Times Magazine*, 2010) reported that whereas state- regulated media outlets displayed a one-sided view of the Libyan conflict, their autonomous counterparts presented similar defects in both reportage and investigation.

According to Okoth (2012:12), post-conflict elections epitomize a podium for the manifestation of political choices of the people, and they are an emblem of legality for the use of power. They offer advantaged opportunity for healthful and peaceful public political discussion, marked by appreciation of distinct views and numerous political alliances. Paraphrasing Pope Benedict XVI, Okoth (2012:12) states that if effected well, elections call out and promote real and active involvement by citizens in social and political life. And botch to obey the national statute, the law or the result of the vote, when elections have been transparent, fair and free, would signal a critical failure in authority and absence of competency in the dispensation of public matters.

Khadiagala *et al.* (2010:3) argue that post conflict elections are intended to ease, or to signify an end to intrastate conflicts. For instance, elections including those as witnessed in Malawi, Zanzibar, Nigeria, Kenya and the 1996 Sierra Leone elections, and the 1995 Guatemala elections the much debated 1996 and 1997 Bosnia elections. Although not accurately post-conflict elections, the 1994 South African elections and the 1995 elections in the Gaza and West Bank share lots of the features of post-election conflicts. They also noted that elections do not continuously result in a cessation of resentments or

the creation of an environment favorable for social, economic, or even political restoration.

The role media have played is encouraging conflict along with promoting peace, or safeguarding human rights. For instance, the CNN took part in the retraction of USA forces from Somalia in the 1990s by displaying graphic portraits of the bodies of nineteen American soldiers being pulled along the street. This was an extension of the Vietnam disease in which the media was perceived as 'losing the war' for the USA. Likewise in Rwanda, hate Radio played a momentous function in intensifying the killing and genocide but it should be seen that the Radio Milles Collines was established as part of peace and democratization plan maintained by international organizations (Allen and Stremlau, 2006:4).

Kenya has never been immune from armed conflict. More specifically, Kenya has experienced both intra and inter conflicts. These clashes mostly display themselves as economic, political, environmental as well as natural resources conflicts, land and ethnic conflicts and recently terrorism (Wotzka *et al.*, 2003). The inception of multi-party politics in Kenya generated new aspects of election conflicts. Election-related violence has been experienced during every election period starting 1992, with the 2007/2008 election ensuing as the severest bloodshed ever in the history of the nation.

Additionally, Kenya, unlike the U.S, has not exemplified the notions of freedom of the press in her fundamental laws. The consequence of this error means that the media role under the present multiparty politics in Kenya is being extremely impeded through equivocal laws relating to the media freedom and the freedom that enables them deal with the various economic, cultural, political, and social issues (Chouliaraki, 2006: 151).

5

Additional restrictive laws in the Kenyan context is the penal code, and the treason and felonious libel which have very far-reaching precincts on the liberated roles of the media. Moreover, there is an interrogation of direct political obstruction with the conducts of the media. For instance, as regard to a 1992 report of a New York based committee to safeguard journalists, a number of reporters and their journals have been regularly harassed, frightened or grilled by the government security personnel (Rukwaro, 1992). The authority took exclusions to these publications for broadcasting what was understood as condemnations of the ruling party KANU, reports on subtle matters like bribery and human rights defilements and ethnic conflicts in some parts of the country.

With that, the claims is that the most disappointing thing is the media's obsession with particulars irrelevant to the conflict itself but sided with the Radical Islamic Group (RIG) to mobilize people against the government. This shows how mass media can act as a tool for mobilization. The mass media can play both positive and destructive roles through increasing or averting conflict and promoting peace building efforts (Amisi, 1997). Studies such as Wairagu (2003), Heiber (2001), Spurk *et al.*, (2002) and Howard (2003) suggest that mass media may cause conflict by delaying to report conflicts, journalists taking part in killings, highlighting hate speech during conflicts, downplaying genocide during conflicts, acting irresponsibly, inciting violence, failing to highlight emerging conflicts, and deliberately creating misrepresentations in reporting.

Liberalization of Media and its changeover epoch in Kenya began in 1992 in the wake of multi-party state allowed by former president Daniel Arap Moi of the Kenya African National Union (KANU), the party that ruled for 39 years after independence (Maina, 2006; Wanyande, 1996). President Moi was always hesitant to free up the airwaves and to specifically permit radio stations to air in their mother tongue other than Kiswahili and

English, be terrified of the spread of ethnic hostility, separation, and brutality. Earlier in 1982, KANU was profoundly bothered about the participation of community radio in fostering ethnic hostilities and conflicts in Kenya particularly on the ground of exploiting a certain ethnic grouping to air to a multinational community outside the countrywide languages. Actually the formerly community radio in Africa launched by UNESCO in Homa Bay in the Luo core of formerly Nyanza province in Kenya was closed after airing for two and a half years (Fraser and Estrada, 2001; Quarmyne, 2006). According to the state, the station was airing conversely to the state policy of rendering English and Kiswahili, the official languages, rather was twisted on promoting only the good values of the Luo culture in the midst of other ethnic nationalities.

The post-election violence of 2007 and 2017 were credited to several reasons involving the media. The media, for instance, may have triggered the PEV by depicting a hot-tempered political atmosphere marred with abhorrence, violence, and a stiff race between two protagonists i.e. Orange Democratic Movement and Party of National Unity parties (KNCHR, 2008). The KNCHR report found out that ethnic based FM radio stations performed unethically by broadcasting unconstructive ethnic labels, cultural bigotry, slandering personalities and societies. On many cases, the radio stations broadcasted frightening shows, which were frequently sprinkled with hints of the hosts. In addition, both international and local media stations like BBC, Nation Television (NTV), Kenya Television Network (KTN), Central News Network (CNN), Aljazeera, *KASS* and *INOORO* seem to have predicted a flawed and highly manipulated balloting in support of the incumbent political party. For example, The *Standard newspaper* of 14th October, 2007 published a documentary on how the government planned to rig the election. Thus, this could have shaped perceptions of people towards violence in case the election results

were announced in favor of the protagonist (Twawezesha Report, 2008). The invisible hand of media in conflict management cannot, therefore, be ignored. This study examined the influence of the media in promoting to harmony, and lessening armed forces action, whether local, regional or international. This study, therefore, attempted to answer the pertinent questions that arise by focusing on Kisumu County.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Kenya as a nation-state has been regarded as a representative democracy in Africa and has on several instances been depicted as a beacon of peace in Africa (Wolfsfeld, 2004). More than 42 ethnic groups that constitute the state have lived comparatively thriving ever since self-government in 1963 (Amutabi, 2009: 3). Kenya also claims of exercising unrestricted media. Liberated media allows the electorates to be well knowledgeable thus making prudent choice. Moreover, in an independent nation, the media should to be consistent, dependable and share various impartial news. Basically, majority of media stations in Kenya have principles, ethical code of conduct, and journalistic principles that underscore and foster these standards. The media nonetheless have a key role to play in democratic and pluralist elections. Since the re-birth of pluralist democratic politics in Kenya in 1991, the country once defined as the beacon of peace in Africa has repeatedly suffered electoral conflict. During the 1992, 1997, 2007, and 2017 general elections, the country experienced electoral violence that led to loss of lives and internal displacement of persons (Kenya National Commission on Human Rights [KNCHR] 2017:5; Commission of Inquiry into Post-election Violence [CIPEV] 2008:383; Mwagiru 2008:1; Akiwumi Commission 1999:1; Oyugi 1997:55).

Numerous researchers for example Makinen & Kuira (2008), Ogola (2011), Ismail & Deane (2008) and Lafargue and Katumanga (2008), have investigated and authored about

the media's effect on the Kenyan community. Nonetheless, their focal emphasis was how the media impelled and/or powered Kenya's 2007/8 Post Election Violence. There was insufficient works on media as a peace-building instrument used before, during and after the PEV. Consequently, this study was compelled to assess media influence on the conduct of electioneering process in Kenya with reference to Kisumu County. More often than not media has been associated with fostering violence during elections. However, can media spearhead peace? Media is vital during any electioneering process, however, what is the implication of the media on the political atmosphere and dynamism during electioneering process?

Whereas the influence of media on society can be both positive and negative, more often than not, in the case of Kenya, it has been viewed and perceived as negative in terms of activating and intensifying conflict during the electioneering process. Consequently, exactly, what positive influence has media played in Kenyan politics with reference to Kisumu County especially towards peace and peaceful co-existence?

Similarly, the distribution of political resources, especially in the personalization of power during the Kenyatta administration, established genuine resource distribution grievances that entrenched political divisions in the country. Notably, the colonial constitution, and the government institutions that were created thereof, advanced imperialist interests through neo-colonial power brokers. Yet, the political leaders in the Kenyatta administration would have known too well that the inequitable distribution of resources, both economic and political, was a recipe for violence given the overlap of ethnic and regional identities in the country. Through domination and manipulation of the political institutions, these leaders turned elections into structures for rewarding loyalists and punishing dissenting voices (Ajulu 2008:34; Mutua 2008:75).

President Daniel Moi's administration (1978–2002) heightened the unfettered accumulation of state resources. The personalization of state power, and the articulation of the political interests of the ruling elite, led to the massive plunder of state coffers and heightened the demand for constitutional and institutional reforms in the country. Nevertheless, Moi engaged in the divide-and-rule tactic thereby playing the ethnic card instituted by President Kenyatta into Kenya's political contest. The president fiddled with ethnicity to gain political mileage (Ajulu 2008:35).

The re-introduction of the democratic multiparty politics in Kenya in 1991 led to the embattled history of electoral conflicts in the country. Democratic politics occasioned the creation of a multiplicity of political parties, most of which were conceived without substantive political ideologies and served solely as political instruments to acquire political power. These parties were established by regional kingpins who made their ethnic positioning the basis for their power. The political parties were therefore rendered ethnic in their configuration against the nationalistic Kenya African National Union (KANU) party that had a well-established nation-wide support and patronage (Ajulu 1998:74). Although attempts have been made to find supportive evidence to link media to conflict, little has been done with relation to Kenya and particularly to Kisumu County, the area of study (Gowing, 1994). In as much as expected, traditionally the media is a tool for peace and peace-building. In rare situations the media has triggered conflict. The research question, therefore, was why has the media served to trigger conflict and heightened political atmosphere rather than the expected and anticipated peace-building in Kisumu County, Kenya?

Studies such as Waki, (2008); Hoelffler, (2012); Des Forges, (2007); Neil and David (2014) found linkage between media and conduct of electioneering process. These studies also found out that some politicians are talented to device their fame preceding election via media, while the most forthright democratic menace to politicians is exposed by unswerving public view surveys indicating that politicians with strong following are not the most popular, which leads them to sponsoring manipulated opinion polls to maintain the popular tag, a key contributor to the occurrence of election violence. Despite having many studies done on media and election violence, hardly any of these studies substantially identified the influence of media on the peaceful conduct of electioneering process, more so in Kenya and Kisumu in particular where the relationship has not received interest by researchers in any of the accessed studies despite the country having experienced both pre- and post-election violence.

As such a situation, media could play an imperceptible role of dividing the groups in society in terms of social status. For example, most conflicts in Africa are as a consequence of the fight for control, for instance in Rwanda, Congo, Sierra Leone, etc. The prejudice of the ostracized, ruled by the political elect, could provide a suitable ground for media to generate and foster both conflict expediting and activating factors by use of "oppositional metaphors" ("us" vs "them"), (Dijk, 1997). However, this inadvertent effect of media on political culture has not been appropriately studied. The study, therefore, pursued to assess the association between media and conduct of electioneering process and more so the extent to which it contributed to either conflict/violence or peace-building and its implications on the political ambiance in Kenya with reference to Kisumu County.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of the study was to assess media influence on the conduct of electioneering process in Kenya with reference to Kisumu County.

1.3.1 The specific objectives were to:

i. Investigate the types of influence of the media during electioneering process in Kenya with reference to Kisumu County.

ii. Examine the causes and types of conflicts during electioneering process in Kenya with reference to Kisumu County.

iii. Assess the challenges experienced by the media in pursuit of peace during electioneering process in Kenya with reference to Kisumu County.

1.4 Research questions

The study was guided by the following corresponding research questions:

i. What are the types of influence of media during electioneering process in Kenya with reference to Kisumu County?

ii. What are the causes and types of conflicts during electioneering process in Kenya with reference to Kisumu County?

iii. What are the challenges experienced by the media in pursuit of peace during electioneering process in Kenya with reference to Kisumu County?

1.5 Justification of the Study

Kisumu county has a history of conflicts that surface in every electioneering process since the time of the re-introduction of multi-party democracy in the country in early 1990s (Wamwere, 2003). Due to this, many lives have been lost, property destroyed and lives totally changed. Therefore, understanding the interplay between media and the conduct of electioneering process is fundamental in resolving the perennial conflicts/violence in the region. The study provided both an academic and policy justification.

1.5.1 Academic justification

Kenya's Vision 2030 which is the nation's blueprint, envisions the country as a middle income economy and with a guaranteed worth life for its people. This cannot be achieved with the rampant insecurity which happens in the day to day activity of its economy. The media in most cases has concentrated on conflict, as the widespread editorial principle states, *"if it bleeds, it leads"* (Wolfsfeld, 2004). For Kenya to realize its Vision 2030, there is need for the media to understand its role in the awareness creation, in order to counter propaganda of political and ethnic conflict in Kenya. Media is believed to be the 4th tower of strength of the society following legislature, executive and judiciary as it performs a significant part in shaping peoples' perceptions and lifestyles. Patterson (2000), argues that media's capacity to the watchdog role is questionable. Therefore, this study attempted to evaluate media influence on peace-building.

Indeed, media influences every part of Kenyans lives (thoughts, attitudes, choices, lifestyles, decision making, etc.) through education, information and entertainment. For example, Nardin (1996), argues that earlier researches have demonstrated that individuals can alter their thoughts and actions towards the path of unrealistic societal customs. Given this important role, media could be utilized as a tool for violence transformation

and reconciliation through objective reporting and peace journalism. The study also added to the pool of wealth relating to media operations and conflict transformation as well as promoting aspects of peace journalism in times of conflict. The continuation of constructive and destructive nature of media has made it imperative for the study to bring out reasons as to why the distinction cannot be drawn.

Generally, literature on the media influence on peace-building is skewed. According to Muyonga (2014), she argues that mass media do have important consequences for individual institutions and society. She also concludes that, media in Kenya particularly the conventional profitable media, have established inordinate aptitude and ability and pliability to endure inauspicious and unchartered waters, consequently, the fundamentals and building blocks of accountable media are set down. However, these findings do not provide media consequences during electioneering process in Kisumu County. What is available mostly, is media influence on conflict escalation. The use of media in peace-building as a non-state actor and fourth estate has not been expressively studied yet peace-building is deemed a state issue. Despite the significant influence that media can play in conflict escalation and peace-building, in Kenya, this subject has not been extensively studied by both academicians and experts with specific reference to Kisumu County. The findings, enriched understanding of media influence on peace-building during electioneering process and during any conflicts that affects the country. Finally, the results of the study have added to the present body of wealth on media influence on peace-building during electioneering process and therefore, form the basis of further research.

Previous studies done in Kenya on media and electioneering experiences were silent on the relationship between influence of media and on the conduct of electioneering process

(Muhula, 2007; BBC, 2008; Ochieng, 2007). There is insufficiency of studies on the link between media influence and the conduct of electioneering process in Kenya. The study has filled this knowledge aperture by assessing the relationship between media and the conduct of electioneering process in Kenya with reference to Kisumu County.

1.5.2 Policy justification

Kenya is an important case study since the media influence on peace-building during the electioneering process has been colossal both in terms of conflict and peace-building in Kenya. The study moreover, offered clarification on whether multifaceted ethnic and local media have established a fruitful ground for the rise of violence thus exposing the loop holes through which people effect their plans and launch their attacks within or without the country as a result of policy weakness. The findings of this study are useful to media practitioners, the Government of Kenya, media regulatory institutions, conflict experts and peace specialists who compose the key players that offer humanitarian intervention activities and can thus provide best practices in terms of activities provided. The findings are also beneficial to educators, politicians and administrators by providing lessons from which they can learn and shape national policies. Dinstein (2005) argues that policy makers could base significant policy decisions on perceived public opinion rather than on actual public opinion.

The findings of this study are of significance to policy makers, state leaders, non-state actors and foreign investors for purposes of policy implementation. The policy implementers will use this information to resolve protracted conflicts and engage media in peace-building initiatives and activities. In addition, the study also provided answers to why media and peace-building are an important issue during electioneering process. This study was important because it had policy relevance to all the stakeholders in the

electioneering process. This was because the study aimed at unearthing the challenges that the electoral management body, media and all other stakeholders face emanating from media reporting and coverage hence can improve the state of the electioneering process in Kenya.

The study was also important to the political class in Kenya. It aimed at improving knowledge on media influence on the peaceful conduct of electioneering process, providing knowledge on how it can play a detrimental role hence equipping them to adequately address the challenges of election violence and perhaps encourage peace building. This information will be useful to politicians vying for positions on how effectively they can integrate the media in planning their electioneering process and hence contribute to the improvement of the democratic electioneering process.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The study assessed media influence on the peaceful conduct of electioneering process in Kenya with reference to Kisumu County. This study was limited to analysis of types of influence, causes and challenges experienced by the media in pursuit of peace during electioneering process in Kisumu County. The sampled respondents were drawn from two sub-counties within Kisumu County (Kisumu Central and Nyakach). These areas were identified due to the fact that they have been some of the most affected areas by the election violence. The period of concern for this study was from 1992 to 2017, during which the present upsurge of multi-party system and freedom of media news occurred in Kenya. This era is noticeable by the divestiture of public ventures comprising some of the state-owned media.

The study started in 1992 because it is an epoch that Kenya liberated media news and oversaw procedural democratic system in terms of regular presidential and legislative (constituent) elections. During this era, they legislated restraining laws, that restricted the rising effect and power of the liberated young media and political contestation (Rubongoya, 2007; Murunga and Nasong'o, 2006; Aseka, 2005). The study ended in 2017 as that was the year when massive electioneering violence was witnessed in Kisumu County last. The study was carried out from February, 2019 to May, 2019. In addition, the analysis of human factors was delimited to age, gender, social status, residence factor and religion. Data collection was limited to use of questionnaire, FGDs guides and key informant interviews guide together with literature reviews on the influence of media in peace-building with respect to electioneering process since multi-party democracy in Kenya.

The study adopted the definition of peace-building "strategies designed to promote a secure and stable lasting peace in which the basic human needs of the population are met and violent conflicts do not reoccur" (Lederach, 1997) as opined by civil society which includes elements of positive and negative peace, justice and reconciliation. The study was only limited to the use of print, social and electronic media. The study focused mainly on media from the time when democratic multiparty system started and influence of media from parliamentary dissolution to one month after announcement of election results. This was due to the fact that Kenya started experiencing several ethnic and politically instigated conflicts during the multi-party democracy.

1.7 Chapter summary

In conclusion, this chapter has looked at the background to the study highlighting media influence on peace-building at global level, continental, national and finally local level from which statement of the problem was derived. It has also outlined the objectives of the study, research questions and justification of the study from an academic and policy point of view. The scope of the study has also been discussed. Chapter two is offers the review of relevant literature which identifies the linkages of the study objectives with findings from previous studies in a bid to clarify the research gaps that the study has filled by meeting its objectives.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter reviewed the existing relevant literature on media reporting from conflict and peace perspectives to assess the roles that media play or could play in escalation or de-escalation of conflicts and peace building. It commences with the analysis of the media influence in conflict and peace-building from global, regional and local perspective. This chapter also discussed theories of media reporting and peace-building with reference to libertarian, agenda setting, social responsibility theories and Galtung's Structural Peace-building theory and highlighted on the developed conceptual model based on the social responsibility, agenda setting theories and Galtung's Structural Peace-building theory.

2. 1 Types of influence of media during electioneering process in Kenya
2.1.1 Mass Media

For many ages, the connotation of media has differed, from explaining the physical point's journalists are as when recording the debates in the Lower Chambers, and complicated standards linked to duty of critiquing those in authority and effect. "This is the process that earned the press, the title of the Fourth Estate, differentiating it from the other organs of the state namely; the executive, the legislature and the judiciary. But over time, it evolved to the present stature charged with the social responsibility of holding the powerful and influential responsible for their actions. The base of this noble duty of enlightening and sustaining democracy today is anchored in article 19 of United Nations Universal Declaration on Human Rights (Lansner, 2006:190; Esipisu & Khaguli, 2009:7)". Clause 19 burdens the media with the responsibility of teaching and maintaining the self-governing zeal for the globe by surveillance of actions of those in leadership. "But the bait for the next shilling at times compromises the media efforts to achieve this asserted duty of watch dog as financial authoritative of the highest bidder corrodes the impartiality of the media (Schultz, 1998)".

There is a major diversity not only within a specific group of media but also types of media. That is, there are more newspapers and radio stations than were before independence in Africa, and information communication technology has compounded this impact by providing a wide variety of other platforms (Coleman 2001; Stromer-Galley, 2003). The second is the special watch dog role media plays in society vis-a-vis the other forces".

Therefore, it turn out to be arguable if broadcasting actually supports to the growth of open-minded democratic system (Rambaud, 2007). Newspapers, indigenous or foreign

journalists, radio or television station owners, internet platforms, for several cases for celebrities with civic welfares. "For instance, in the run up to the 2007 general elections in Kenya, presidential candidates used mother tongue stations to rally their ethnic supporters. Inooro FM and Kameme FM radio stations, popular with the Kikuyu ethnic group supported Kibaki, while Musyi FM supported Kalonzo Musyoka, a candidate from the Kamba community and Fish and Ramogi FMs supported Raila Odinga from the Luo community (Rambaud, 2009:74-75)". These broadcasting stations or reporters tend to turn into unconcealed defenders for specific political leaders thus strengthening the politics of fitting as witnessed by Nyamnjoh (2005:231) and Osborn (2008). Kadhi and Rutten (2001) argued out in Kenya, in many instances the media has handled people to the show of *game strategy* of balloting contrary to the ingredient of balloting.

Several scholars (Cheeseman, 2008:169; Namwaya, 2008:104; Esipisu & Khaguli, 2009; Temin & Smith, 2002; Lansner, 2006; Mahsud *et al*., 2011) asserted that media counts particularly with states in transition trying to strengthen their sprouting democratic system.

The present function of the broadcasting in conflicts the initial liberal movement during struggle where the independence liberal combatants who multiplied up as reporters used dailies such as "Nkrumah's *Evening New*s, Jomo Kenyatta's *Mwiguthania,* Nnamdi Azikiwe's *West African Pilot* among others to react to the excesses of the colonial regimes". The liberal combatants utilized newspapers in the appealed media custom to eloquent citizen's miseries during colonization for call for independence (Leslie *et al*., 2002). However, the democratic fight was forthright while the gamble remained singular, such as; independence as contradicted currently whereby the media has to compete beside incompatible claims by a wider groups. According to Muyonga (2014), she argues that

media inconsistent reports continued to sway public opinion about Kenya's military intervention in Somalia. This study findings has shown how these opinions inter-weave in the case of Kisumu during electioneering process happened.

2.1.2 Radio and Electioneering Process

According to Temin & Smith, 2002:599; Rambaud, 2009:74-75, radio in Africa is extensively accessible by several families thus rely mails comprehended with nearly everyone who voice the dialect of the media regardless of levels of knowledge. A study by Namwaya (2008:85) shown that broadcasting infiltration remains at 85%. "Radio is the most influential form of media in Kenya as radios can be found in very remote areas, unlike televisions which are mostly concentrated in urban areas. There are more than 20 FM radio stations in the study area leading to some views that the radio market is now saturated.These high costs have motivated the need to have a greater understanding of causes of ethnic political conflicts in Kisumu, Kenya".

Equally, Radio Ndeke Luka (RNL), a radio station concentrating on growth and harmony in the Central African Republic, was launched by the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic and managed by Hirondelle Foundation to promote harmony and settlement in CAR. From the time when started, the station has managed to contribute towards peace-keeping as well as democratization and socioeconomic development. It has highlighted issues relating to human rights and violation, in pursuit for peace projects in favour of peace. It has also promoted vocational training for journalists and technicians of the Central African Republic resulting in the creation of a positive impact on local media (Betz, 2004). However, none of these scholars analyzed the influence of radio stations in Kisumu County during electioneering process. The

study has filled this gap by analyzing the influence of different types of media in Kisumu County.

2.1.3 Television and Electioneering Process

Television is thought of as highly significant informant to masses, hence has powerful influence on the views of the public (Bonior *et al*, 1984). Tied to uprising was the Vietnam War, wherein American army interceded to reinstate harmony. Given that no armed forces restraint was instituted, reporters might trail the army to warfare as they account ordeal devoid of official constraint. "Thus, as journalists saw more grisly combat, they presented the public with more graphic images and, for the first time, interviewed soldiers expressed their frustration with the progress of the war, which were contrary to official progress reports by the state". This establishes the convincing power of the broadcasting for influencing attitudes and influencing decisions. The emergence of television changed the image of political campaigns as it made a mass audience available to the candidates for the first time.

McKinnon *et al*., (1993) presented media remarks during 1992 discussions among George Bush, Bill Clinton, and Ross Perot reduced Clinton's professed precincts of triumph, while McKinnon and Tedesco (1999) displayed that media remarks after 1996 discussions elevated listeners' assessments of both Bill Clinton and Bob Dole. Though not wholly foreseeable how analysts ' assessments could influence supporter view, it is clearly evident media can influence opinions. According to Geer (1988) study of the 1976 presidential debate (between Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford), and 1984 debate alludes that they had a considerable but not influential impact on the voter behavior.

2.1.4 Social Media and Electioneering Process

Social Networking Sites (SNS) are the central system of interaction for social media and thus the definition of SNS applies to online platform. Boyd & Ellison (2007) define online arenas, "as internet-based applications that allow users to develop a public profile within a closed system, have a list of users whom they have a relation with, and are able to view their own friends list and that of others within the system. They include Facebook, Twitter, My Space, blogs, and YouTube".

Kushin and Yamamoto (2010) posit that the development of virtual political conduct has been partially aided by the latest rise of new communicating, media rich websites. The online platforms happen beneath array of Network. The aptitude to voice political opinions and ideas online plays a vital effect for online mobilization. "Social media allow users to not only seek information but also interact with others through online expression such as posting political commentaries on blogs and social network sites and sharing multimedia commentary (Kushin and Yamamoto 2010)". Previous rallies, facebook addicts have voiced themselves governmentally in several ways, such as making online aids, urging friends to vote, or publicizing graphics or status updates expressing political attitudes and opinions. According to Hernnson, *et al*. (2007), online usage deteriorates with increasing age group. Tis show that as people advance in ages, the less their concentration and participation in social network platforms.

The quantity of sentiments broadcast provokes thereby impacts listeners in behaving is characterized as political beliefs hence the influence of media reportage usually not for the betterment but a political ways of attaining self-interest and goals (Reilly, 2008). Broadcast on several clashes is but politics of beliefs and feelings that attributes anxiety

to be the foundation of the demonstration of individuals entangled in the clashes. Additionally, when a certain broadcaster does not back the beliefs of incumbent leadership then it leads to many political views. This inevitably create avenue of hostility except sense reigns (Bartels, 2010).

2.1.5 Media role in Conflict

Memoirs annals instances that leaders utilized media as a detrimental tool for basic constitutional privileges. For instance, German chancellor utilized the broadcasting in fashioning abhorrence for Jews (Thompson, 1997:5). During the Rwanda genocide, the state media was used to create animosity for the ethnic clashes, the media beseeched audiences "to kill Tutsis" or what it called "the cockroaches" (Des Forges, 2007). During Balkan war, presenters split native societies to a level that war turn out to be appropriate weapon in tackling injustices (Thompson, 1997:7). In Rwanda, the media guided the wrongdoers of the massacre in the direction of their targets. The broadcasting could have incited war via unscrupulous, unconstructive exhibition of truths which created the notion that the condition was aggravating.

This kind of broadcasting many a times offers a rationalization for individuals to have conclusive action, such as aggression (Frohardt & Temin, 2003). Vernacular stations overlooked to report on genocides of political rebels and those alleged to be Tutsi supporters (Des Forges, 2007). The influence of broadcasting during Rwanda massacre greatly disregarded the lawful and ethical codes of Broadcasting and civil liberties.

As a result of prompting massacre operation, broadcasting transformed to a perilous tool. The global counterpart botched scrutinizing the intensifying massacres but instead portrayed the predicament as a civil rivalry between the Tutsi and Hutus (Chaon,

2007:161). Same features depicted during the analysis of the Darfur war. This type of coverage is equivocal instead merely deteriorates the conflicts. Newbold (1995) pointed that many researchers or scholars focused mostly on influence of media in socio-economic and politics matters upsetting countries with hardly interest towards violence. Additionally, he presented that media effect on violence settlement is an evolving issue hardly investigated because of inadequate multi-disciplinary approaches or theories that look at influence of media from goodwill and violence scope. Therefore, it is against this literature that this study assessed how the media has progressed and evolved since re-introduction of multi-party democracy on conflict issues.

The overall indicator of equipped political tensions offers rudimentary comprehension of the state in relations to obliteration, deaths and misery (Ochilo, 1993). According to Kaldor (2001), he argued that the uprising in technological know-how brought about interaction and free trade that redefined the meaning of media and conflict. "Even though the media can give us the intensity of the violence, where they are fought, why, how and who does the fighting, the biggest setback of media effect on people which eventually shapes conflict trend has not been uncovered".

Most brutal wars seem uneven in nature, and exhibit intra-state wars. The main significant issue especially relating to role media is triumphant the "hearts and minds" of voters (Lafargue, 2009). Since the country remains nearly have military capacity, other actors rely more on emotional conflict, which involves swaying feelings or opinions of people for instance by use of media. Consequently, the media aspect has turn out to be progressively significant and it is no quirk that media help arose, and has been growing in significance, as from the termination of Cold War (Price & Thomson, 2007).

Broadcasting performs an intricate part that, unluckily, is overlooked and undermined by legislators and leaders. "Statements claiming the media's impressive effects are often heard from decision-makers (Gray, 2009). Political practitioners, and even researchers, most often assume the effect of news media in political conflicts (Taylor, 1997)". In that view, it is astonishing, and possibly much disturbing, that comparatively hardly any study or finances are assigned to better the comprehension on role of media during violence and liberating states.

A further facet that has significant effects on broadcasting brutal violence that relates to the latest wave in democratization (Ottaway, 1997). "Democratizing states are involved in a complex process of re-adaptation of traditional political structures and attempting to incorporate democratic institutions and norms. Incorporating an editorially and economically independent, responsible and pluralistic media is essential to democratization". Political revolution mostly arouses expectation and offers peculiar chances for diverse, mostly hitherto relegated groupings in the community shaping political crescendos while, those who influence authority get it problematic and unimaginable to release (Ottaway, 1997).

In a conflict- galloped states, media often play an important role in generating and advancing both accelerating factors and activating factors linked to internal and external issues or threats facing the nation. According to Terzis & Melone (2002), media can create divisions by not revealing diversity in the social and political constructs. This could be accomplished by supporting the formation of an informed critical citizenry within a country by acting as a mouthpiece for ethnic power circles. Thus, she concluded that a deliberate distortion of news coverage for particular interests easily exacerbates the tension between opposed factions and becomes a major trigger of violent conflicts.

However, therefore, this study analyzed how human factors can be influenced by the media during electioneering process. Findings revealed that people are influenced greatly based on age.

Howard (2008) noted "television brings a crisis closer to governors but provides no new means to resolve it. Mobile phones- for instance, mobile phones were widely used to send pictures of violent post-election attacks. These pictures circulated outside the mainstream media, carried neither credit lines nor captions. They were meant to shock and arouse anger, which they did, to a big extent creating a cycle of violence that soon engulfed almost a half of the country. Mobile phones pictures of families running away from violence flashpoints became the talking point. The mainstream media was out of the loop (Scott, 2002). Mass SMS tools are the cheapest for organizing this type of systematic and public campaigns of mob violence. To fill the geographical gap, the study pictured the case of Kisumu during electioneering process.

The impact of hatred spread through the media may extend beyond discrimination to more visible extremes, as in the Democratic Republic of Congo where it drives the continuation of inter-ethnic conflicts (MRG, 2013). Inadequate media coverage was responsible for the violence in Northern Uganda where for more than two decades, conflict persisted causing massive loses (Okumu, 1997). This has made it difficult for the international community to intervene. Similarly, Somalia and Darfur conflicts were too under covered until recently when they hit the world headlines. This study has depicted and analyzed how media impacted human factors to engage in conflict.

2.1.6 Role of Media in Peace- building

According to Mac Ginty (2012), peace-building is a method to an entire set of interconnected endeavors that reinforce peace. Peace-building tackles socio-economic and political underlying instigates of conflicts and promotes resolution to avert recurrence of underlying violence and open violence. Scholars propound that there are two approaches to peace-building (Mac Ginty, 2012). "First, peace-building can refers to a direct work that deliberately centers on tackling the aspects during or mitigating conflicts. Second, the term peace-building can also refers to efforts to organize a multi-level, multi-sectoral approach including ensuring that there are funding and proper communication and coordination mechanisms between all stakeholders and actors in the conflict".

The media used the unusual chances to act towards peace and resolution in Colombia so that people could get truth and compensation in relation to infringements (Gopin, 2001). Observers provide bodily attendance that is envisioned to dissuade violence, fraud and human rights abuses in Sudan (Williams & Gulati, 2007). Smith (2010, observes that media with willingness have gone beyond responding to effects of conflicts and have advocated and agitated for peace. Given the need for peace-building in Kenya after 2007, Nasongo *et al., (2009),* raised the question, "Is forgiveness and amnesty a panacea to Kenya's post conflict crisis?"

Following the early evaluations of the Bosnian conflict that misinformation, via mother tongue television stations, was influential in dispersing utterances of abhorrence that provoked and promoted the conflict, the OHR developed and promoted "unbiased media" to fight continuing hype (Sadkovich, 1998). Ever since, OBN encouraged peace broadcasting by concentrating on the attempts of society leaders to encourage peace

during violence. It has also founded several programmes aimed at fostering cross-national comprehension. The programmes offered feasible advice about resolution and return.

2.1.7 Media as a public sphere

Several scholars (Cheeseman, 2008:169; Namwaya, 2008:104; Esipisu & Khaguli, 2009; Temin & Smith, 2002; Lansner, 2006; Mahsud *et al*., 2011) asserted that media counts particularly with states in transition trying to strengthen their sprouting democratic system. By offering a medium of trade communication on biased platforms, broadcasting influences electors' opinions regarding politics ((Temin & Smith 2002:586; Mahsud *et al*., 2011:4). Herman and Chomsky (1988:1), "reiterated that the role of media is among others to mingle individuals with the values, beliefs and codes of behaviour deemed good in society".

The liberal combatants utilized newspapers in the appealed media custom to eloquent citizen's miseries during colonization for call for independence (Leslie *et al*., 2002). However, the democratic fight was forthright while the gamble remained singular, such as; independence as contradicted currently whereby the media has to compete beside incompatible claims by a wider groups. According to Muyonga (2014), she argues that media inconsistent reports continued to sway public opinion about Kenya's military intervention in Somalia. This study findings has shown how these opinions inter-weave in the case of Kisumu during electioneering process happened. However, these studies only focused on the global and regional arena. Thus this study analyzed media influence on peace-building with reference to Kisumu.

2.1.8 Media Role in Electioneering Process

Kenya's 1992 general election was held against the back drop of violent electioneering in which vigilante groups such as *"Baghdad boys"*, *"Angola Misumbiji"*, *Jeshi la mzee* (Kiswahili for the "old man's army") and so on terrorized non-conformists of the KANU regime with impunity. No arrests were made and where arrests were made the culprits got away with crime at the intervention of their benefactors. Law and order broke down in the face of either partisan or in different security forces, making Kenya an unsafe country. Repeat of all this in 1997 and 2002 elections confirmed lack of government intervention in criminal behavior (Leo, 2004).

Schake (1997:110), argues that elections can be destabilizing and that elections alone does not constitute democracy; they can even serve to further disenfranchisement. Matanga *et al*., (2012) observe that it is not predominantly the proceedings on Election Day but rather the developments leading up to the election and the varieties of inducements and prospects developed that embolden warring factions to shift their stratagems from carnage to electoral philosophies.

The strategies of the armed forces, feelings of the fourth estate and the society towards media reportage of violence was shaped immensely with encounters of the Vietnam War. The supremacy of role of media in war witnessed in US participation in the war owing to the momentous growth in communication technology posed by unearthing of television. For instance, the Vietnam War flung the press into contrasting directions. On the one hand, the innovation in that war that the U.S. administration and armed forces had frequently lied to the public on the tangible details of the advancement and comportment of the conflict led the public, through press reportage, to admit a likelihood that all U.S. foreign dogmas might have been pigeon-holed by deception (Praeger, 1994).

2.1.9 Media Role in Political Campaigns

The mass media can play both positive and destructive roles through increasing or averting conflict and promoting peace building efforts (Amisi, 1997). Studies such as Wairagu (2003), Heiber (2001), Spurk *et al*., (2002) and Howard (2003) suggest that mass media may cause to conflict by delaying to report conflicts, journalists taking part in killings, highlighting hate speech during conflicts, downplaying genocide during conflicts, acting irresponsibly, inciting violence, failing to highlight emerging conflicts, and deliberately creating misrepresentations in reporting.

Liberalization of Media and its changeover epoch in Kenya began in 1992 in the wake of multi-party state allowed by former president Daniel Arap Moi of the Kenya African National Union (KANU), the party that ruled for 39 years after independence (Maina, 2006; Wanyande, 1996. Actually the formerly community radio in Africa launched by UNESCO in Homa Bay in the Luo core of formerly Nyanza province in Kenya was closed after airing for two and a half years (Fraser and Estrada, 2001; Quarmyne, 2006). According to the state, the station was airing conversely to the state policy of rendering English and Kiswahili, the official languages, rather was twisted on promoting only the good values of the Luo culture in the midst of other ethnic nationalities (Reilly, 2008).

The post-election violence of 2007 and 2017 were credited to several reasons involving the media. The media, for instance, may have triggered the PEV by depicting a hot-tempered political atmosphere marred with abhorrence, violence, and a stiff race between two protagonists i.e. Orange Democratic Movement and Party of National Unity parties (KNCHR, 2008). The KNCHR report found out that ethnic based FM radio stations performed unethically by broadcasting unconstructive ethnic labels, cultural bigotry, slandering personalities and societies. On many cases, the radio stations broadcasted

frightening shows, which were frequently sprinkled with hints of the hosts. In addition, both international and local media stations like BBC, Nation Television (NTV), Kenya Television Network (KTN), Central News Network (CNN), Aljazeera, Osienala, Namlolwe *KASS* and *INOORO* seem to have predicted a flawed and highly manipulated balloting in support of the incumbent political party. For example, The *Standard newspaper* of 14th October, 2007 published a documentary on how the government planned to rig the election. Thus, this could have shaped perceptions of people towards violence in case the election results were announced in favor of the protagonist (*Twawezesha* Report, 2008). The invisible hand of media in conflict management cannot, therefore, be ignored. This study examined the influence of the media in promoting to harmony, and lessening armed forces action, whether local, regional or international.

Peace-building as in the case of media in Kisumu County, especially during electioneering process is not document. Bartoli (2005) refers to peace as a condition of wholeness, complete welfare of the whole person. From the literature reviewed, MacGinty (2012) talks of two approaches in peace-building. A gap existed in that it is not known which approach the media has adopted for Kisumu County.

According to the following scholars, Howard (2008) and BBC (2008), they have highlighted the conduct of media in Rwanda, Somalia but they never analyzed how media reporting and coverage can influence peace-building during electioneering process in Kenya specifically Kisumu County. Ekwe *et al*. (2011); Ajayi and Adesote (2015); Kidafa *et al*, (2011) only posited how the social media contributed to conflict. A gap existed in that the social media influence on peace-building has not been analyzed for Kisumu County. Betz (2004); SFCG (2004); Slamuijlder and Nkurunzia (1976); Sadkovich (1998); Gowing (1994) have highlighted how different types of media

influence peace-building and conflict. This study therefore has shown what types of media and their influence on peace-building they had in Kisumu County.

Scholars such as Thompson (1994); Frohardt & Temin (2003); Chaon (2007); Erikson *et al* (2002); Kaldor 2001; Taylor 1997; Terzis & Melone 2002; Jakosben 2000; MFWA 2011; ERIS 2011, only argued that media was used to fuel violence in global and regional level. These studies failed to analyze the contribution of media either in conflict or peace-building in Kisumu County. This study, therefore, attempted to answer the pertinent questions that arise by focusing on Kisumu County.

2.2 Causes and types of conflicts during electioneering process

According to Galtung (2000), "conflict refers to dispute through which parties involved perceive a threat to their needs, interests or concerns". "Violence on the other hand is defined as a cruelty that does physical damage to another person or to property". Violent conflict is as old as history but when it strikes, it's felt by every nerve of the society.

Though various researchers choose to center on secluded triggers of conflicts are diverse (Aylward, 2007). Conflicts often occur as a greater socials struggles towards political rights, economic injustice, equality and respect for ethnic identity. Some civil war philosophers concentrate entirely on economic elements to analyze causal factors, probability and duration of civil wars.

Many scholars for instance Murshed (2002) and Senghass (2002) disagree with Huntington and focus on socio-economic discrimination and exclusion as the primary cause of conflict and situate culture primarily within a socio-economic framework. Murshed note that poverty and poor social conditions facilitate conflict and that many civil wars take on an ethnic dimension because it is a 'superior basis divisions such as

class. For these authors, civil wars take on ethnic and cultural elements to foster collective action in fighting for socio-economic justice.

In Kenya specifically, violent conflict in Kisumu County dates back to 1960s during the post-colonial era when the sitting first president by then Jomo Kenyatta was beaten with rotten eggs and motorcade pelted with stones at Kisumu show ground (Garber, 1998). In a word, violent conflicts do not just occur due to exclusive economic, cultural, social or political factors. Violent conflicts especially during electioneering season takes place for diverse and complex reasons that cannot be extracted from particular socio-historical contexts (Aylward, 2007). "Social constructions of identity occur around diverse elements such as class, ethnicity, culture, religion and political power which are not mutually exclusive and influence group mobilization in distinct ways. Mobilization often takes place in relation to particular identity constructions and is used to achieve distinct goals". Thus it is this gap that this study sought to fill by investigating the causes and types of conflicts during electioneering process in Kisumu County.

2.2.1 Postcolonial Electoral and Ethnicity Conflicts

During the three regimes in Kenya, the ruling elite elevated their kins-men to higher positions with un-abetted powers that allowed for the misappropriation of state resources for their own personal gains and that of their friends, and cronies, which they got away with because of the political patronage, they enjoyed (Ibrahim, 2009). From these examples, one concludes as (Yiekke, 2010) has observed that the seed of poor governance and negative ethnicity that results into the escalation of ethnic conflict in Kenya was planted by the colonial masters, but nurtured and perpetuated by African leaders, right from independence to the present time.

Oucho (2002), traces the Luo and Agikuyu ethnic rivalry to 5th July 1969, when Tom Mboya, Kenya's illustrious politician was shot dead on a Nairobi street. The act sparked off ethnic violence between members of the Luo community and members of Agikuyu community. As members of Luo community evicted the members of the Agikuyu community in urban areas within Luo land, the Agikuyu community in and around Nairobi, using their numerical advantage, attacked the members of the Luo community who fled the city and its enivirons. To this day, the rift between these two communities (Luo and Agikuyu) remains, and occasionally resurfaces during election season (Oucho, 2002).

Ethnicity as an identity is cited as the major cause of conflict in Kisumu County and its borders. For instance, Kisumu city which has a multi-ethnic population consisting of Luo, Agikuyu, Kalenjin, Abagusii and other smaller ethnic groups has seen tensions rise since re-introduction of multi-party politics in Kenya in 1992 (IDMC, 2006). Ethnicity leads to stereotypes and prejudices which cause conflicts in several ways. For instance, among the Luo, there is perceived notion that Agikuyu are "thieves" and so the sight of a member of Agikuyu next to a Luo's field or shop tends to raise the suspicion that he/she might steal the property. An attempt by the concerned Luo person to force suspected "thief" to return the stolen property may lead to fight and even death of somebody (IDMC, 2006).

According to Chelanga *et al*., (2009:9) there is no doubt that in Kenya, as in other countries in Africa, ethnicity constitutes an integral part of political, economic, and social life. It is played out in virtually all aspects of public and private life. Moreover, Chelanga *et al*., (2009:9). Today, intra-state conflict is the major type of conflict in the world in general, and especially in Africa (Rupesinghe *et al*., 1996:26; Sandole, 1999:136; Lund 2006:3; Dokken 2008:3). Walter (2009:3) argues that exceeding half of all civil wars in

2008 were fought between ethnic minorities and their central governments over superior autonomy or independence. According to Lund (2006:3), the vast majority of conflicts are national in nature, dealing with secessionist, ethnic, or ideological issues. Dokken (2008:3), writing at the time, observed that 56.6% of African states were experiencing some form of intrastate conflict.

The strategies of the armed forces, feelings of the fourth estate and the society towards media reportage of violence was shaped immensely with encounters of the Vietnam War. The supremacy of role of media in war witnessed in US participation in the war owing to the momentous growth in communication technology posed by unearthing of television. For instance, the Vietnam War flung the press into contrasting directions. On the one hand, the innovation in that war that the U.S. administration and armed forces had frequently lied to the public on the tangible details of the advancement and comportment of the conflict led the public, through press reportage, to admit a likelihood that all U.S. foreign dogmas might have been pigeon-holed by deception (Praeger, 1994).

The continent of Africa has agonized several armed conflicts, some of which the media played a key role. Media has been accused as one of the gears for stimulating conflict. Researches have shown that contribution of mass media on conflicts were by inflaming violence, failing to focus on emerging wars and procrastinating to report struggles. For instance, the Rwandese Radio- Television Libre des Milles Collines (RTLM) is a unique examples of media that abetted stimulate conflict by encouraging the Hutu population to exterminate the Tutsi terming them as "cockroaches" that must be eliminated to ensure peace in Rwanda (Mutua 2001). This resulted in the massacre of almost 1,000,000 Tutsi and displacement of many others.

The widespread community clashes in African continent has repeatedly frolicked contrarily to milieu of high ignorance, dearth, and feeble administrative structures diluted by unfavorable indebtedness and leadership botches (Zartman, 1995). It is contended that amalgamation of resource struggle, ethnicity, socioeconomic and politics triggered several electioneering violence in African continent.

The recent influence of media in war intensification is the Arab spring in Middle East and North Africa. This revolution saw the upheaval in Tunisia, Libya, Egypt and Yemeni regimes via mass action wangled by social media. Commenting on the media role in the uprising, for example, The Times Magazine (*Times Magazine*, 2010) reported that whereas state- regulated media outlets displayed a one-sided view of the Libyan conflict, their autonomous counterparts presented similar defects in both reportage and investigation.

According to Okoth (2012:12), post-conflict elections epitomize a podium for the manifestation of political choices of the people, and they are an emblem of legality for the use of power. They offer an advantaged opportunity for healthful and peaceful public political discussion, marked by appreciation of distinct views and numerous political alliances. Paraphrasing Pope Benedict XVI, Okoth (2012:12) states that if effected well, elections call out and promote real and active involvement by citizens in social and political life. And botch to obey the national statute, the law or the result of the vote, when elections have been transparent, fair and free, would signal a critical failure in authority and absence of competency in the dispensation of public matters.

Khadiagala *et al.* (2010:3) argue that post conflict elections are intended to ease, or to signify an end to intrastate conflicts. For instance, elections including those as witnessed

in Malawi, Zanzibar, Nigeria, Kenya and the 1996 Sierra Leone elections, and the 1995 Guatemala elections the much debated 1996 and 1997 Bosnia elections. Although not accurately post-conflict elections, the 1994 South African elections and the 1995 elections in the Gaza and West Bank share lots of the features of post-election conflicts. They also noted that elections do not continuously result in a cessation of resentments or the creation of an environment favorable for social, economic, or even political restoration.

The role media have played is encouraging conflict along with promoting peace, or safeguarding human rights. For instance, the CNN took part in the withdrawal of American troops from Somalia in the 1990s by displaying graphic portraits of the bodies of nineteen American soldiers being pulled along the street. This was an extension of the Vietnam disease in which the media was perceived as 'losing the war' for the USA. Likewise in Rwanda, hate Radio played a momentous function in intensifying the killing and genocide but it should be seen that the Radio Milles Collines was established as part of peace and democratization plan maintained by international organizations (Allen and Stremlau, 2006:4).

The literature pertaining to ethnic conflict irrespective of their underlying causal phenomena is in abundance. It goes without saying that Africa's security and hence conflict challenges, have taken a global dimension. Many of the inter-state (international) and intra-state (civil wars) between 1960s and 1980s were waged in the context of the Cold War by formal armies and militia men. (Namwaya, 2007). During this period, Africa was the arena of proxy conflict between the super powers namely; the United States and the Soviet Union respectively. With the end of the cold war, inter-state conflicts and civil conflicts of the 1990s have become more local or regional conflicts

often being triggered by social, political and economic disputes. For example, one of the worst civil conflicts took place in countries with collapsing political structures, as well as failing economies such as was seen in Sierra Leone, Somali, Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia and Yugoslavia (Gilboa, 2002).

2.2.2 Land Use Conflict

According to Some (2008), stiff competition for limited economic opportunities was one of the major factors that fuelled the 1992 and 2007/08 post-election violence in Kisumu West District. Competition over resources, particularly over land is often cited as a major cause of conflict in Sub-Saharan Africa, and Kenya in particular. Various social dimensions affect access to and ownership of land. Kagwanja (2009:4) asserts that, across Africa particularly East Africa States the question of the use of land and ownership of, and access to increasingly scarce land and related resources has been at the centre of festering conflicts between ethnic groups.

Kenya consist of more than 42 ethnic groups who live in the 47 counties. Many areas outside the major cities and towns are relatively homogeneous ethnically. Land has been one of major resource at the centre of most ethnic conflicts in the country, and more so in highly cosmopolitan regions like Kisumu County (Apollos, 2010). However, this is far from the reality. Most of the regions are defined by the native ethnic groups, leading to the creation of ethnically homogeneous effective native reserves, which in turn has created the notion of "insiders" who are natives to a place and "outsiders" who have migrated there (Waki Report, 2008). The background of the study provoke the researcher to examine the causes and types of conflicts in Kisumu County.

2.2.3 Political Culture

"Political culture" in the most famous study of political culture which has been made by the two science American political scientists Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba (1963). For them, this is a special type of orientation to political action, the specifics of this or that political system. On the one hand, the political culture is part of a society's culture and it is associated with a particular political system. They defined political culture as "a subjective flow policy, which gives the value of political decisions, orders, institutions, and social meaning attached to individual actions." Almond, Gabriel A. and Verba, Sidney wrote that: "When we talk about the political culture of society, we are referring to the political system, internalized in the knowledge, feelings and assessments of its members."

Almond and Powell (1966), defined political culture as a set of attitudes, beliefs and feelings about political current in a nation at a given time. The nation's history has been constructed through ongoing processes of social, economic, and political movement. Political roles of individuals are conduct and will be affects by political culture; individuals will have their own political demands and response to laws. Political culture constructs the movements of entities acting as part of political roles through political system. The pressures and opportunities can be established by the ongoing political structures which will form those cultures.

Kenya has experienced ethnic conflict in the years 1992, 1997, 2002, 2007, 2013 and 2017, all these being years of election in the country. According to Apollo (2010), this trend is a clear indication that politicians are taking advantage of Kenyans who are polarized in poverty to incite them into tribal animosity for their personal political interest. The best way they have always though, is to highlight ethnic boundaries and give

it some imaginary wrong picture. Politically instigated ethnic clashes are those that pit one or more ethnic groups against each other for political reasons. First experienced in Kenya in the advent of multi-party democratic elections in 1991, politically instigated ethnic violence has remained the most famous manifestation of violence in Kenya. Attributed to political incitement, tribal tension and polarizations build and consequent clashes and riots occur with virtually every political campaign (GoK, 2006), with the conflicts being characterized by incitement by politicians.

2.2.4 Democratic governance and conflict

It is difficult to define democracy, since it is one terminology that has been susceptive and open to wide interpretations; not only in Africa but the world over (Brown, 2008). According to Bercovitch *et al*., (2009), the term democracy is now so scared that nobody dares to say that he/she is not democratic. Even the worst tyrannies of the century still believe that they are democratic. Oxford dictionary definition of democracy is "government of the people by the people and for the people". Megesa and Nthamburi, (2003) posits that true democracy is a system of governance that presupposes the principles of negotiation, compromise and civility.

Oyugi (1997) posits that, the clamor for democracy swept through the continent of Africa in the 1990s, resulting to multi-party elections and change of leadership. Unfortunately, the clamor has not yielded the social harmony that democracy is supposed to bring, but instead divided the communities. The same argument has also been advanced by Pkalya *et al*. (2003). They argue that in this arrangement, every ethnic group seldom considers itself complete without forming a political party that they claim will help champion their grievances at the national arena. To keep the supremacy of such tribal parties, leaders vilify other communities and promote negative ethnicity.

41

Kenya is considered a democratic country, however, much still needs to be done if democratic space is to become a reality. The state institutions are such that they cannot support and sustain democracy for their entire citizen, hence the structural violence that has rocked the nation repeatedly since independence (Pkalya *et al*., 2003). The Waki Report on post-election violence in Kenya after 2007 disputed presidential election results outlines the roots of the violence. Therefore, this study attempted to fill these gaps by investigating causes and types of conflicts.

The vast literature on conflict notwithstanding, there are indicators that nationalism, ethnicity and religion form some of the most powerful political forces in the world today. They determine whether a country enjoys domestic stability or not and more so they determine whether regions of the world are at peace or at war. Taras and Ganguly (2002) are of the view that for many people who had looked forward to an era of global peace and stability after the end of cold war era, liberal internationalism or clashes of culture. The post-cold war nationalism of peoples and states has therefore contributed much to these unfulfilled hopes and expectations. Therefore, the origins, scope, nature, intensity, objectives and consequences of ethnic conflicts and protests vary from state to state. In the final analysis, they produce some of the worst scenarios of human misery that continue to test the skills of political leaders, conflict management practitioners and humanitarian workers alike.

The literature reviewed indicate that ethnic conflicts in Africa did lead to gross human suffering albeit during the post-colonial period. The spirit of nationalism that united freedom fighters to fight for independence was undermined by ethnic divisions and selfish political elite leading to intra-state conflicts. Much of literature reviewed focus on political ethnic conflicts. More importantly, the fact that authors on the subject matter

reviewed are of foreign origin. To fill these gaps, there was need for home grown research on causes and types of conflict as unfolded by focusing in Kisumu County, Kenya.

A number of scholars-such as Gopin (2001) peace-building effort in Colomnia; Hauss (2011); Mansen (2007) as well in Colombia; Kobia (2005) Liberia; Lederach (1997) South Africa; Aiston (2009) Zimbabwe; Williams and Gulati (2007) Sudan- have highlighted the role of media in different countries but none have focused on Kisumu County. Kamoet's (2011) works looked a multiplicity of factors instrumental in generating tensions and ethnic conflict in Western Kenya. However, the study did not specify how this interweaves into peace-building challenges of media in Kisumu County. Similarly, the work of Nyawalo *et al.* (2011), while elaborating on the causes and effects of conflicts in Kakamega, as well as the local solutions failed to zero in on the media influence in acting to address these conflicts and how this relates to Kisumu County.

Yiekke (2010); Oucho (2002); Bratton and Kimenyi (2008); Kagwanja (2009); Chelanga *et al.,(*2009); Posner (2007); Adar (2001); Namwaya (2007) and Some (2008)-have analyzed the causes of conflicts in the global and regional perspectives but none focused in Kisumu County. Also no study has been done to analyze the types of conflicts during electioneering seasons in Kisumu County.

2.3 Challenges experienced by the media in pursuit of peace during electioneering process

There was panic that any careless comment, military tactic, or secret article will be broadcasted by the media, devoid of thoughtfulness of the results to the conflict. The secondly, reporters themselves are uneasy with their role as peace-builders. This mandate

is observed to be discordant with the basic editorial principle of impartiality, which commands that the media should just report, and not play any part in a conflict. Deflecting from the impartiality principle may cause the media to lose their trustworthiness, and hence "market value" (Bourdieu, 1996).

A solid stand can, though, be made opposed to these oppositions, as the media have inescapably been tangled in current conflicts. Anew school of thought thus contends that the media have an ethical obligation to report in a manner that does not support war, instead enhance peace (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2007). This "peace journalism" is, nevertheless, not the only way in which the media can impact peace-building. The media can also be used pro-actively to foster the aforesaid reasoning, attitudinal and behavioral changes in society. These programmes are separate from news broadcasting or peace journalism and labelled "intended outcome" journalism. The case-study of Kenya has demonstrated how an envisioned result program can be a factor to successful peace-building.

In Balkan violence, media promoted ethnic violence and abhorrence causing conflict. While the unequivocal transmission of hatred messages was intermittent, the aggregate effect of prejudiced reporting fuelled the abhorrence for many days (Buric, 2000; Sadkovich, 1998). Presenters polarized local populations to the point where conflict became an appropriate weapon for tackling injustices (Vladimir & Schirch, 2007). One of OHR's first evaluations of the Bosnian war was that all three sides in the conflict used radio and television transmitting to extend their conflict objectives and brand their enemies (Buric, 2000; Thompson, 1977).

Within the last two years, many states in Africa suffered many political revolutions in Arab countries. Some of these revolutions were alleged to be wangled and consequently intensified by media (Gardner, 2001). Viggo (2011) surveyed the role of media in modern conflicts. Specific prominence focused on media inadequacies in its broadcasting and investigation of the conflict, highlighting the twofold paradigms media exhibited. Even though media managed to polarize the nation into the ruled and the political elites by using ("us" vs "them"), its impact on social status, gender, age groups and other human variables was not clearly highlighted.

The Libyan revolution was classified jointly with those revolutions of the rest of the Arab world. What the media neglected to point out was that, not like the uprisings of Egypt or Tunisia, the Libyan revolution was, from the onset, brutal in nature. Viggo (2011) established with allusion with regards to capture and succeeding killing of Libya president that media influence in conflict cannot be presumed. "For instance, commenting on the speed and technology with which images of the event recorded on cell phones were transmitted around the world via social media platforms, and widely disseminated even before Qaddafi's death was confirmed, and immediately sparked international debate regarding the circumstances and legality of his killing, the media played a key role in restoring peace and de-escalating conflict thus setting the new agenda for discussion". This study therefore, has shown how the media influenced peace-building in Kisumu County.

Several reporters were alleged of taking part in the killings in Rwanda. Powers that be utilized RTLM and Radio Rwanda presenters to incite and direct killings where Tutsis were hiding (Kamilindi, 2007:136). RTLM manuscripts produced as proof in the Arusha Tribunal shown how presenters used hate speech on air and rendered the

marginalized Tutsis susceptible to the attacks (Thompson, 1994:1). However, the study failed to analyze how peace journalism can be promoted to enhance peace-building during electioneering process in Kisumu County. Thus, this study has endeavored to bridge this gap.

Media faces the question of comprehending what conflict is among the media. The comprehension is basically imagined as a wrangle between two or more parties that recourse to conflict to achieve their goal. The challenge of comprehending that violence are not just law and order issues; they speak to fundamental issues troubling humanity (MDI Report, 2009). The media appear to have a negative alignment regarding conflict. Nonetheless, conflicts need to be comprehended as offering community with chance for positive change. It requires to be realized that some form of reporting from the restricted prism good versus bad would only aggravate conflict instead of promoting peace (International Crisis Group, 2008). The study only focused on negative effects of conflicts and how media portray conflict instead of the media influence on peace-building and peace journalism. Therefore, this study sought to analyze the challenges experienced by the media in pursuit of peace-building and promotion of peace journalism during electioneering process in Kisumu County.

Another media misrepresentation was observed during the "*Majimbo*" discussion, which actually described the 2007 elections, (KNCHR, 2008b; MFAF, 2009). "According to media supportive to ODM, federalism meant devolution of power and resources to grassroots while to media supportive to PNU, federalism meant eviction of Kikuyus from Nyanza and other parts of the country, (GoK, 2008)". "According to ODM supporters, federalism would guarantee them access to power to correct historical wrongs committed by all powerful governments since independence while according to PNU supporters,

46

federalism would threaten their land ownership in the former Nyanza Province and other parts of the country thereby undermining their economic and business interests, (KNCHR, 2008b)". Therefore, the media could have laid the foundation for a high-stakes political duel that stimulated ethnic emotions and passions through misinterpretation of facts.

Generally it seemed there was lack of professional comportment in most media earlier to and during the post-election violence (Howard, 2008). Most media reports originally seemed inaccurate, unbalanced and unfair. Confirmation of truths was always wanting and survivors of the conflict were handled simply as figures short of individualities (BBC, 2008). In addition, the media houses also seemed unethical in the way they conducted the announcement of election results. They publicized contrasting, fragmentary and hypothetical outcomes that triggered fretfulness and misperception among already fretful voters across the country. This could have also provoked the acuity that balloting was manipulated, fueling the violence. But these findings never showed how the media influenced different human factors to resort to violence, hence this study attempted to fill this gap by showing how media could have influenced human factors during electioneering process.

In spite of the numerous advantages of social media benefits in promoting politics, liberation and good leadership in Nigeria, they similarly have their encounters (Miller & Krosnick, 2000). Undoubtedly, social media platforms can be exploited in broadcasting unsubstantiated information, hate messages and gossips which are detrimental to reinforcing democratic system. The rising use of social media and other online tools has indeed led to greater secrecy, monitoring as well as control challenges (Ekwe *et al*, 2011 as cited in Ajayi & Adesote, 2015). For instance, a virus-related clip of debauched

conduct or loud sex photo can immediately infect a political campaign or career, dooming it to premature closure. Obscurity of sources makes it problematic for strict regulation, scrutinizing and hearing of illicit acts. This makes it a susceptible tool to carry on deceitful acts thus promoting piracy. This is partially since the issue of copyright and intellectual property are more complicated and problematic to define and even more complex to control online. Likewise, pictures and voices can be digitally influenced, so truth and reality are difficult to ascertain. Social media is addictive in nature, making work/life balance hard to achieve (Reynolds & Ssk, 1998).

Regarding knowledge, users get more than they haggle for because of their information overburden and social network overload. Kidafa *et al.,* (2011) witness that "regulating traditional media in the face of issues like indecency, copyright, right to privacy, was upheaval, but have become more difficult with the emergence of social media". A feeble governing and lawmaking framework in Kenya has impacted ethnic radio's "careless and reckless" tactic. Journalists on these channels maneuvered the rural community's sense of self-doubt and ethnic dissent during the crisis. Powell (2010) underscores effects of illiteracy levels in rural and marginal serving as platforms for local voices on grassroots problems, most of these ethnic radio stations are poor, use obsolete machineries and lack sufficient knowledge in media and supervision (Oriarie, 2009).

As far as the third objective is concerned, the following gaps were identified in the literature review: Nasongo *et al*. (2009) provided a discourse that helps a reflection on the challenges to peace-building, but leave a gap by not specifying the challenges experienced by the media during electioneering process in Kisumu County. Kilonzo (2009) criticizes media/journalists for not being able to rise above the political partisanship in order to counter tide of violence related to election and offers proposals on

how they can play a more active role in giving hope and promote peace. This study has dealt with the specific challenges of the media in Kisumu County in their peace-building efforts.

Scholars such as Bourdieu (1996); Lynch and McGoldrick (2007); Buric (2000); Vladimir and Schirch (2007); Viggo (2011); Kamlindi (2007); KNCHR (2008); Mbeke (2009) and Powell (2010) on the other hand, highlighted the challenges of the media globally and regionally in Africa, but hardly any research has been conducted in the challenges in Kenya, and specifically in Kisumu County. Lastly, it has been noted that no scholar has attempted to discuss the media influence in the light of fundamental theories in the field of peace-building and conflict resolution. This academic gap was identified and thus filled by this study.

2.4 Conceptual framework

This section discusses theories of media reporting with reference to libertarian, agenda setting, social responsibility theory and Galtung's theories of structural violence and structural peace-building. It also highlights the developed conceptual framework of the study. There is no single theory that can explain the media influence on peace-building during electioneering as each has its own shortcoming (Mbeke, 2009). It, therefore, calls for a conceptual model that explains the interrelationship between media influence and peace-building during electioneering process. Therefore, this study used four theories to supplement each other and to address different segments of the study.

2.4.1 Libertarian Theory

Libertarian theory promotes that media should be independence in adherence of stern code of conducts and competence. To ensure this freedom is not abused in Kenya, the

state through its legislative arm has set up a regulatory commission comprising of both media practitioners and government officials to oversee each other (Communication Commission of Kenya, 2008). At times, the state also proposes or nominates a representative in major media houses board of directors to represent its interests.

This press freedom as outlined by the libertarian theory can be utilized by journalists and opinion leaders to promote peace and conflict transformation. The demerit of this theory is that selfish individuals can exploit this freedom to breed conflicts without the consent of the media. Looking at the Kenyan situation during 2007 general election campaigns, major media houses such as Nation Media, Standard Group and Royal media, through analyzed reporting, created an impression that the country is polarized along ethnic lines (GoK, 2008). The social media, vernacular radio stations and gutter press reports were worse off. In this case, media tried to portray that political parties in Kenya had their primary bases in particular ethnic groups or blocs. Thus media could have built the foundation of PEV through its influence and freedom of reporting as provided under libertarian theory.

On the other hand, the Libertarian theory advocates for lawful press liberty where the authority does not interfere with media impartiality and operation. The media experts have the liberty to operate within the legal framework and objective reporting thus discouraging conflicts and promoting peaceful coexistence. For example, the media supported the process of initiating mediation efforts between ODM and PNU by calling for urgent settlement of the crisis in their editorials and commentaries (Mbeke, 2009). Therefore, this theory was used to address intervening variables.

2.4.2 The Agenda Setting Theory

Agenda-setting theory explains how audiences can perceive a given news item depending on the significance that media give to the news story in terms of the coverage and position (McCombs and Reynolds, 2002). With the ascendance of digital media, audiences are open to consume news from wide variety of sources, which allows for a higher degree of freedom in the selection of news, thus avoiding the traditional one-way imposture of what media believes needs to be set on the public agenda. In this way, the agenda-setting function may have been altered, either by diminishing the ability of mainstream media to set the political agenda or by reversing the flow of information (Sawers, 1996). Rwanda's radio RTLM urged listeners to pick up machetes to take to streets to kill what they called cockroaches. Broadcasters in the Balkans polarized local communities to the where violence became an acceptable tool for addressing grievances.

Agenda setting theory seems quiet appropriate to help understand the pervasive role of the media on political communication systems. Cohen (2012) stated: "The press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its leaders what to think about". Agenda setting theory is based on the premise that we are given our "agenda" of daily information for discussion based on what the media wants us to be talking about. Wilcox *et al.,* (2003) argue that these scholars believed that the media did not specifically tell us what to think about a particular subject, just which subjects we should be forming an opinion of. On the other hand, Neuman (1990) has argued that sometimes the media plays a more vital role in society other than just reporting the news. It gives us serious topic that are put under our noses on a daily basis.

Baran and Davis (1995) claimed that the Agenda Setting theory is positive for society because it puts out information out there. However, information relayed to the public is biased and limits the public in selecting what we feel is important. McCombs and Shaw (1972) further argued that the media keeps the public informed and gives us topics of interest without the public realizing. It seems to be harmless for the media to set the agenda of what is out there for public consumption. However, it depends on how you look at the situation. Media involvement in electioneering violence has been widely criticized to having been part of conflict, being used by government or politicians to cultivate public support. It has been alleged that media framing of stories distorted the reality of the war. The theory was used to show how people's perception, opinions and behaviors are influenced by agenda setting effects the dynamics of electioneering process in Kisumu County.

2.4.3 The Social Responsibility Theory

The Social Responsibility theory binds the practitioners to report objectively, truthfully and transparently as an obligation. The highlighted humanitarian crisis following the 1997, 2007/2008 and 2013 PEV by media made the international community to intervene. As a result, this led to ending the conflict. Social responsibility theory is equally attached to corporate social responsibility. The idea that corporations have moral obligation towards the societal wellbeing has its roots embodied in social responsibility theory. Major media houses for instance *Nation* Media and The *Standard Group* organized for relief mobilization to assist the displaced persons. NTV, KTN and Royal media in collaboration with Kenya Red Cross (KRC) appealed to Kenyans to donate food, clothes and shelter to IDPs. This was a positive role played by the media towards promotion of peace. This theory addressed independent variables, the types and influence

of media during electioneering process in Kisumu County. However, these theories fell short of explaining the causes of conflicts and how media can enhance peaceful conduct of electioneering process, thus to compliment, Galtung's theories of Structural violence and structural peace-building was used.

2.4.4 Galtung's theories of structural violence and structural peace-building (1969)

Galtung, a renowned researcher in sociology, developed a number of theories relating to conflict and peace-building. Galtung first conceptualized peace-building by calling for systems that would create sustainable peace and peace-building structures needed to address the root causes of conflict and support local capacity for peace management and conflict resolution. It was Galtung that came up with the concepts of structural violence, negative and positive peace. He defined structural violence as being the systematic ways in which a regime prevents individuals from achieving their full potential, examples of this being institutionalized racism and sexism.

According to Galtung (1969) structural violence stems from violence in the structure of society, rather than actor-generated personal and direct violence. By relating violence to the structure of society, Galtung created a connection between peace, conflict and development research. Galtung goes further to state that, since personal and direct violence are often built into social structure, it is much better to focus on the bigger picture revealed by structural violence as this would reveal the causes and effects of violence and conditions for peace. Grewal (2003) and Galtung (1981) presented an argument that the peace concept that dominates contemporary peace theory and practice is the Roman *Pax* and it serves the interests of the powerful to maintain status quo in the society. Galtung (1981) felt the need for a richer peace concept reflecting the social cosmologies of the world for creating conditions for peace (Grewal, 2003). Another

central idea that Galtung (1988) proposed was that peace should be achieved by peaceful means. Galtung (1990) went on to introduce the concept of cultural violence as those aspects of culture that can be used to legitimize and justify violence. The flow of violence was from cultural via structural to direct violence. To understand the direct structural and cultural violence triangle, Galtung (1996) employs the concept of power and identified four dimensions of power impacting positive and negative peace: cultural, economic, military and political.

Structural violence is subtle, often invisible, and often has no one specific person who can (or will) be held responsible (in contrast to behavioral violence). Galtung theorizes that structural peace-building entails changing structures of violence to structures of peace. More specifically, structural peace-building is a social psychological process of transforming, relatively permanent unequal relationships among collectivities in a social structure, to new sets of intergroup relations where all groups have more equitable control over politico-economic resources needed to satisfy basic needs.

Structural peace differs from structural peace-building in that peace-building is a means while structural peace is an end. Secondly, peace-building is characterized by disequilibrium and strain, as collectivities disengage from a structurally violent system, while structural peace is an attribute of a utopian social structure, marked by equilibrium and harmony. Building a social strain is a first step in the structural peace-building process. Since structural peace-building necessitates systemic transformation, one needs to take a closer look at resources of structural change. Structural change transforms inequitable relationship patterns in the social configuration. When structural strain is resolved too early and equilibrium is restored prematurely, the "peaceful" process rebuilds full or partial conformity with inequitable structures.

Libertarian theory allows people to make free choices, makes society more compassionate thus leading to more ethical choices being made. However, this theory does not consider internal and external factors enough that might affect our ability to make ethical choices freely thus there was need for agenda setting theory. The strengths of the Media Agenda-Setting includes the claim that it has predictive power due to the fact that it anticipates that if the masses are frequently exposed to the same media, the probability of them thinking alike of issues or having the same opinion about issues is very high. Again, it has an organizing power. This is to say that most people see the same issues as important. It also help arrange the already known knowledge of the media effects. Moreover, it has explanatory power because it explains why most people go for one particular piece of information.

The agenda setting theory has a weakness that the media users may not be as ideal as the theory assumes. People may not be well informed, deeply engaged in public affairs, thoughtful and skeptical. Instead they may pay only causal and intermittent attention to public affairs and remain ignorant of the details. For people who have made up their minds, the effect is weakened. News media cannot create or conceal problems, they may only alter the awareness, priorities and salience people attached to a set of problems. Social responsibility theory helps in avoiding conflicts during wars and conflicts as they accepts public opinion and works for the citizens. The media also publishes truth due to regulatory activities and their moral obligation. However, it is difficult to determine who sets clear principles and standards. This theory also does not provide causes of conflicts and how they can be addressed thus need for Galtung Structural Peace-building theory.

2.5 Conceptual model

The study used these theories in drawing illustrations of the conceptual model. Focusing on variables and peaceful conduct of electioneering process as dependent variable, the researcher developed the conceptual model shown in Figure 2.1.

Independent Variable   **Dependent**

Vari | **Media influence**

-Reporting & Coverage

-Slides & photos

- Neutrality

-Partisan

Conduct of electioneering process

Peace-building
Absence of rigging

Free and fair election

Peaceful political campaigns

Conflict escalation

Propaganda

Hate speech

Incitement

Intervening Variable

The state (Judiciary, Executive, Legislature)
Civil society
Political culture (education, social cohesion)

Figure 2.1: Conceptual model showing the relationship and interrelationship of variables
Source: Researcher (2018)

According to the conceptual model, media coverage is assumed to be greatly influenced by either subjective or objective reporting which determines the nature of coverage. Biased broadcasting would involve sorting, analyzing and probably manipulation of

56

reports to suit particular interests, while objective reporting involves facts, accurate and responsible report based on professionalism. All these are seen to take place within the media environment which represents the independent variable. However, their influential effect on individuals is based on factors such as the state (judiciary, executive, and legislature), civil society, and political culture. The final instigate of violence is the dependent variable. It feigns two results such as escalation or peace-building as affected by the media reporting and coverage. This broadcasting influence on the conduct of electioneering process is what this study intended to interrogate.

2.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter has critically reviewed relevant literature in relation to media influence and conduct of electioneering process in Kisumu County. The literature review has provided insights and shown the gaps that this study has attempted to fill. Hardly any previous study has interrogated the media influence on the peaceful conduct of electioneering process which this study has attempted to discuss. Also, other scholars are silent on the factors that affect media objectivity and challenges experienced by the media during electioneering process. This study has attempted to interrogate these issues. This chapter has given in details the literature review, influence of media in conflict, types and influence of media in peace-building, causes and types of conflicts. This chapter has also analyzed the theories like libertarian, agenda setting and social responsibility theories, conceptual model showing the relationship between variables. These led to an interrogation of the research methodology, subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter expounds on research design, the study area and study population. It also explains the methods of data collection and the tools for data collection. Finally, the chapter discusses the methods the researcher used in data processing, analysis and presentation. It also highlights the limitations, assumptions and ethical considerations which were adhered to in the research. The chapter concludes with a summary.

3.1 Research design

This study adopted both descriptive and exploratory study designs as recommended by Kumar (2011) whose thrust were to assess media influence on the peaceful conduct of electioneering process and how it affects the human factors during conflicts. In that regard, the study design paid exclusive consideration to the cannons of descriptive study design, namely; the explanation of what the study is about and the aims of the study. Given that the study examined diverse areas of Kisumu County, exploratory design was applied to get the data. This was primarily since exploratory design is conventionally the most dominant mode for generation of new philosophies and hypotheses, advancement of speculative philosophies and validation on the feasibility of the study for the future (Shaw & Wright 1967; Wesberg *et al*., 2010:4). Additionally, this study adopted quantitative research methods, to authorize the usage of vigorous statistical techniques to

elucidate the results (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). According to the study, information on causes of ethnic conflicts during elections were examined and explicated mostly on the view of quantitative investigation.

The study employed purposive sampling strategy in selecting both the study area and population. In addition, there was interest in finding out how media influences the human factors during electioneering process. Once the Sub-Counties and locations were selected, the study used systematic random sampling technique to obtain persons influenced by the media.

3.2 Area of Study

This study was conducted in Kisumu County nicknamed as *"kisumo"*. Kisumu County is one of the 47 Counties of Kenya following the establishment of devolved government. Initially it was known as Port Florence. Kisumu is among the big three cities in Kenya, formerly a district but in 2013 it was reconstituted as a county, on the same boundaries. It covers an area of 2,085.9 km (805.4sq mi). The county is situated in the central part of the former Nyanza Province in the western region of Kenya. Its neighbors are Siaya County to the West, Vihiga County to the North, Nandi County to the North East and Kericho County to the South East. Its neighbor to the South is Nyamira County and Homa Bay County is to the South West. The county has a shoreline on Lake Victoria, occupying northern, western and a part of the southern shores of the Winam Gulf. For administrative purposes, the county is divided into seven sub-counties and 35 wards. The county lies between latitudes 0°5' 51`south of the equator and longitudes 34°45'16`east. The county has a population of 968,879. The Population density is 460 per km^2.

The enormous population are Luo ethnic group, which is the third largest ethnic group in Kenya, and one of the major in East Africa. There are other subgroups from the other ethnic groups of Kenya primarily the Luhya. Indians came with the construction of railway and form a considerable Indian society in Kisumu town. The major dialect is Dholuo but English and Kiswahili are also vocalized by a majority of the residents for non-domestic reasons. Kisumu County has diversity of ethnic groups including the Kalenjin, Kisii, Kipsigis among others. The geographical location and topography of Kisumu County along the lake shore facilitates agricultural activities like fishing, farming and cattle keeping. Thus most of the residents of the study region are farmers while others businesspersons.

The county is viewed as the epicenter of 1992, 1997, 2007/08 and 2017 election violence in the former Nyanza Province (KNCHR, 2008b). Kisumu County has experienced heightened political violence since the resurgence of multi-party system thus it is imperative for this study to analyze this situation. This was based on the assumption that the area is both urban and rural and multi-ethnic in nature and, therefore, predisposed to ethnic hatred and conflict. The study was conducted in two constituencies (Sub counties) and targeted state media agencies and departments, civil societies, registered voters, PEV survivors, freelance journalists. The target population was selected purposively grounded on their supposed distinctive behavior and role before, during and after general elections in Kenya (IED, 1998; K-DOP, 2003).

The rationale for choosing Kisumu County and especially the two sub-counties was that those regions have experienced violent conflicts since the reintroduction of multi-party democracy coupled with multi-ethnic groupings. From an academic viewpoint, this area was justified as a study area because hardly any study of such depth and magnitude has

been conducted to assess media influence on the peaceful conduct of electioneering process and challenges experienced by the media during this process. Additionally, most scholars has never focused on the media influence on the conduct of electioneering process especially in Kisumu County; hence the rationale for this study. Besides, the interest of the researcher and nature of the region significantly influenced the decision. According to Singleton (1993), the perfect location for the research is one that is unequivocally connected to the interest of the researcher. Additionally, he notes that the study area must be simply reachable by the researcher and that it must permit faster relationship with the participants. Figure 3.1 shows the study area map.
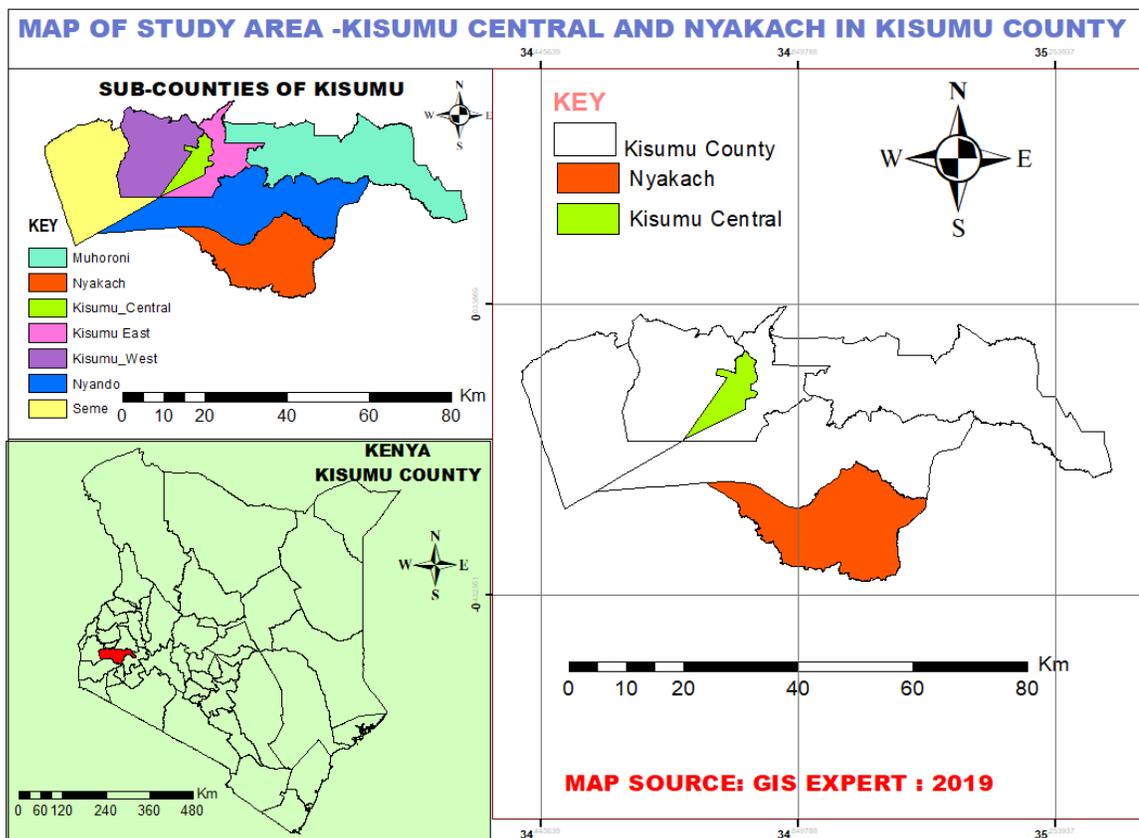
Figure 3.1 Map of the Study Area

Source: Researcher (2019)

3.3 Study Population

The study targeted specific and pre-determined population. This comprised representatives from state media agencies and departments (KNA, Ministry of Information, Ministry of Interior and coordination, IEBC officials), Media houses (private and public- Citizen, Namlolwe Fm, KTN, Victoria Fm, KBC, journalists from these media houses) and freelance journalists. The study also targeted state security officers, civil society (NGOs, FBOs, CBOs, Human Rights, opinion and religious leaders and finally ordinary citizens (survivors, local population, registered voters and businesspersons).

Kumar (2011) describes study population as, "the larger grouping or inhabitants of a society about whom the study is involved while the sample as a subgroup of the population which is the emphasis of the enquiry and is chosen wisely to embody the study population". This supported by Nachmias & Nachmias (1996:179). Kisumu County has a total population of 968,879 (KNBS, 2009). While Kisumu Central (168,992) and Nyakach (133,041) where sample populations were drawn from.

3.4 Sampling techniques and Sample Size Determination

The researcher adopted both probability and non-probability methods in selecting a representative sample for the study. In probability sampling, the simple random was used because a relatively small, clearly defined population of study is what is needed. The researcher adopted a method of using written small pieces of papers and picked odd numbers to select the desired key informants. The researcher adopted non-probability sampling technique to sample the key informants while simple random sampling was used for the respondents as recommended by, among others, Okoth (2012). This provided

equal opportunity of selection of each element of study population as argued by Kombo & Tromp (2006). Under non-probability sampling, purposive, convenience and snowball sampling methods were adopted. In purposive sampling, the researcher deliberately aim at a group of persons thought to be consistent for the study (Kombo & Tromp, 2006). This was important since this study required key informants with relevant specific information from relevant institutions and persons.

Purposive sampling ensured that accurate information from key informants and respondents with relevant information on the subject of study was acquired. In order to acquire more information under purposive sampling, snowball sampling was used for the survivors for purposes of more in-depth interviews, while convenience sampling was used where the required sample has not yet been attained like Ministries, media practitioners and security officers Therefore, to get a representative and preferred sample size, the required population sample was established using Fisher's formula for sample size determination (Fisher *et al*., 1983 cited in Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003:43) as stated;

$n = (z^2\, pq)/d^2$

Where n=desired sample size (the target population is greater than 10,000).

z=the standard normal deviate at the confidence level of 95% is 1.96.

p=the proportion of the target population estimated to have characteristics being measured is set at 50%

q=1-p (probability of non-success)

d=level of statistical significance set at 0.05

$n = (\llbracket(1.96)\rrbracket^2 * 0.5 * (1-0.5))/((\llbracket 0.05 \rrbracket^2)$

n=864

Therefore, a total number of respondents is 864.

Table 3.1: Distribution of the population sample

Population category	Target population size	Sample size	Sampling method
State Agencies and Departments (Ministry of Information, Communication and Technology, Ministry of Interior and Coordination, IEBC and KNA)	96	48	Convenience, Purposive, Simple random Systematic random sampling
Media Houses-private and public (Journalists, (Citizen, Osienala FM, Namlolwe, KBC, KTN, Ramogi FM)	40	20	Purposive Systematic random sampling
Ordinary citizens (Survivors of violence, Businesspersons)	450	447	Convenience,
Registered Voters	145,000	384	convenience
Security officers	32	16	Purposive, Simple random

Civil society(NGOs, FBOs, CBOs, Human Rights, religious and opinion leaders, council of elders)	98	49	Purposive, Systematic random sampling
TOTAL	145,716	864	

Source: Researcher (2018)

3.5 Data Collection Procedure

Throughout the study, both quantitative and qualitative data were gathered. Reliability was enhanced through use of both primary and secondary sources of data or information. Primary data were collected by use of interview guides, FGDs guides and questionnaires. According to Rasmussen & Erik (2002), questionnaires and interview guides are valuable in obtaining exhaustive comprehension of the matters under study instead of quantifying those issues.

3.5.1 Primary Data

With regard to primary data gathering, three tools were adopted for this study namely; Questionnaires (450), FGDs guides (6) and Interview schedules (39). The study enlisted the services of two research assistants who issued the questionnaires and collected primary data from respondents. The moderator of FGDs was trained to be non-directive and to facilitate free as well as open discussions by all members.

3.5.1.1 Questionnaires

Collection of Primary data were from both male and female respondents in the study area. The researcher used both closed along with open ended questionnaires to collect primary data from respondents. The questionnaires were hand delivered to the target population including local community, businesspersons, journalists, registered voters,

CSOs, security officials and survivors. Four hundred and fifty (450) questionnaires were administered to some members of the community residing in Kisumu County. Questionnaires were administer to both sub-counties; Kisumu Central 250 questionnaires while Nyakach 200 questionnaires. The closed open-ended questions provided choices for answers. Structured questions were employed so as to allow easy comparison and quantification of the outcomes. This method was used to generate more precise and explicit information in order to expedite comparison of the responses of various respondents.

Questionnaires were used for this study because; immense quantities of information could be retrieved back from the respondents within a stipulated timeframe and in a comparatively cost efficient manner; the distribution and number of respondents handling questionnaires negatively impact legitimacy and consistency and the results of the questionnaires can easily be computed and interpreted by the researcher or use of a software package (Berry *et al*. 2014). Questionnaires were used to ensure that the research obtain diverse views and free expression in addition to ensuring anonymity of the respondents. Kothari (2009) postulates that questionnaires provide respondents with sufficient time allowing them to provide satisfactory responses, as well commending the use of harmonizing techniques to expose inconsistencies in data collection that one method cannot.

3.5.1.2 Interview Schedules

Patton (1990) defines key informant interview schedules as a qualitative research method that entails carry out rigorous individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perceptions on a specific gist, program, or situation. Interview schedules

were employed to compliment questionnaires in obtaining first-hand information as well as reduce ambiguity in responses. This instrument was used to gather qualitative data from key informants and 39 interviews were conducted. The target key informants state officials such as County Commissioner officers from each Sub-County (ACCs-one from each sub-county, chiefs-2 from each sub-county), Ministry of Information, security officials(2 from each sub-county), IEBC officials (one from each sub-county); Media practitioners (3); political leaders (3 from each sub-county); peace committee officials (2 from Nyakach and 1 from Kisumu Central); CSOs (Human rights, religious leaders, NGOs' officials); council of elders (2 from Nyakach) and journalists (6). Interview guides were relevant for this study because: Sufficient information was gathered through the interview process because it allowed the interviewer in probing of as many questions as possible. Interview process also allowed for the flexibility of research questions. Interviews were performed at the expediency of the respondents with an aid of note taking and where essential, tape recording deemed was used.

3.5.1.3 Focus Group Discussions Guide

This method has been widely used in generating data. (Bryman, 2008) suggests that this method is advantageous for generating data when investigating a homogeneous group or groups of participants. Therefore, this instrument was appropriate to this study since the themes of the study were homogeneous. The focus group discussions were guided by a structured question that allowed for flexibility in raising questions. The six separate FGDs each comprised 10 men and women (Bryman, 2008). The FGDs were; one council of Elders at Nyakach, 2 FGDs for victims-one from each sub-county, Leaders of Kondele Women Groups, and 2 security officials FGD.   The researcher conducted discussions

with each of these categories separately in order to accommodate both generational and gender gaps among the parties in the community. It was on the premise that FGD participants had knowledge and experiences on media influence during electioneering process in Kisumu County. The venue for the FGD was private which allowed for respondents' participation without fear. The discussions took between 30-60 minutes. Where necessary an interpreter was included to avoid distortion.

3.5.2 Secondary data

Secondary data were gathered to supplement the primary data. They were gotten from both published and unpublished materials through the review of literature such as journals, theses, academic, books, papers, TV scripts and radio coverage especially prior, during and after 1992, 1997, 2007/2008 and 2013 elections. Other secondary data sources included analysis of TV productions, government and non-governmental reports on media and conflict management. The researcher assessed media coverage and reporting of the electioneering violence in Kisumu County including documentaries, broadcast tapes, video footage and other archival materials on the same.

3.6 Reliability and Validity of Research Instruments

The results that were gotten by primary data analysis were authenticated for appropriateness by the use of two limits such as validity and reliability of research instruments. The details are herein provided.

3.6.1 Reliability of Research Instruments

According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003), the dependability factor reveals the degree to which a research tool is free of fault incongruity. The nearer the consistency factor is to 1.00, the more the tool is free of error variance and is hence a measure of the real

differences between the subjects in the dimensions assessed by the instrument. To establish the consistency of the tools that was employed in this study, the test-retest approach which is preferred by most researchers was employed. The consistency of the research instruments was determined by giving scholars the tools to verify. The dependability factor was calculated based on the accepted 95% coefficient/index of reliability (Norland, 2010). The study found a reliability coefficient of 0.8551 showing high reliability of the data as shown in table 3.2.

Table 3.2 Reliability

Reliability Statistics		
Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.855	.856	4

Source: Field Data (2019)

3.6.2 Validity of the Instruments

According to Best and Khan (1993), validity refers to the extent to which outcomes obtained from analysis of data really represent the phenomenon under study. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (1999), the validity of a study is focuses on the degree to which that data measures what it is supposed to measure.

To test the validity of the research tools, the questionnaires were subjected to cross checking by other scholars and also to evaluate the dependence of the matter. Precisely, reliability was bias in terms of content and structure validity. Content validity sought to

test whether the test covers a representative sample of the domain to be measured in the study. Construct validity on the other hand sought to establish how well this study would measure up to its claims. Content and construct validity were examined by the supervisors as well as scholars at the Department of Peace and Conflict studies at Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology where suggestions were made and the instruments adjusted accordingly. Samples were chosen from government officials as well as the the public members conversant with the subject of media and electioneering process. Similarly, the researcher conducted a 3 day facilitative induction to introduce two research assistants through the aspects of the study. This was achieved by identifying two suitable research assistants and then taking them through training as well. Overall, validity sought to ensure that the study would only assess media influence on the peaceful conduct of electioneering process in Kisumu County.

3.7 Data Analysis and presentation

Data analysis referred to examination of collected data in order to make discussions, inferences and conclusions (Kothari, 2004). The study used both qualitative as well as quantitative data. Qualitative data were examined in the form of measures of central tendency, frequency counts as well as proportions. Quantitative data were coded and analyzed descriptively and inferential statistics using Chi-Square goodness of fit in order to establish the level of significance of correlation between study variables. Data analysis involved several activities; data coding, data entry and modification. The researcher analyzed the causes and influence of media on human variables during electioneering process in Kisumu. Quantitative data were analyzed by use of SPSS version 21 software and Microsoft excel to get descriptive statistics specifically percentages, frequencies and presented in form of tables, graphs, and charts. Qualitative data were analyzed using

thematic techniques analysis to support quantitative data and presented in form of verbatim reports.

Table 3.3 Summary of Data Analysis Techniques per research objective

Specific Objective	Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	Method of Analysis
i. Investigate the types of influence of media on the conduct of electioneering process in Kenya with specific reference to Kisumu County	Media influence (Reporting and Coverage, slides & photos, Neutrality or partisan)	Conduct of electioneering process (Peace-building, conflict escalation)	Descriptive (Frequencies, percentages, standard deviation and mean); Inferential (Chi-square); Qualitative (Thematic Analysis)
ii. Examine the causes and types of conflicts during electioneering process in Kenya with specific to Kisumu County.	Media influence (Reporting and Coverage, slides & photos, Neutrality or partisan)	Conduct of electioneering process (Peace-building, conflict escalation)	Descriptive (Frequencies, percentages, standard deviation and mean); Inferential (Chi-square); Qualitative (Thematic Analysis
iii. Assess the challenges experienced by the media during electioneering process in Kisumu County.	Media influence ((Reporting and Coverage, slides & photos, Neutrality or partisan)	Conduct of electioneering process (Peace-building, conflict escalation)	Descriptive (Frequencies, percentages, standard deviation and mean); Qualitative (Thematic Analysis)

Source: Researcher (2018)

3.8 Limitations of the study

In this study, it was problematic to obtain transmitted records that contained clear proof of provocation or hate speech because of sensitivity of the information and absence of efficient media scrutinizing structures in Kenya and entry to media houses. However, this was overcome by ensuring confidentiality and seeking consent and authority to get information from relevant persons. Secondly, transport became an encounter in some of the areas of sub-counties sampled for data collection. Some of the roads were impenetrable particularly when it rained. Some areas were also vulnerable to cultural or ethnic conflicts through cattle rustling along the Nandi and Nyakach border. This resulted in rearrangement of study and at times required the help of the county administration to provide security escort.

Thirdly, owing to the nature of the research, there was exposed doubt over the selection of the sub-counties owing that the research was carried out after the post-election violence. The researcher gave an elaborate explanation that the intention of the study was not judgmental on the sub-counties selected and the study was not meant to investigate persons related to post-election violence. Finally, the language barrier due to the diversity of people comprising of Luo, Kipsigis, Kisii and Kalenjins communities in the study area was overcome by having interpreters who clearly understood the language(s).

3.9 Assumptions of the Study

The major assumption was that a robust, competitive and free media in aggressive political structure would advocate for democratic system, peace and stability. Another

assumption was that, biased media coverage of the unfolding events during the 2007 general elections contributed to the 2007/08 PEV that exploded as soon as the declaration of the presidential election outcomes was made, also fair reporting of 2002 and 2013 elections led to somehow peaceful elections. This means that subjective reporting was the root cause of misrepresentation of facts which causes conflicts. It was also assumed that all factors not mentioned remained constant throughout the research period. Another assumption was that the respondents would be free and honest.

3.10 Ethical Considerations

The researcher was responsible for maintaining the self-respect and wellbeing of all respondents. This obligation entailed guarding them from hurt, needless dangers, or psychological and bodily uneasiness that might have been intrinsic in the research process. The researcher made sure that the matter had obtained maximum discovery of the nature of the study, hazards, the gains and options, with a lengthy period of interrogations. The study observed equity and fairness in the selection of participants along with the distribution of data collection tools respectively.

The researcher obtained authorization from the Directorate of Postgraduate Studies of Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology. In addition, a research license was obtained from the National Commission for Science Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) in order to allow the researcher to go to the field for data collection. Afterwards, the researcher obtained research authorization permit from the County Commissioner's office to navigate across the county collecting data.

The researcher upheld persons' entitlements to privacy and concealment as a vital principle to the study. The respondents were updated on how the data would be used,

what will be done to the case materials as well as the security of their consent. In addition, the researcher also ensured that classified reports were kept in secure areas. The researcher considered circumstances where concealment may unintentionally be contravened, for example having private discussions in a chamber that is not sound proof among others. Consent was sought from the interviewees on quoting them in data and the right names and titles to use.

3.11 Chapter summary

This chapter has provided an overview of the detailed description of the study are, study population, research design, sample size and sampling techniques, instruments of data collection, and procedures for data collection, data analysis and interpretation. It has also highlighted the ethical considerations which were adhered to in the research and finally the limitations and assumptions of the study. The sub sequent chapters are based on the specific objectives and corresponding research questions of the study in term of research findings, starting with specific objective one which constitutes chapter four.

CHAPTER FOUR

TYPES OF INFLUENCE OF MEDIA DURING ELECTIONEERING PROCESS IN KENYA

This chapter presents the findings and discussions on the types and role of media on the peaceful conduct of electioneering process in Kenya with reference to Kisumu County which was the first objective of this study. The chapter discusses the demographic characteristics of respondents from Kisumu County, duration of stay of the respondents in the study area and types of media influence and the chapter summary.

4. 1 Demographics Characteristics of Respondents in Kisumu County

The demographics information of respondents was done by usage of surveys. A total of 400 surveys were distributed to the respondents and a total of 400 surveys were fully filled and returned resulting to 400(100%) retort level.

4.1.1 Age of the respondents in Kisumu County

The respondents were asked to state their age. The objective was to assess the influence of this demographic on the conduct electioneering process. From the findings, 226(57.8%) of the respondents were aged between 36-45 years. Respondents aged between 18-35 years, were 79(20.2%) while those aged 46-55 years were 82(21.0%). Respondents aged above 55 years were 4(1.0%). See Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Distribution of respondents based on Age

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
18-35	83	19.8	20.2
36-45	226	56.5	57.8
46-55	82	20.5	21.0
Above 55	9	1.0	1.0
Total	400	97.8	100.0
Total	400	100.0	

Source: Field Data (2019)

Table 4.1 shows the responses of Kisumu residents when asked to state their age. 226(56.5%) of the respondents were aged between 35 and 45 years. Respondents aged between 18-35 years were 83(20.2%). Those aged 46-55 years were 82(21.0%) while above 55 years were 9(1.0%). The responses are consistent with the argument that there is relationship between age and media influence on conduct of electioneering process. This is because the youths are more likely to be more influenced during electioneering processes. The findings of the study suggest the active participation of youthful generation in electioneering process compared to the elderly because, arguably, in Kenya there is a close correlation between the challenges that afflict the youths, for example, unemployment and good governance. According to the findings, only 1.0% of the respondents aged above 55 years participated in the study as indicated in Table 4.1.

Ages of 18-35 which catered for 20.2% of the respondents are mostly years when people are highly engaged in education, job search with majority being in colleges. These groups of respondents were tasked with giving information on the types of media and their influence as they affects them directly. The ages of 35-45 and 46-55 years cumulatively accounted for 78.8% of respondents. These groups were hence important in this study since these groups of respondents could give critical information about the media influence on the electioneering process as well as the types of conflicts experienced.

4.1.2 Gender of the respondents in Kisumu County

The respondents were asked to state their gender. 222(57.5%) were male while 164(42.5%) were female. See Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Distribution of respondents based on Gender

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Male	228	58.0	57.5
Female	172	42.0	42.5
Total	400	400	100.0
Total	400	100.0	

Source: Field Data (2019)

The results in Table 4.2 indicate that 228 (55.5%) of respondents were male while 172 (42.5) were females. The study, therefore, reveals that both genders are actively engaged in media issues. With a 15% difference of political involvement between men and women, this was in itself an indication of the central role women are beginning to play in electioneering process in Kenya. The gender equation was considered pertinent, first because in Kenyan context, it has become a legal requirement as provided by Articles 27

77

and 81 of the Constitution of Kenya 2010. This articles stipulate that male and females have the right to equal opportunities in political, economic, cultural and social sphere hence their influence during electioneering process. Secondly, the exclusion of either female or male in the study would have brought the issues of biasness towards a particular gender making the findings of the study skewed as a consequence of their exclusion.

The findings show that there is no greater gender disparity in Kisumu County with a minimal difference of 15% thus no gender is left behind. The results further show that women have been empowered on issues of electoral positions and politics hence taking up leadership roles.

4.1.3. Marital Status of the respondents in Kisumu County

The study sought to establish the marital status of the 400 respondents. The respondents were thus asked to indicate their marital status and the results are shown in table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Distribution of respondents in Kisumu County in terms of Marital Status

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Single	66	15.5	15.5
Married	307	79.0	84.5
Divorced	25	5.5	100.0
Total	400	100	

Source: Field Data (2019

The results in Table 4.3 show that from the 400 respondents who filled the questionnaires; 66 (15.5%) were single, 307(79.0%) were married and 25(5.5%) were

divorced or separated. The findings of the study were corroborating with the KDHS (2014) survey which indicated that 73% of women are married by age of between 19-34 years and 83% of men get married between ages of 25-34 years (KNBS, 2015). The findings of the study, therefore, indicate that most adults above 20 years are married. Since majority of the respondents are married, this indicates that these respondents were mature people and responsible members of the society. They are aware of the media influence and electioneering process and the implications it has had on their political affiliations.

4.1.4. Residence

The respondents were asked to state their sub counties. The reason was aligned to the overall objective of assessing media influence on the peaceful conduct of electioneering process in Kenya with reference to the two sub counties of Kisumu. Majority of respondents were from Kisumu central. See the Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Distribution of respondents based on residence

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Kisumu Central	208	52.0 52	
Nyakach	192	48.0	100
Total	400	100.0	

Source: Field Data (2019)

The findings from Table 4.4 reveal that 208(52%) of respondents were from Kisumu Central sub-county while 192(48%) respondents were from Nyakach Sub-county. These findings show that the respondents were evenly distributed across the two sub counties

depicting a good representation. They show that people from different regions are influenced differently by the media and affected by different types of conflicts.

4.1.5 Duration of stay in Kisumu County

The researcher also sought to know the duration the respondents had stayed in Kisumu County. The results are presented as shown in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5: Distribution of respondents based on duration of stay

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Less than 5 years	20	4.0	4.1	4.1
5-10	60	14.3	14.5	18.6
10-15	115	28.8	29.3	48.0
Over 15	205	51.0	52.0	100.0
Total	400	98.0	100.0	
Total	400	100.0		

Source: Field Data (2019)

The findings of the study reveal that out of the 400 respondents, 205(52.0%) had stayed in the study area for over 15 years. Those who had stayed between 10-15 years were 115(29.3%). Respondents who had stayed between 5-10 years were 60(14.5%) while less than 5 years were 20(4.1%). Since Kisumu Central and part of Nyakach are multi-ethnic, it was significant to know how long the respondents have lived in the area thus determining if have been affected by conflicts. Thus causing pressure against one another thus resulting into socio-economic pressure and ethnic conflict (Bevan, 2007).

4.1.6 Educational level of the respondents in Kisumu County

The respondents were asked to state their levels of education. 248(64.8%) had college or university qualifications. Respondents who had secondary certificates were 125(32.6%) while primary were 10(2.6%). This shows majority of the respondents who participated

had formal knowledge and education thus can be able to understand and reason out their thoughts. This also shows that most of the respondents who participated in the study were enlightened and were able to give valid information on the media influence and electioneering process. Since they could fully understand the questions posed. Thus information collected from respondents can be considered informed and relevant to the research objectives.

Table 4.6: Distribution of respondent's Educational level

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Primary	17	4.3	4.3
Secondary	135	33.7	38.0
College/University	248	62.0	100.0
Total	400	100.0	

Source: Field Data (2019)

The level of education of a person is an indicator of the technical skills and capacity of the person. Education was considered pertinent and variable since in most cases, one's level of education mostly informs one's influence during electioneering process, though admittedly, this may not be necessarily the case especially in the Kenyan elections where largely they are ethnic driven (Oyugi, 1997; Nyabuga, 2011). For example, there is a great difference on the interpretation of politics and electoral issues between a university graduate and a primary school leaver. According to the findings, most Kisumu County residents possess some form of formal education, with majority being university or college graduates. The majority of the respondents who participated in the study were youths as shown in Table 4.6.

Education has a straightforward consequence on the living of people as well as their ability to be employed which is a factor that can lead to poverty (Agrawal, 2009). Akinyi *et al*. (2011) further argued that most young people having less literacy level were easily swayed to take part in politically initiated violence in trade of hand-outs in terms of 200 shillings. However, the findings of this study contradict the findings of Akinyi *et al*., (2011). Most of the respondents have formal education, thus it can be deduced that due to high numbers of educated people in the area, many have remained jobless thus can be manipulated and used by politicians during electioneering process. Hence, literacy influences the political position for individuals and thus impact their engagement in electoral conflicts.

4.1.7. Preferred sources of information for the respondents in Kisumu County

The researcher also sought to understand the preferred sources of information and draw conclusion on how these preferred sources influence people's opinions. The results are presented in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7: Preferred sources of information

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Internet	115	28.8	28.8	28.8
Television	110	27.5	27.5	56.3
Radio	136	34.0	34.0	90.3
Facebook	25	6.3	6.3	96.5
Newspapers	14	3.5	3.5	100.0
Total	400	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field Data (2019)

The findings show that the most preferred source of information was Radio 136(34.0%), Internet 115(28.8%), and Television 110(27.5%). Respondents who preferred Facebook were 25(6.3%) while those of newspapers were 14(3.5%). This shows that majority of the respondents listen to local radio stations hence were influenced greatly. Radio is the most powerful type of media in Kenya as radios can be found in very isolated area, unlike televisions which are mainly centred in urban areas. However, internet also was found to closely follow radio. This is attributed by the fact that internet provide instant news without being scrutinized. Internet provide raw news without being monitored and regulated by the government.

This finding was in line with a study by Namwaya (2008:85) which shown that radio penetration stands at 85%. Radio is the most powerful type of media in Kenya as radios can be found in very isolated area, unlike televisions which are mainly centred in urban areas. However, internet also was found to closely follow radio. The study findings revealed that candidates using media has come out of the recognition that the radio in Africa is extensively accessible in many families and conveys mails understood by fundamentally everybody who voices the language of the radio transmits regardless of literacy levels.

The study show that, the programmes of many business-related   radio stations are made up of music and light entertainment, including talk shows and phone-ins. In recent years, vernacular radio stations have become very popular with rural populations. These include stations for example Kass FM, Inooro FM, Mulembc FM, Egesa FM, Muuga FM, Coro FM, and Muusyi FM. Most of these stations are owned by Royal Media Services. These high costs have motivated the need to have a greater understanding of causes of ethnic political conflicts in Kisumu, Kenya. The study found that media

houses or stations in many instances use low literate journalists who use mother tongue in escalating violence during their broadcasting. For example, Inooro FM and Kameme FM radio stations and Ramogi FMs supporting respective societies and political parties.

These findings confirm the results from an interview with key informant which revealed that:

> People within Kisumu and Luo region in particular are mostly tuned to local or vernacular stations. Most people listen to either Radio Ramogi, Victoria, Namlolwe; Dala or any othe local stations. They perceive these as the good source and easily understandable (Interview with State security official at Mamboleo, 4th May, 2019).

These findings corroborated with Nyamnjoh (2005:231) who opined that, media stations and broadcasters tend to become unconcealed defenders of individual leaders or political parties thus strengthening the politics of fitting. This was in line with findings by Osborn (2008) who found out that Kass FM was baised in its coverage encouraging people of Kibra slums to turn against their opponents. The findings further were supported by Kadhi and Rutten (2001) who argued out that media failed to exercise their moral and ethical responsibility, the watchdog role was thwarted by the media in pursuit of market and partisan. The study therefore, conclude that vernacular radio stations are the most preferred source of information and possesses greater influence on the people's opinions, behaviors and attitudes during electioneering process.

4.1.8. Trusted source of information of respondents in Kisumu County

The researcher sought to know the most trusted source of information for the respondents. This was essential as it revealed the media influence on the respondents' behavior and actions during electioneering process.

Table 4.8: Trusted source of information

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Internet	35	8.8	8.8
Television	176	44.0	44.0
Radio	121	30.3	30.3
Newspapers	44	11.0	11.0
Magazines	24	6.0	6.0
Total	400	100.0	100.0

Source: Field Data (2019)

From the findings in Table 4.8, television was the most trusted source of information with 176 (44.0%); radio 121(30.3%); newspapers 44(11.0%), internet 35(8.8%) while magazines were 24(6.0%). This finding show that television is the most trusted as it provide the visuals and live coverage of pictures or photos. According to the findings, television is the most influential on the public opinion itself. The findings reveal that, in previous polling survey of 2013, Raila was always in the lead followed closely by Uhuru but after the presidential debate, polls indicated that Uhuru surpassed Raila.

Facebook was also found to be influential during electioneering process. This was supported by William and Gullati (2006) in a study investigating the use of Facebook for campaigning by Congressional candidates in the 2006 U.S elections found that candidates who campaigned on Facebook in 2006 won a larger share of the vote than candidates who did not campaign on Facebook when controlling for all other variables.

The study further was supported by Hill and Hughes (1998) who also believe that the Internet reinforces beliefs that are already developed rather than fundamentally changing people and their attitudes. In the same vein, Gibson and McAllister's (2006) recent analysis of the 2004 Australian national elections suggests that online campaigning can have a positive impact on a candidate's share of the vote. The study therefore, conclude that the Internet is reinforcing the already present political attachments, providing additional data and information for voters who are seeking to bolster their vote choices.

4.1.9. Media shaping opinion of respondents in Kisumu County

The study also went on to investigate if there was influence of media on the opinions of respondents during electioneering process. The findings are as shown in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9: Media shaping opinions during electioneering process

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Yes	259	62.8	65.0
No	141	33.8	35.0
Total	400	96.5	100.0
Total	400	100.0	

Source: Field Data (2019)

The findings show that majority of the respondents 251(62.8%) are of the view that media shapes their opinion during electioneering process. Those who disagreed were only 135(33.8%) of the study respondents. This suggests that majority of the respondents believe that people tend to get influenced by the media coverage and reporting. In his paper to examine the effects of opinion polls as well as additional media coverage on voters prior to the parliamentary elections in Germany in 2009, Hoffmann (2012) undertook a multilevel analysis whereby the poll results as well as statements regarding the individual parties' chances for the elections made in news programmes were considered as context characteristics. This study showed that when the inter-correlation Coefficients were calculated for the individual analysis models, the intention to vote did not vary systematically at the individual levels depending on the opinion polling day. This very interesting finding leads to the interpretation that the electoral campaign in general and opinion polling reports in particular completely failed to influence people in Germany's 2009 parliamentary elections, (Hoffmann, 2012). These findings support the findings of the interview with a key informant from security department:

> Media can hype something by keeping on repeating about a particular topic or issues. Once they do that they influence people's perceptions and opinions. Looking at the voting patterns and trends (Interview with a state security official, Base Commander at Kondele, Kisumu County, 28/03/2019).

This finding was in agreement with Mutua (2001) which revealed that media was acting as a voice for the voiceless in the society. This was done through highlighting of injustices during the conflict to the international community for intervention thus providing public awareness of impending conflict and post conflict situation. For

87

instance, the international media widely covered the 2007/08 PEV calling to put pressure on protagonists to end the conflict.

The study reveal that, media has played a key role in its role of informing the public on conflict. It is considered to have the most powerful impact and grants considerable influence on how people perceive conflict. The study also show that media also shapes their opinions and behavior about the conflict. This is through the ability to report on some conflict and not others, therefore, portraying some as more important than others. Through this, media influences the dynamic and outcomes of the conflict and thus also shapes the prospects of success of conflicting parties. Hence, the parties involved in a conflict exploit the media to push their goals.

4.1.10. Extent media coverage or reporting shapes opinion of the respondents in Kisumu County

The study also sought to investigate the extent media coverage or reporting shapes opinions of the respondents in the stud area. The results of the findings are tabulated as shown in table 4.10.

Table 4.10: Extent media coverage or reporting shaping opinions

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Very large extent	133	33.3	33.3
Large extent	194	48.5	48.5
Small extent	39	9.8	9.8
Very small extent	28	7.0	7.0
I don't know	6	1.5	1.5
Total	400	100.0	100.0

Source: Field Data (2019)

The findings in Table 4.10 indicate that 194(48.5%) were of large extent, 133(33.3%) were of very large extent. Some respondents indicated small extent 39 (9.8%), very

88

small extent 28(7.0%) while only 1.5% said I don't know. The findings show that majority of respondents agreed that media coverage or reporting actually influences and shapes their opinions during electioneering process. This also means that the level of trust of the media information is high for the respondents in Kisumu County. The cumulative percentage for very large extent and large was 81.8% showing higher influence rate of the respondents. The packaging, framing and priming of news or agenda and issues can be attributed to this high cumulative percentage of media shaping opinions. This, therefore, means that majority of the respondents depend upon the media for critical information and decision making during electioneering process. These findings are in tandem with the FGDs and key informant interviews.

The study found out that, the media can be seen to contribute to public good by defending, protecting and promoting human rights as illustrated by the libertarian theory. These findings were in agreed with Chouliaraki (2006: 119) who claimed that this unique feature gives rise to an exemplary manifestation of media politics that appeal for sympathy from their audiences and mostly win their hearts The findings show that the government therefore uses any aggression toward the media as an act that oppose realization of democracy. This kind of reporting and manifestation goes against the libertarian theory which advocates that media should be free from intimidation by the government.

4.1.11. Media role in peace-building in Kisumu County
The study sought to find out whether the media played a role in peace-building during electioneering process in Kisumu County. The results are shown in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11: Role of Media in Peace-building

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Yes	377	94.2	94.2
No	23	5.8	5.8
Total	400	100.0	100.0

Source: Field Data (2019)

The results in Table 4.11 show that greater part of respondents agreed that media has a role in peace-building, 377 (94.2%) agreed while only 23(5.8 %) of respondents disagreed. This shows that media actually has played a role in enhancing peace in Kisumu county during electioneering process. A key informant from the media fraternity claimed that:

> Media is the greatest recipients of the election disease, which is still cashing in by underscoring the opinion surveys, election campaign discourses of the presidential, set the agenda and issues during electioneering process. The agenda setting provide the common civilian with a chance to play a part by voicing on the election procedure on his or her opinions as a manifestation of democratic system. They should also be used to shape policy issues at the national and regional level; and not confined to who is most popular candidate and his or party. (Interview with Assistant County Commissioner, Kisumu Central, 20/03/2019 Held at Kisumu Museum).

These views were confirmed by Hafner-Burton *et al*., (2012) who were of the view that officeholders are highly endangered by elections when they might lose, but judging whether they might lose is difficult, particularly in countries where the flow of information is restricted and expression is limited. Some incumbents are able to gauge their popularity prior to an election through public opinion and straightforward electoral threat to the incumbent is confirmed by the prediction that elections would be a hotly contested affair between Kibaki and Raila (IRN, 2008).

These findings corroborate with the findings of the following scholars; Media has also been used in several cases to promote harmony and settlement. Such as, in Northern Uganda, media has been used to create the common good for the people to promote peace (Struges, 2007). Mega FM has promoted peace in Northern Uganda with positive effects since 2002. Evidence also suggests that the station played a major part in encouraging LRA members to come out of the bush. Struges (2007) further noted that the LRA leadership was encouraged to listen to the station and on a number of occasions joined radio phone-in talk shows and held discussions with government and civil society representatives, a good step in peace building.

However, the minority who disagreed that media played a role in peace-building is supported by the following key informant interview. The interview conducted with one of the key informant from media fraternity claimed that:

> To some extent media has worsen the situation. The media has no role in peace-building but if the media has played then its minimal; maybe there's no proper training and policy for journalists and media; If we are to advocate for peace, then how did we find our own at the Hague? (Interview with Head of News Production, 29/03/2019. Held at KBC ground).

In contrast, an interview with an IEBC official opined that:

> Media still will remain important, a forefront in peace-building; elections are so emotional that the quickest way to reach the people is through the media. As long as it is media, it's important in peace-building (Interview with Head ICT officer, IEBC, Kisumu Central office on 28/03/2019).

The findings show that some media houses, especially the FM radio stations, seemed to have encouraged hate speech that elicited ethnic hatred and animosity that burst into open post-election violence. Among the stations that were most mentioned included

Inooro FM, Kameme FM, Ramogi FM, Kass FM, and Lake Victoria FM. While mainstream media houses like KBC, Nation Media and Standard Group were much more cautious. For instance, Ramogi FM radio station broadcasting to Luo's in the former Nyanza Province referred to their Kikuyu neighbours as "foreigners", while a popular Kikuyu radio station, Kameme FM, often referred to Luo's as "fishermen" (Mbeke, 2009; KNCHR, 2008b). Therefore, the study affirms that media played a role in peace-building.

The study findings corroborated with the findings of Sadkovich (1998) which opined that OBN has promoted peace journalism by focusing on the efforts of community leaders to promote peace during violence. It has also pioneered a number of programmes aimed at promoting cross-national understanding. OBN editors categorically refused to employ the overt nationalistic bias of other networks, which carried verbatim, on-air reading of partisan press releases; coverage of parties' bombastic press conferences; and unedited open letters. Sadkovich (1998) further noted that OBN's news and information division set the standards for professional reporting in general by avoiding many similar traps of war journalism, but take steps toward open promotion of peaceful reconciliation.

4.1.12. Extent media provide reliable information in Kisumu County

The study sought to investigate the extent respondents trust the media to provide reliable information. The results are as presented in the Table 4.12.

Table 4.12: Extent of trusting media to provide reliable information

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Very large extent	120	30.0	30.0	30.0
Large extent	194	48.5	48.5	78.5
Small extent	52	13.0	13.0	91.5
Very small extent	28	7.0	7.0	98.5

I don't know	6	1.5	1.5	100.0
Total	400	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field Data (2019)

The findings in Table 4.10 indicate that 48.5% of respondents were of large extent, 30.0% were of very large extent. Some respondents indicated small extent (13.0%), very small extent 7.0% while only 1.5% said I don't know. The findings show that majority of respondents agreed that media provide reliable information during electioneering process. This can be attributed to trusting the source, the packaging and agendas of the day during election process. It, therefore, implies that media influences people's behavior and decisions due to high level of trust during electioneering process. An interview conducted with a key informant at the Ministry of Information, Communication and Technology claimed that:

> Media plays an integral role in helping people understand. Media gets both side of the coin thus people tend to trust the media much. This makes them believe everything that the media brings on board. This level of trust of media information mostly the local stations, makes people to engage in debates (Interview with Media practitioner conducted at KNA office, 29/03/2019).

The study shows that the debate is still contentious as why many seem to believe that unbalanced or biased reporting by media will directly determine who wins or loses the elections. Through amalgamations and conglomerations, media entities have been accused of fostering more than ever corporate interest, which supersede governmental or social responsibilities. That being said, there is no gainsaying in the fact that media influence can be manipulated and misused to give credence to unpopular programs and or legitimize policies that do not have public support (Biggs and Helms, 2007). Political campaign organizations spend a large chunk of their time, effort and money to attract favorable news media attention to candidates at the top levels of electoral office and

93

when their candidate loses, the tone of media coverage or the lack of adequate media coverage, frequently is blamed. Since the inception of free media, it has elicited great debates among scholars and piqued media pundits hence it is a very fertile ground for manipulations and biases by politicians and elites.

4.2 Inferential statistics

The study considered the various factors influencing the likelihood of media coverage and reporting causing peaceful conduct of electioneering process in Kenya. The study assessed their influence by carrying out a correlational analysis and a logistic regression.

4.2.1 Correlation Analysis

 The study carried out a point-bivariate correlation between media influence on peaceful conduct of electioneering process and key factors; sources of media preferred, source trusted, influence of media on opinions, extent media shapes opinions, role of media and extent media facilitated peace-building in Kisumu County. Table 4.13 presents the outcomes of correlation analysis.

Table 4.13: Correlation Analysis

		Does media shapes your opinion during electioneering process
Does media shapes your opinion during electioneering process	Pearson Correlation	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	
	N	386
Age	Pearson Correlation	.074
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.150
	N	377
Gender	Pearson Correlation	.136[**]
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.009
	N	372
Marital Status	Pearson Correlation	.093
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.070
	N	377
Highest level of education	Pearson Correlation	.102

| | Sig. (2-tailed) | .051 |
| | N | 369 |

**. Correlation is significant
at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Source: Field Data (2019)

4.2.2 Regression analysis

The study carried out logistic regression analysis to determine the influence of media, sources of media preferred, source trusted, influence of media on opinions, extent media shapes opinions, role of media and extent media facilitated peace-building in Kisumu County. Table 4.14 presents the outcomes of the Chi-Square.

Table 4.14: Chi-Square Analysis

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

		Chi-square	df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	31.845	8	.002
	Block	31.845	8	.002
	Model	31.845	8	.002

Source: Field Data (2019)

Table 4.14 provides the Chi-Square goodness of fit test for the regression model. It has a null hypothesis that intercepts and all coefficients are zero. The study can, therefore, reject this null hypothesis since the p-value realized in the study is p= 0.002. This indicates that the intercept and all coefficients are different from zero, confirming that they are statistically significant in the model. This substantiates the significance of the presence of relationship between media influence and peaceful electioneering process in Kenya.

Table 4.15: Model Summary

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	290.350[a]	0.89	0.742

a. Estimation terminated at iteration number 8 because parameter estimates changed by less than .001.

Source: Field Data (2019)

The model summary presented in table 4.15 was realized which contains the Pseudo R^2. The study realized a relatively high-2 log likelihood which is the minimization criterion applied in the model of 290.350. It was observed that Nagelkerke R^2 is 0.742 which indicates that majority (74.2%) of variability in the dependent variable (conduct of electioneering process) is explained by the independent variables in the regression model. Cox & Snell's R^2 provided the nth root with a value 0.89 and, therefore, is interpreted as being 89% probability of the event- peaceful conduct of electioneering process being explained by the logistic model. The logistic model was observed to be as shown in Table 4.16.

Table 4.16: Logistic Regression Model

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1[a]	Age	2.743	0.707	15.063	1	0	15.53
	Gender	0.124	0.648	0.036	1	0.849	1.132
	Education	-0.982	0.527	3.47	1	0.062	0.375
	Status	-2.922	1.031	8.023	1	0.005	0.054
	Preference	0.875	0.369	5.63	1	0.018	2.399
	Period	-1.056	0.469	5.066	1	0.024	0.348
	Trusted	-0.635	0.281	5.105	1	0.024	0.53
	Location	1.427	0.676	4.463	1	0.035	4.168

Constant	-0.653	2.814	0.054	1	0.817	0.521

The study observed that all the independent variables (Age, Gender, level of education, marital status, preferred source of information, duration of stay, trusted source and influence of media on opinions) were all included in the model indicating either positive regression coefficients to indicate that they have influence on the occurrence of peaceful electioneering process. The study observed that most of the factors considered in the model were statistically significant as indicated by p-value/sig. less than 0.05 (age (p=0.00), gender (p=0.849), education p=0.062, marital status p=0.005, preference p=0.018, duration/period (p= 0.024), trusted (p=0.024) and location p=0.035). The study, therefore, observed that age was the most significant effect followed by marital status, preferred source of information, duration of stay and trusted source of information shared same p-value, location of residence, education and then followed by gender. Majority of the regression coefficients indicate that they positively influenced the conduct of peaceful electioneering process. This confirmed that media influences the conduct of electioneering process. However, gender and education show less significance. From the analysis the model extracted was as follows;

$Y = -0.653 + 2.743X_1 + .124X_2 + -.982X_3 + -2.922X_4 + 0.875X_5 + -1.056X_6 + -0.635X_7 + 1.427X_8 + e$

Where Y is the Conduct of peaceful Electioneering Process

X_1 is age

X_2 is gender

X_3 is education

X_4 is status

X_5 is preference

X_6 is period

X_7 is trusted

X_8 is location

Histogram

Dependent Variable: What extent does media shapes your opinion

Mean = -4.45E-18
Std. Dev. = 0.996
N = 360
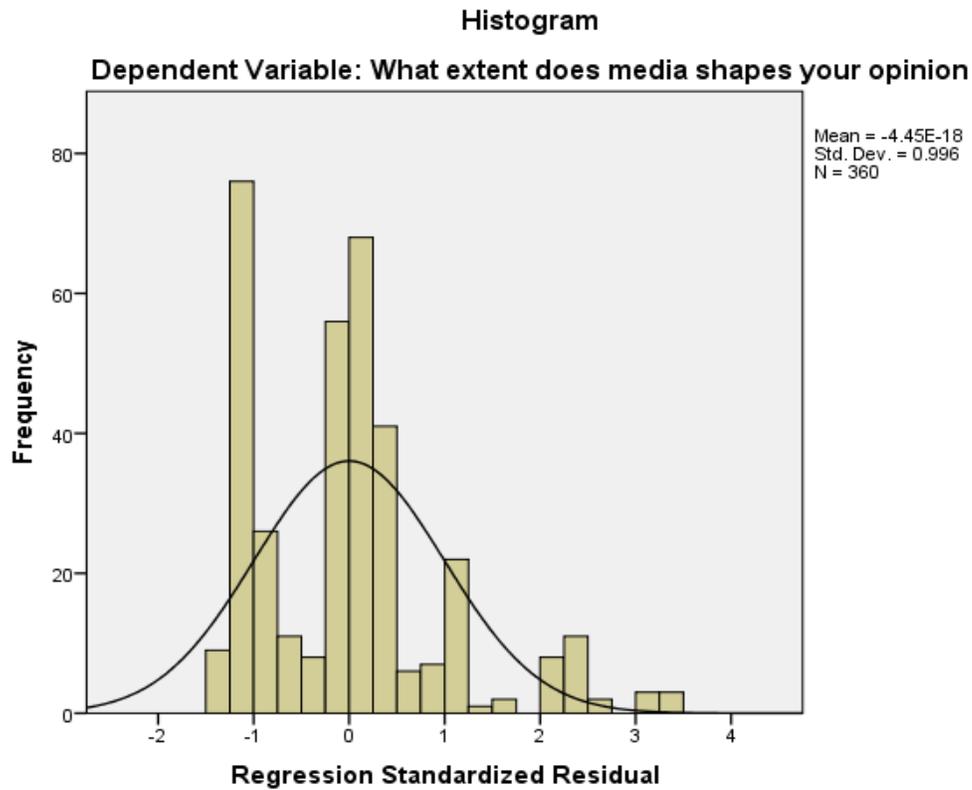
Figure 4.1: Regression standardized Residual

Source: Field Data (2019)

The findings show that there is linear relationship between independent and dependent. Normality has be achieved by the study. The study also confirms that the residuals have given a smooth curve showing that the assumption of normality and relationship of the variables has been met.
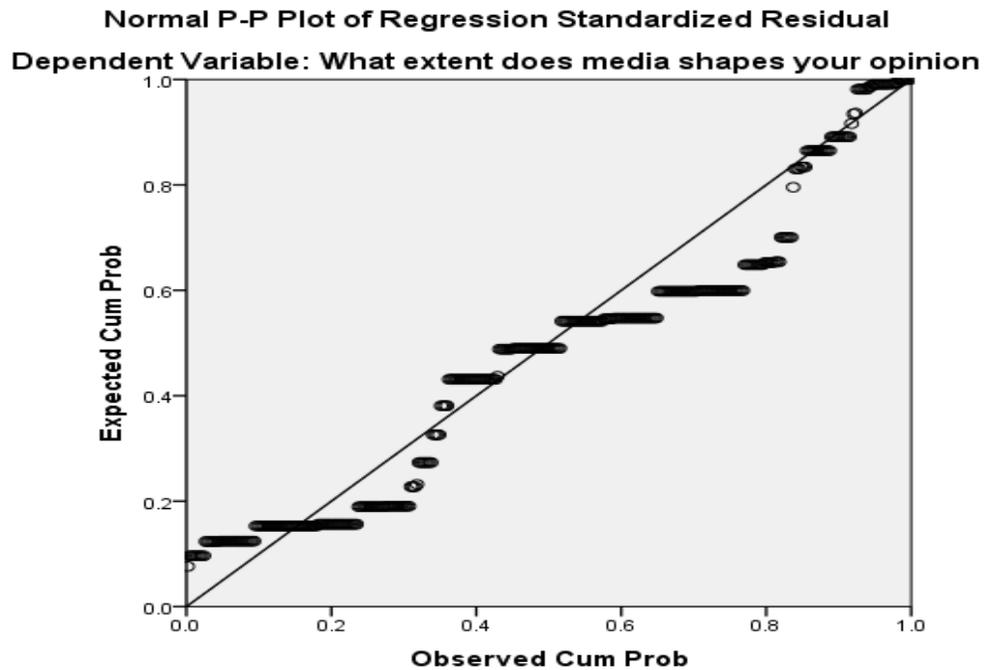
Figure 4.2: Normal p-p plot of Regression Standardized Residual

Source: Field Data (2019)

The findings from figure 4.2 show that there is linear relationship between independent and dependent. Normality has be achieved by the study. The study also confirms that most of the residuals are along the line showing that the assumption of normality has been met.

Table 4.17: Model Summary

Model Summary[b]

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics					Durbin-Watson
					R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change	
1	.254[a]	.065	.053	.45899	.065	5.739	4	332	.000	1.992

a. Predictors: (Constant), Highest level of education, Gender, Marital Status, Age

From the findings on table 4.17, its shows that Durbin- Watson 1.992 reveals the residuals are independent. Checking on the collinearity, the study, therefore, has met the assumption that all the independent variables are not correlated

Table 4.18: ANOVA Media shaping opinions during electioneering process

ANOVA[a]

Model	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	4.836	4	1.209	5.739	.000[b]
Residual	69.942	332	.211		
Total	74.777	336			

Dependent Variable: Does media shapes your opinion during electioneering process

Source: Field Data (2019)

The findings show that media forms and shapes the opinion of what its public hears about a conflict. Based on their experiences, reporters have formed opinions on conflict situations hence influence the way publics perceive and hear about conflict.

Table 4.19: Coefficients Media shaping opinions during electioneering process

Coefficients[a]

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	95.0% Confidence Interval for B		Collinearity Statistics	
	B	Std. Error	Beta			Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Tolerance	VIF
(Constant)	.432	.206		2.095	.037	.026	.837		
Age	.020	.042	.028	.474	.635	-.063	.103	.796	1.25
Gender	.189	.052	.199	3.613	.000	.086	.292	.926	1.08
1 Marital Status	.151	.061	.146	2.464	.014	.030	.272	.803	1.24
Highest level of education	.116	.046	.135	2.506	.013	.025	.207	.969	1.03

Dependent Variable: Does media shapes your opinion during electioneering process

Source: Field Data (2019)

From the findings on Table 4.19, collinearity statistics reveal the independent variables are not multi-collinear. The study, therefore, has met the assumption that all the independent variables are not correlated. From the findings, it is shown that collinearity diagnostic provides there is no multi-collinearity.

Table 4.20: Collinearity Diagnostic

Collinearity Diagnostics[a]

Mo del	Dimensio n	Eigenvalu e	Conditio n Index	Variance Proportions				
				(Constant)	Age	Gender	Marital Status	Highest level of education
	1	4.751	1.000	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
	2	.138	5.860	.00	.19	.39	.03	.01
1	3	.058	9.064	.01	.17	.39	.01	.43
	4	.042	10.683	.00	.60	.03	.64	.05
	5	.011	20.610	.99	.04	.19	.32	.51

Dependent Variable: Does media shapes your opinion during electioneering process

Source: Field Data (2019)

From the findings on Table 4.20, checking on the collinearity diagnostic it reveals that there is no multicollinearity. The study therefore has met the assumption that all the independent variables are not correlated. From the findings, it is shown that collinearity diagnostic provides no multicollinearity.

Table 4.21: Residuals Statistics

Residuals Statistics[a]

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Predicted Value	1.0790	1.6509	1.3323	.11997	337
Std. Predicted Value	-2.111	2.655	.000	1.000	337
Standard Error of Predicted Value	.040	.090	.054	.013	337
Adjusted Predicted Value	1.0815	1.6386	1.3326	.12039	337
Residual	-.51987	.86041	.00000	.45624	337
Std. Residual	-1.133	1.875	.000	.994	337
Stud. Residual	-1.143	1.897	.000	1.001	337
Deleted Residual	-.52976	.88119	-.00030	.46282	337
Stud. Deleted Residual	-1.144	1.905	.001	1.002	337
Mahal. Distance	1.552	12.019	3.988	2.458	337
Cook's Distance	.000	.017	.003	.003	337
Centered Leverage Value	.005	.036	.012	.007	337

Dependent Variable: Does media shapes your opinion during electioneering process

Source: Field Data (2019)

From Table 4.21, the findings show that the maximum value of Mahal Distance is 11.629 while Cook's Distance is 0.077. The maximum value for Mahal Distance according to critical value is 7.81(95%) hence any value greater than 7.81 was considered as outliers. The findings also reveal that any value greater than 1 for the Cook's was removed.
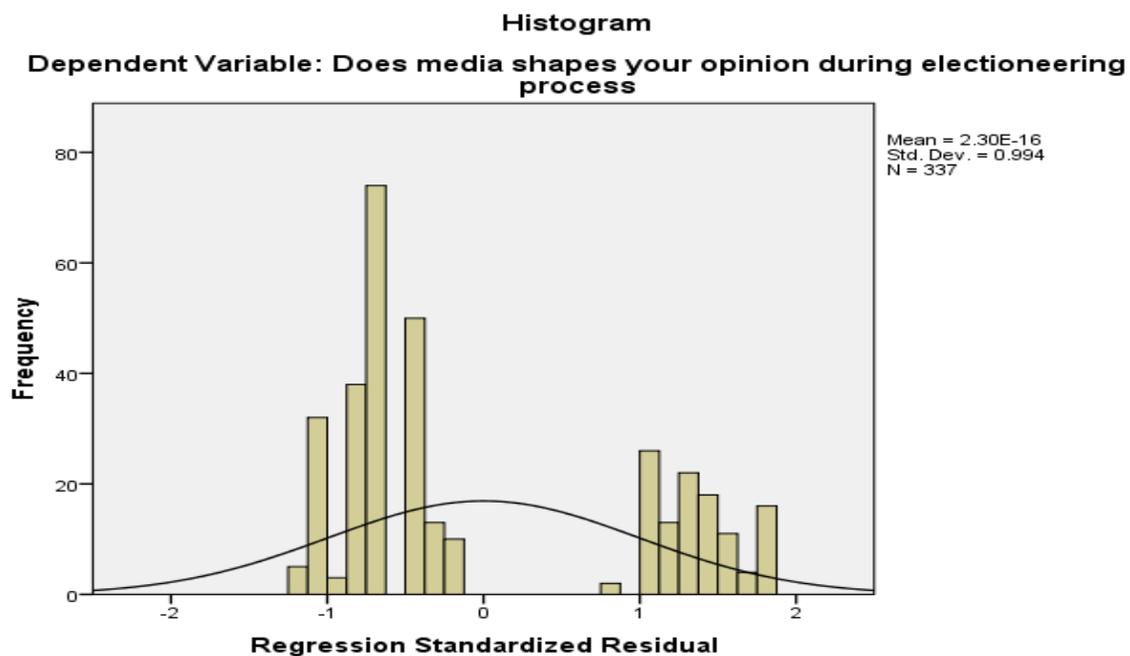
Figure 4.3: Regression Standardized Residual for media shaping opinions
Source: Field Data (2019)

The findings on Figure 4.3 show that there is linear relationship between independent

and dependent. Normality has been achieved by the study. The study also confirms that

the residuals have a smooth curve showing that the assumption of normality has been

met.

Table 4.22: Model Summary on media role in peace-building

Model Summary[b]

| Model | R | R Square | Adjusted R Square | Std. Error of the Estimate | Change Statistics | | | | | Durbin-Watson |
					R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change	
1	.210[a]	.044	.033	.21141	.044	3.983	4	346	.004	2.146

a. Predictors: (Constant), Highest level of education, Gender, Marital Status, Age

b. Dependent Variable: Does media has a role to play in peace-building
Source: Field Data (2019)

From Table 4.22 the study findings reveal that the residuals, Durbin-Watson (2.146) are independent of each other.

Table 4.23: ANOVA Media role in peace-building

ANOVA[a]

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	.712	4	.178	3.983	.004[b]
	Residual	15.465	346	.045		
	Total	16.177	350			

a. Dependent Variable: Do media has a role to play in peace-building

b. Predictors: (Constant), Highest level of education, Gender, Marital Status, Age

Source: Field Data (2019)

Table 4.24: Collinearity Diagnostic on Media role in peace-building

Collinearity Diagnostics[a]

Model	Dimension	Eigenvalue	Condition Index	Variance Proportions				
				(Constant)	Age	Gender	Marital Status	Highest level of education
1	1	4.753	1.000	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
	2	.138	5.859	.00	.19	.40	.02	.00
	3	.057	9.166	.01	.17	.36	.02	.45
	4	.041	10.734	.00	.59	.04	.65	.03
	5	.011	20.611	.99	.05	.20	.30	.51

a. Dependent Variable: Do media has a role to play in peace-building

Source: Field Data (2019)

The study findings in Tables 4.23 & 4.24 on the regression analysis of the correlation among independents show that there is no correlation of independent variables hence the study affirms that there is no multi-collinearity. The assumption has been met from the findings that there is no correlation between independent variables.

Table 4.25: Residuals Statistics on media role on peace-building

Residuals Statistics[a]

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Predicted Value	.9603	1.1646	1.0484	.04510	351
Std. Predicted Value	-1.953	2.576	.000	1.000	351
Standard Error of Predicted Value	.018	.040	.025	.006	351
Adjusted Predicted Value	.9596	1.1703	1.0485	.04545	351
Residual	-.16463	.94678	.00000	.21020	351
Std. Residual	-.779	4.478	.000	.994	351
Stud. Residual	-.792	4.502	.000	1.001	351
Deleted Residual	-.17031	.95675	-.00002	.21314	351
Stud. Deleted Residual	-.792	4.633	.006	1.026	351
Mahal. Distance	1.508	11.629	3.989	2.475	351
Cook's Distance	.000	.077	.003	.011	351
Centered Leverage Value	.004	.033	.011	.007	351

Dependent Variable: Do media has a role to play in peace-building

Source: Field Data (2019)

From Table 4.25, the findings show that the maximum value of Mahal Distance is 11.629 while Cook's Distance is 0.077. The maximum value for Mahal Distance

106

according to critical value is 7.81(95%) hence any value greater than 7.81 was considered as outliers. The findings also reveal that any value greater than 1 for the Cook's was removed.

Table 4.26: Model Summary on media escalating violence

Model Summary[b]

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change	Durbin-Watson
					Change Statistics					
1	.193[a]	.037	.026	.49254	.037	3.268	4	337	.012	2.272

a. Predictors: (Constant), Highest level of education, Gender, Marital Status, Age

Dependent Variable: Does media escalate violence during electioneering process

Source: Field Data (2019)

The Table 4.26 findings show that Durbin- Watson 2.272 reveals the residuals are independent. The study, therefore, has met the assumption that all the independent variables are not correlated.

Table 4.27: Collinearity Diagnostic on media escalating violence

Collinearity Diagnostics[a]

Model	Dimensio	Eigenvalue	Conditio	Variance Proportions

	n		n Index	(Constant)	Age	Gender	Marital Status	Highest level of education
	1	4.751	1.000	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
	2	.139	5.840	.00	.20	.39	.02	.00
1	3	.057	9.096	.01	.14	.35	.03	.44
	4	.041	10.777	.00	.61	.06	.64	.03
	5	.011	20.722	.99	.04	.20	.30	.53

a. Dependent Variable: Does media escalate violence during electioneering process

Source: Field Data (2019)

From the findings in Table 4.27, testing the relationship between media escalating violence based on age, gender, marital status and educational level, the study found out that there is no multi-collinearity. The collinearity diagnostic shows that there is no relationship between the independent variables. The study, therefore, confirms that the assumption has been met that there was no correlation between the independent variables. The study, hence confirms that independent variables affects dependent variable independently.

Table 4.28: Residuals Statistics on Media escalating violence

Residuals Statistics[a]

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Predicted Value	1.2601	1.6961	1.4591	.09643	400
Std. Predicted Value	-2.063	2.458	.000	1.000	400
Standard Error of Predicted Value	.042	.094	.058	.014	400
Adjusted Predicted Value	1.2693	1.7198	1.4595	.09647	400
Residual	-.69605	.69095	.00000	.48965	400
Std. Residual	-1.413	1.403	.000	.994	400

Stud. Residual	-1.437	1.417	.000	1.001	400
Deleted Residual	-.71983	.70530	-.00039	.49672	400
Stud. Deleted Residual	-1.439	1.419	.000	1.002	400
Mahal. Distance	1.542	11.510	3.988	2.486	400
Cook's Distance	.001	.014	.003	.002	400
Centered Leverage Value	.005	.034	.012	.007	400

Dependent Variable: Does media escalate violence during electioneering process

Source: Field Data (2019)

From the Table 4.28, the findings show that the maximum value of Mahal Distance is 11.510 while Cook's Distance is 0.014. The maximum value for Mahal Distance according to critical value is 7.81(95%) hence any value greater than 7.81 was considered as outliers. The findings also reveal that any value greater than 1 for the Cook's was removed.
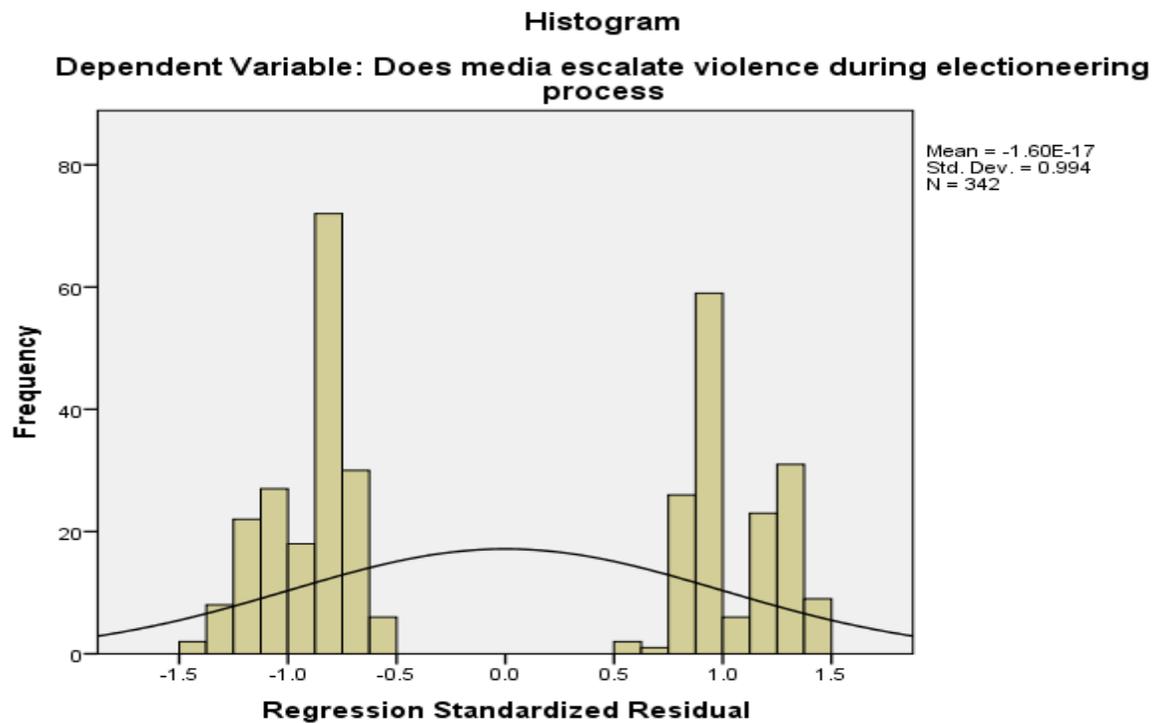
Figure 4.4: Regression Standardized Residual on media escalating violence

From Figure 4.3, the study show that there is a linear relationship between the dependent and independent variables. The study, therefore, confirm that the normality assumption has been met. The findings also show that there is no multi-collinearity of the variables.

4.3 Discussion of Results

From the study findings, most of the respondents believe that electioneering processes are in away influenced by the media in their coverage and reporting during the electioneering process. Most of the respondents blamed the media for the recurrence of post-election violence in that, the announced results were contrary to what the opinion polls had been showing and also what the voters expected due to the media influence. Media coverage and reporting also rose political temperatures through the opinion polls and captured the minds of voters towards a specific outcome thus triggering violence. Media reporting and coverage portrayed that a particular political party was winning, but when the contrary happened, violence erupted.

The study findings from document analysis according to Barry (2014) states that the five last opinion polls portrayed by the media in Kenya before 2007 general elections had authoritatively placed Raila Odinga of ODM as Kenya's preferred presidential candidate and that he was leading in 6 provinces out of 8 in Kenya and ODM as the most popular political party in Kenya. After the cast and counting process, media portrayed Raila Odinga was leading with a vast margin with more than 1 million votes in the first and second days of counting but the counting process stopped thereafter prompting Kenyans to become suspicious and believe that election was being stolen. Three days after before the announcement of the results, 6 provinces which media depicted ODM was luckily to

win started demonstration and destruction of properties with claims that election was being stolen, (Barry, 2014). This situation escalated and conflicts broke in many parts of the country leading to displacement and deaths of innocent Kenyans who were killed or murdered.

As such, voters and especially those supporting Raila had been made to believe that their candidate was a head of the race hence would not take anything less than a win. Any change in the numbers of people in favour of Kibaki was, therefore, taken as an absolute rigging and the only way out was to retaliate with violence towards the supporters of the incumbent to relingush power owing to the escalation of suffering of his supporters. There is a clear relationship between media influence and electioneering process which was brought out similarly to the findings of Stefan & Roxana (2012).

Kenya has experienced violence in most parts of the country and scholars have attributed most of it to media and election with early reporting, polls and coverage attempting to predict which political party is likely to win the General Elections leading to flare-ups (David, 2013). The Turkana for example, supported the CORD party during 2013 general elections while their neighbor Borana wanted the Jubilee party to win. The Trukana thought they had an edge over Borana since the media were all portraying CORD party was leading in all opinion polls thus would win general election (David, 2013). As a result, the Borana feared their rival's acquisition of power once a government was in place fearing being displaced from their ancestral land. The conflict therefore, erupted as each side pre-emptied power struggle.

From the study findings, media coverage, reporting, partisan and unprofessionalism contributed to PEV in Kenya in 2007. This is clearly indicated by the big number of

respondents who expressed their approval although a few of them disapproved and others were neutral. Most of the respondents agreed that bias reporting, coverage and partisan of media houses or journalists contributed to election violence, presentation of unverified political polls was approved as an influence on electioneering process by escalating violence revealing that media influence contributed towards PEV in 2007. Majority of respondents, however, indicated that media fairness and independence in reporting and coverage of 2013 general election led to peaceful electioneering process.

Despite media coverage, reporting and partisan politics being found to have direct influence on the conduct of electioneering process in Kenya, they were not the only factors influencing the conduct of electioneering process but rather they acted as triggers to the other factors. From the findings, it is evident that other factors contributed to conflicts during election electioneering process in Kenya- including statements by politicians, unemployment among youths, corruption in the body mandated to conduct election exercise, negative ethnicity, incitement to violence by leaders and failure to accept results, illiteracy and bribery since many youths are unemployed and are idle thus paid to cause chaos, hatred between ethnic communities, rigging claims and ethnic imbalance in distribution of resources. When respondents were asked to offer recommendations on how to solve the conflict issues during electioneering process, the media should try and visit the grounds in which the conflict occurred and also give prominence to the issue at hand. This will cut down the biased reporting as they will be able to determine the importance of this matter.

Historically, information technology advance has influenced the strategy of leaders, and the way in which wars have been fought. The increasing use of digital media by states and the general public affords state actors and leaders' new abilities to more precisely

and quickly communicate, and respond to citizens during conflicts. Entman (1993; cited in Norris *et al*., 2003) argue that framing occurs when the media make some aspects of a particular issue more prominent to promote a "certain problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and treatment recommendation" Schramm (1993) suggests that journalists' own attitude and approach to conflict is also crucial to how they report it.

The 1992 era marked the turning point for the press freedom. KBC was still a government propaganda tool and introduction of new radio and television media was meant to bring a new beginning. After the 1992 elections, a frustrated management seemed to say that if it could not control the news that came out of KTN they would scrap local programmes all together seeing as KBC did a lot of that already. KBC didn't change how they covered and reported by the time of 1992 elections. KBC was silent on many political violence and only favored the government. The media in 1992 did not contribute directly to the violence after the elections because the only media then were state owned KBC and KTN. Media was still under government and there were stories that were not allowed to be aired for fear of victimization.

The 1997 general elections was an improvement of 1992 elections. Though ethnicity still played a key in the violence and politics media remained a bit neutral and independent. This also show growth of print and electronic media. During the 1997 elections, media also faced intimidations and assault of journalists. According to an FGD;

> The media influence in the violence of 2007/2008 did bring a lot of
> questions with regards to incitement to violence and spreading of
> hate speech that only aggravated an already dire situation. Four
> people were accused of using media to incite citizens and promote

violence. For example journalist Joshua Sang was accused for using media influence in his radio station through vernacular languages to spread hate speech. Liberalization of the media led to abuse of journalistic powers and poor regulation that led to politicians and elites manipulating media thus violence erupted (FGD with Peace committee members, held at Kibuye Market, 30/03/2019).

The entire electioneering process was characterized by hate speech and incitement to violence. The manner in which SMS, blogs, newsletters leaflets and many newspapers presented the outcome and information, promoted violence, according to the foregoing evidence.

Fellow Kenyans, the Kikuyus (Kenyan tribe) have stolen our children's future. Hope of removing them through the ballot has been stolen. We must deal with them the way they understand, violence. We must dominate them. We say no more innocent Kikuyu blood will be shed. We will slaughter them right here in the capital city. For justice, compile a list of Luos and Kalenjin you know at work or in your estates, or elsewhere in Nairobi, plus where and how their children go to school. We will give you numbers to text this information. (Media script, retrieved 29/03/2019).

The findings from an FGD reveal that:

Modern technology has given rise to many media and citizen journalism where everyone can get access to information through internet. The way media operated in 2013 general elections led to independence of media amidst claims of rigging. Though it also faced violence, but the media remained independent and highlighted the injustices and covered the elections fairly. (Interview with Victims of PEV FGDs, Sondu Market 27/03/2019).

Thus, the past two decades witnessed liberalization of the media in Kenya. The early 1990s was an era marked by intimidation and arrest of members of the fourth estate who dared criticize the government. During the multiparty politics, both print and electronic

media increased in number. Political class used the media to further their agendas during electioneering process while KANU used the state owned media to spread the propaganda of the government. However, there was no regulatory body to look at the conduct and control of the media thus it was an avenue for incitement. After the 2007/2008 elections, the government set up a regulatory body to make media houses responsible and accountable for any news transmitted. This growth and development of media industry led to proper regulation that yielded peaceful electioneering process in 2013 compared to 2007/2008 and 2017 electioneering process.

During the interview with a key informant, explicitly, a key informant claimed that;

> Media used words and agendas that elicited hatred and aggravated violence against some communities (Interview with a key informant, Peace coordinator at ICSS, 29/03/2019).

This was supported by the findings from media practitioners and security analysts who opined that, most politicians used local stations to spread hate speech as they portray ethnicity and societies will not reject what their political elites say

The findings from interview reveal that, there are conflicting perceptions. State security officers believed that broadcasting could have encouraged publicity during 2007/2008 electioneering process whereas media specialists denied arguing that they reported truthfully the actual situations on the ground during violence. These findings corroborate with the results of KNCHR (2008b) report on Kenya PEV.

Findings on age factor show that a number of respondents held that media has low influence as regards to their age, medium influence and high influence. Nevertheless, cross-tabulation analysis between age factor influence and age distribution reveals that

youths are more influenced 18-35years 79(20.2%) and 36-45years 226(56.5%). Likewise, cross-tabulation between age factor and gender reveals that males (55.5%) are more influenced by media than their counterparts' females. While universities in Kenya produce about 42,000 graduates each year, only 150,000 jobs were created since 2003 (GoK, 2008). This also supports the cross-tabulation analysis between respondent's level of education and age factor, which showed that majority of those influenced were secondary and college/university graduates.

Gender is an essential component of any social-cultural analysis of conflict. This might be linked to cultural dynamics that influence the relationship between male and female in society. Women are marginalized in political and economic processes although they are the majority (GoK, 2008). Therefore, media coverage and reporting on important national issues might not significantly influence females as their male counterparts.

Findings on the status factor reveal that 45 % of respondents said low influence, 20% medium influence and 45.1% high influence. The findings show that 52.3% of respondents agreed that media has low influence based on their residence, 14.8% medium influence and 32.9% high influence hence low media influence. This also supports respondents' response to residence factor revealing low influence. This can be attributed to varied demographic characteristics between respondents. The correlation between the human factors shows that there existed strong positive correlation of 0.499 between age factor and gender factor and a weak positive correlation of 0.155 between residence and status, all statistically significant at 95% confidence level. It also shows a weak, negative correlation of -0.011 between age and status. Thus other correlations were not significant.

The findings reveal that media coverage and reporting on electioneering process positively influence listeners based on their age and gender. Likewise, interviews with media practitioners, security specialists and FGDs support the same findings. They both concurred that media could influence people mostly based on their age, gender and ethnicity.

The study, therefore, confirms that voters like media favoring their ethnic candidate. Voters hated and dismissed stations that trailed their candidate. Wolf (2009) confirms the deep entrenched ethnic loyalty in Kenyan politics where he claims that "widespread perception, reflecting a history of both blatant and subtle use of state and 'shadow – state' power, that even the most established professionals in Kenya are sometimes unable to resist the pressures of ethnic loyalty or the lure of financial gain, let alone direct threats. In the context of such a highly polarized political contest, therefore, such assumptions are bound to affect the media credibility no matter what results they produce".

The media plays a very key role in the political direction of a country, and the Kenyan media has been very vocal. When giving his remarks during the Waki Commission, Dr. Ndemo-the then Communication Principal Secretary observed that some media took advantage of the absence of regulatory and legislative framework and began to "operate freely and sometimes recklessly and irresponsibly" including using individuals who were not trained journalists (Ochieng, 2007). The study, therefore, confirms the influence of media coverage on the conduct of electioneering process.

The media used the special opportunities to work towards peace and reconciliation in Colombia so that people could obtain truth and reparation in relation to violations

(Gopin, 2001). Observers provide physical presence that is intended to discourage violence, corruption and human rights violations in Sudan (Williams, 2007). Smith (2010, observes that media with willingness have gone beyond responding to effects of conflicts and have advocated and agitated for peace. Given the need for peace-building in Kenya after 2007, Nasongo *et al., (2009),* raised the question, "Are forgiveness and amnesty a panacea to Kenya's post conflict crisis?"

The findings of the study reveal that the media plays a very critical role in the life of all human societies. The media provides the conduit necessary for all kinds of communication that helps societies exist and function. Thus at election time, it is imperative that the media afford public all necessary information in a manner that avoids conflicts. The media plays the watchdog role when they expose errors of commission or omission by those in power in their pursuit to cling to power at all cost. The media can alert citizens to electoral malpractices so that these may be rectified. The media can expose schemes to disadvantage those outside the corridors of power.

An interview with an IEBC official from Nyakach revealed that:

> The media can expose manipulation of citizens through bribes and other malpractices that can lead to disqualifications. IEBC Voter education is important for the new, complex ballot and educating Kenyans about post-election phase of devolution (Interview with IEBC official from Nyakach Sub-County office, 4/04/2019).

As such, the media has the ability to explain to the electorate, in clear and simple language, national and universal pieces of legislation and other regulations governing the proper conduct of democratic elections. Therefore, the media need to explain to citizenry the importance of their participation and involvement in all aspects of governance systems such as voting. The media in its agenda-setting role, can provide

diverse view points and unbiased information, offer debate forum involving citizens and the civil society.

4.4 Chapter Summary

The study found that the majority of the respondents were youths ranging from 18-45 years. These are most active members of the society and means of production. The study revealed that gender was represented 222(57.5%) were male while 164(42.5%) were female. The study found that majority of the respondents were married 307(76.8%), 62(15.5%) single while 22(5.5%) divorced. This indicated that majority had family responsibilities. The study further revealed that both respondents were drawn from Kisumu Central 207(51.8%) and Nyakach 192(48.0%). The findings revealed that majority of respondents had lived in the study area for over 15years 2014(51%), 10-15 years 105(28.8%).

The study further found that, majority of respondents had post primary education thus had knowledge, could write and understand the questions posed. 248(62.0%) had college/ university education while 125(31.3%) had secondary education. Education was found to have greater implications of the livelihoods of the residents. The study found the most preferred source of information was radio 136(34.0%) followed closely by internet 115(28.8%) and television 110(27.5%). This was attributed to the fact that radio has higher penetration to the local areas, cheap and vernacular stations. Television was preferred because of the photos and live coverage while internet provided faster news which are not monitored or controlled.

Television was found to be the most trusted source as it provided photos, live coverage and visuals of the events. Majority of the respondents agreed that media shapes their opinion 251 (62.8%) while a few disagreed 135(33.6%).

The study further found the media influence the opinions of people to a large extent 194(48.5%), very large extent 133(33.3%) while only a few said very small extent 28(7.0%). This meant that there is high level of trust on media information, coverage and reporting hence influencing perceptions and opinions. Majority of respondents agreed that media played a role in peace-building 377(94.2%) while only 23(5.8%) disagreed. This showed that media stations mostly the local FM played a role in cultivating peace.

When the correlation and regression was conducted, the study found that there is high significance relationship between the independent and dependent variables thereby confirming linear relationship. The study found that media role during electioneering process is twofold depending on how it is used. Media can enhance peace when it is used objectively and maintain their watchdog and social responsibility role while it can be used for violence when manipulated by the government or political leaders.

The findings further reveal that the news media have become the central arena for transmitting conflicts today. Therefore, the study conclude that, media is a double edged sword that can influence both peace and conflict. And, that there is another perspective that media is useful in contributing towards peace building initiatives in places where people have experienced conflicts. Reporting and interpreting conflict through the ideological lens of the media owners and those who control it distorts information and undermines the critical role the media ought to play in international peace and security.

This could explain the fact on the ground concerning a body of opinion which holds the view that while private media is perceived as free and independent, the ownership and vested interests for which they hold brief manage public opinion through influencing reportage.

According to the respondents, the media have influence on their opinions and voting pattern. There are cases where some politicians would collude with the media owners and bribe the voters. The public tend to be swayed and believe what the media is saying. Such biased media houses or journalists are taken advantage of by politicians thus causing erroneous effect on the public opinion.

The role of media does not happen in vacuum because individuals receive information from the media and share it with friends thus opinions are formed along the way. Generally, media publicizes opinions that are acceptable. Dissemination of political information by politicians is therefore, made possible and as a result this information has effect on large population. The next chapter, Chapter Five, offers data analysis and presentation for the second objective (causes and types of conflicts during electioneering process in Kisumu County) analyzed based on the various measures of the study objective as captured in the conceptual model.

CHAPTER FIVE

CAUSES AND TYPES OF CONFLICTS DURING ELECTIONEERING PROCESS IN KISUMU COUNTY

This chapter mainly endeavored to examine knowledge on the causes and types of conflicts during electionneering process on the foundation of inferential statistics of data and particularly regression analysis. The subjective responses on discontinuous scale like yes or no responses are first analyzed descriptively before embarking on other procedures. The main connection the study tries to examine is between causes and types of conflicts and electioneering process; actors involved in conflicts and the degree to which respondents concurred or opposed that media has covered the conflicts. This chapter also end with chpater summary.

5.1.1 Causes of conflicts during electioneering process in kisumu County

The study sought to establish the major causes of conflicts during electioneering process in Kisumu County since 1992. The findings of the study are as presented in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Causes of conflicts during electioneering process in Kisumu County

Causes	Frequency	Percent
Socio-economic	211	51%
Political and institutional	157	39%
Resource and environmental	47	11%
Total	415	100%

Source: Field Data (2019

From Table 5.1, the study reveals that the major causes of conflict in Kisumu County is socio-economic factors 211(51%), political and institutional factors 157(39%) while resource and environmental factor 47(11%). The study, therefore, shows that socio-economic dynamics are the major instigate of clashes as majority of people are unemployed and poor thus could be easily manipulated. A total of respondents (67%) mentioned historical injustices and electoral issues as the major cause of conflicts. The study also reveals that political conflicts only occur during electioneering process as people have mentality of win and support of one dominant political party. The study further found out that the political culture of the community lead to conflict.

These results of the study corroborate the findings of the following scholars; the aggressive type of political matters such as election in East Africa States is declared to be a big trigger of conflict. The link between politics and media is one of the significant subjects that have caused intensifications of clash in Africa. Various political factions may utilize the media to hype bloc's misinformation in order to be the victor in election (Stremlau & Price, 2009, p.8). In the case of Kenya, FM stations was greatly incriminated in furthering brutality. Especially, talk shows that allowed the deposition of

radical sentimentalities. The formation of mother tongue media in Kenya is as a consequence of aiming ethno-political societies. The mother tongue media have been exploited as a device for ethnic armament whereby leaders utilized them for reason of political power. These results are in tandem with Ogola (2011) who opined that, some politicians own media houses or stations, hire reporters based on their mother tongue proficiency but not on expertise and trained. The way the political leaders utilize media to disseminate political issues has caused conflict in Kenya (Stremlau and Price, 2009). Culture was mentioned as a cause of conflict as alluded by most respondents to be the order of political wrangles in Kenya. Consequently, leaders are elected based on their culture and where they come from. This was supported by an interview by former South West Nyakach MCA who stated that:

> For instance, Kikuyu political leaders barely be voted for in this region that Luos occupy, dominant and so on. We only elect our members of the Luo community. (Interview with MCA Nyakach held at Travellers Hotel, Katito. 7/04/2019).

For Kenyan media, there is a great relationship between performance of media and ethnic faction it work for. Ogola (2011) opined that, there is bourgeoning of mother tongue media houses to expedite the ethno-political societies. This shows that media and political beliefs are influential elements within the society. Ogola (2011) further noted that in emerging democratic system, political views are significant for the existence of which by the end of the day, it creates tension recurrently. Nevertheless, this study argues that candidates and media have the accountability to ensure that whatsoever news that is publicized via the media should not trigger disturbance to the community.

Wamwere (2003) argued that involvement of reporter in presenting ethnic communication and contribute to misinterpretation. In generality, Wamwere (2003)

contends that African reporters play significant part in spreading destructive cutlures. According to Some (2008), inflexible struggle for inadequate financial prospects was one of the main reasons that promoted the 2007/08 post-election violence in Kisumu County.

Several conflicts have risen in Kenya with their main cause as ethnic disagreements or ethnic inclination. The concept of ethnicity occurs when people's needs and interests are solved or addressed based on tribal inclinations. When conflicts arise from ethnic differences they are driven by non-fulfillment or threats to the fulfillment of basic needs (Kelman, 1996). In Kenya, ethnicity is being used by many people as their form of identity and influences a lot of things like politics. It is a cause of distrust and mistrust between communities. Many stereotypes have come out of ethnicity leading to different strains of conflicts.

The findings reveal that historical injustices have been one of the underlying factors behind many conflicts in Kenya and especially along Nyakach border. The definition of boundaries and land allocation done in the periods before and after colonialism in Kenya were not done in a manner that had a lot of bias. These biases and favoritism have gone down in history and have been seen as sources of major conflicts in regards to land conflict. Intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic clashes are very common due to scarcity of land and boundaries that are not well defined. Disputes related to boundaries and land ownership become hard to resolve when they arise (Njuguna *et al*., 2004).

Nyukuri (2008), found out that many Land conflicts in Kenya are as a result of disputes that result from poor systems. Most of the land conflicts actually have been seen to be confined within other forms of conflict or disagreements. In the case of Mt. Elgon

conflict, this can be seen through looking at the disagreements between the Mosop and Soy out of poor land ownership structures. In the study area, land conflicts between Nyakach and Kipsigis is evidently along the border lines. Majority of these clashes are characterized by the abuse of electoral authority for selfish gains, by way of actual benefaction contacts. Nyukuri (2008) further argues that land conflicts in Kenya have historical background causes. These include colonial territorial administration, tensions in land tenure systems, inequality and competition in land allocation, environmental stresses and eviction and political asymmetry. Kamoet (2011) and HRW (2011), "indicated that the land conflict in Mount Elgon region commenced with the state endeavor in 1971 to relocate the Ndorobo in Chepyuk settlement scheme".

The relocation processes was not finalized steering clashes among the Ndorobo and Soy clans of the Sabaot society as both demanding proprietorship to the settlement scheme. The terrestrial distribution methods were flawed with bribery among land agents, interfering by the local candidates and disappointment by the leadership to accelerate the relocation procedure and provision of land title deeds (Simiyu, 2008; Kamoet, 2011: HRW, 2008; HRW, 2011). For example, in 1993, "Chepyuk III was set aside for relocation 1, 732 family unit who would each obtain 2-hectare plots. Nevertheless, the procedure was never accelerated causing biased falsification of the relocation process by the local politicians. After the state reassessed the matter in 2005, the number of claimants had amplified to 7,000.

The findings show that politics based along ethnic lines is a main instigate of clashes in Kenya. Most people in the study area depend on one major political party which is based on ethnic affiliations. Majority align themselves to the dominant political party. This finding is supported by Miguel (2004) who opined that, since independence, politics in

Kenya have been propelled by ethnic affiliations. Politics in Kenya is high rewarding and has led to many people entering into it. There is a mentality of 'winner takes it all' so people believe that if one wins, one gets everything so no one wants to be left aside. Politics has also been abused by many players. It has led to a lot of violence, crime, robbery of land and misappropriation of public wherewithal.

When one hold a public office in Kenya, one is considered an elite and has access to any of the public resources and opportunity to public position is viewed as a channel of political exclusive to get into public funds and prospects for greed (Njuguna *et al*., 2004). Most of the conflicts in Kenya have been revolving around abuse of power no matter how they manifest themselves. This assertion is supported by Wanyande (1996) who claimed that, one cannot assume that all of these conflicts are simply ethnic based or because of clan and religious issues. An interview with Luo council of Elders at West Nyakach on 4/04/2019 confirmed that:

> Political conflicts in Nyanza started way back in the 1970s when Jaramogi Oginga differed and drifted with Kenyatta. When Kenyatta came to Kisumu to open Nyanza General Hospital and a rotten eggs was thrown to him, this led to shooting and killing of many people (Interview with Luo council of Elders held at Urudi, Pap Onditi on 4/04/2019).

This finding was supported by Njuguna *et al* 2004 who claimed that; "At this point the hatred between Luos and Kikuyus heightened and aggravated till now". From the findings, it could be debated that amalgamation of factors such as culture, political and socioeconomic "Factors such as culture, politics, external intervention, socio-economic, and dysfunctional governance would also explain the inter-state conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia that occurred in 1998 (Jhazbhay, 2008: 15)".

On the contrary, according to Okoth (2012:12), post-conflict elections signify a stage for the demonstration of citizens' political choices, and they are a symbol of lawfulness for the use of authority. It stipulate advantaged prospect for healthful and tranquil public political discussion, denoted by regard for diverse views and distinct political alliances. Paraphrasing Pope Benedict XVI, Okoth (2012:12) states that if done justly, elections call forward and inspire genuine and effective involvement by people in political and social life.

The study results agree with the findings by Khadiagala *et al.* (2010:3) findings who argued that post conflict elections are intended to expedite, or to signify an end to intrastate battles. Instances of elections thrive, consist of those as shown in Malawi, Zanzibar, Kenya, Nigeria and the much disputed 1996 and the 1996 Sierra Leone elections, and the 1995 Guatemalan elections and 1997 Bosnian elections. Whereas not sternly post-conflict elections, the 1994 South African elections and the 1995 elections in the West Bank and Gaza share many of the features of post-election conflicts.

These findings were further supported by Neil and David (2014) who found out that some politicians are capable to appraise their reputation earlier to an election via media, and the greatest forthright electoral danger to the politicians is disclosed by consistent public opinion polls indicating that politicians with strong following is not the most popular, which leads them to sponsoring manipulated opinion polls to maintain the popular tag, a key contributor to the occurrence of election violence. Neil and David (2014) further found out that instances where polls reveal that the incumbent is popular, aggressive falsification tactics are not observed and therefore the occurrence of election violence is dependent on the person favoured in the opinion polls.

The findings of the study reveals that Kisumu County has had a long history of conflicts as supported by Oucho (2002), who traces the Luo and Agikuyu ethnic rivalry to 5th July 1969, when Tom Mboya, Kenya's illustrious politician was shot dead on a Nairobi street. The act sparked off ethnic violence between Luo nation and Agikuyu nation. As people of Luo community evicted the members of the Agikuyu population in urban areas within Luo land, the Agikuyu community in and around Nairobi, using their numerical advantage, attacked the Luo community who escaped the city and its enivirons. The study shows that ethnicity as an identity is cited as the major cause of conflict in Kisumu County and its borders. For instance, Kisumu city which has a multi-ethnic population consisting of Luo, Agikuyu, Kalenjin, Abagusii and other smaller ethnic groups has seen tensions rise since re-introduction of multi-party politics in Kenya in 1992 (IDMC, 2006).

The study shows that conflicts arise due to various reasons. Electoral injustices and rejection of results lead to conflicts. Ethnicity is also another factor that could lead to ethnic conflict. Dominant ethnic communities that seek to impose their rule over the weaker ethnic communities could lead to ethnic conflict where the smaller ethnic groups seek equal distribution of resources and power. Power of wherewithal is also a key cause of clash in Kisumu County. Valuable resources like water, land, territory, among others, are major source of inter-ethnic and intrastate conflicts.

From the views of the respondents, some of the additional aspects that may have furthered clashes during electioneering process in Kenya according to them are: hate speeches, propaganda, corruption by the electoral body, negative ethnicity, incitement to violence by leaders and failure to accept results, illiteracy and bribery since many youths

were paid to cause chaos, rigging claims, unemployment leading to idleness, lack of resources and unfair distribution.

5.1.2 Types of conflicts experienced in Kisumu County since 1992

The study aimed at investigating types of conflicts experienced in Kisumu County since 1992. The findings are shown in Figure 5.1.
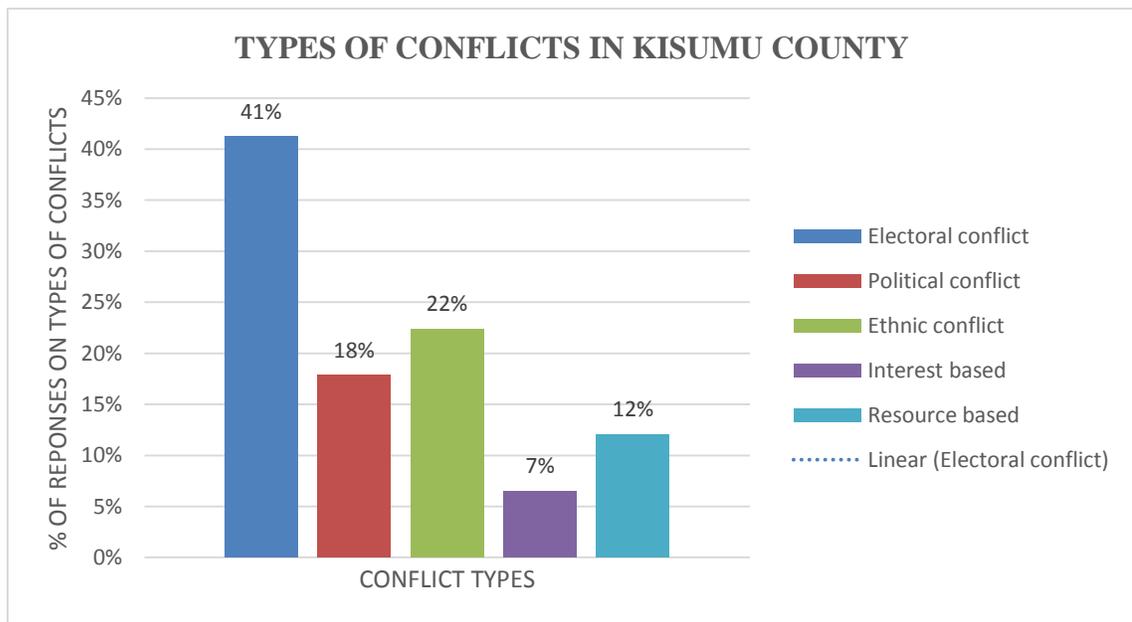
Figure 5.1. Types of conflicts experienced in Kisumu County since 1992
Source: Field Data (2019)

From Figure 5.1, it is evident that electoral conflict constituted (41%), political conflict (18%), ethnic conflict (22%), resource based conflict (12%) while interest based conflict constituted 7%. These findings show that Kisumu County is prone to electoral conflict mostly followed closely by ethnic conflict. Ethnic conflict is attributed to the borders of Kisumu and Kericho and Nandi. This is due to the high rates of cattle rustling and natural resources like boundaries and water. The findings reveal that electoral conflicts are mostly associated with the claims of rigging, poor electoral management and unfair

coverage of events during casting and counting of ballots. Political conflicts was found to be associated with who belongs to which party and how ethnicity is driven based on issues affecting them.

These results are reinforced the findings from all the interviews and FGDs which claimed that Kisumu experience conflicts mainly during electioneering process and instigated with issues of rigging claims, politics and ethnicity. From other interviews, respondents noted that during election period, conflicts manifest themselves inform of politics while in the actual sense they are electoral and ethnic based.

5.1.3 Types of conflicts that have had wide spread effects on Kisumu County since 1992

The study pursued examined the types of conflicts which have had wide spread effects in Kisumu County. The findings are as presented in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Types of conflicts having widespread impact on Kisumu County
Descriptive Statistics

Types of conflicts	N	Sum	Mean	Std. Deviation	Variance	Kurtosis	
	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Statistic	Std. Error
Resource based	400	152	.38	.486	.236	-1.763	.243
Ethnic conflict	400	245	.61	.488	.238	-1.794	.243
Electoral conflict	400	330	.82	.387	.150	.960	.243
Political Conflict	400	250	.63	.485	.235	-1.740	.243
Interest based conflict	400	106	.27	.442	.195	-.862	.243
Valid N (listwise)	400						

Source: Field Data (2019)

The results in Table 5.2, reveal that electoral conflict constituted 330 (82.5%), resource based 152 (38%), ethnic conflict 245 (61.5%), political conflict 250 (62.5% while interest based 106 (26.5%). These findings show that electoral conflicts have had a wider impact on the residents of Kisumu County. The study further shows that electoral conflicts have been felt during every electioneering process since 1992. Electoral conflict is followed closely by ethnic conflict. The study reveals that ethnic conflicts are rampant and recurring along the borders of Nyakach and Nandi or Kericho.

These findings are in agreement with the contention of Clark (2012) who stated that retaliation strikes frequently stimulate ethnic tensions and to more dangerous effects as observed during the 1994 Tutsi genocide in Rwanda when RPF chose to kill Hutu as a way of retaliating the Tutsi who were massacred during 100 days of genocide involving Hutu and Tutsi in which more than 800,000 lives were lost.

The findings of the study also revealed that electorally initiated conflict was also considered additional type of conflict that was usual in the study area as reinforced by 250 (62.5%). These results were in agreement with findings from FGDs and Key informant interviews. During the interview with Women Group Leaders and council of Elders in an FGD conducted at East Nyakach and Kondele respectively, eight (8) out of the ten respondents agreed that politics have a lot to do with ethnic and electoral conflicts in the study area. The respondents from the FGDs itemized that the election periods, were the times of highest conflicts in the area with Sondu and Kondele leading in creating tension and putting up fires on the road.

The results are in tandem with the assertion by Peters (2009), who claimed that, in Kenya each electioneer time is tarnished incidents of political provocation, land issues,

ethnic clashes and ethnic divisions which ultimately lead to dangerous conflicts among ethnic groupings during electioneers and after elections. Additionally, Oyugi (2002) indicated that clashes in Nyakach and Kisumu areas during and after 1992, 1997 and 2002 elections were as a product of ethnic balkanization constructed on political attachments.

These findings are in agreement with the following scholars; according to Posner (2007), multi-party democracy in the post-colonial epoch has instigated ethnic tension to be bore in the name of different kinds of identities. And that political struggle in multi-party backdrops initiates inducements for persons to see themselves in terms of ethnic characteristics that define them as members of large blocs-usually based on spiritual, language, or area differences. Though political freedom in Kenya in the early nineties came with its positive aspects like freedom of speech, freedom of the media and multi-party democracy in the political arena, political freedom has also reinforced ethnic distinctions with most of the Kenyan domineering ethnic groups connecting themselves with certain electronic and print media. Posner (2007) further notes that Kenya is a state where culture counts, "where people view their political delegates as sources of benefaction and where citizens feign that having a member of their ethnic group in a position of political authority will increase their access to state resources".

The findings further are supported by Adar (2001) who argues that elect alteration of ethnicity as the central point for political authority is a usual experience in Kenya's post-independence history, with the 1992 and 1997 multiparty elections evidently validating this pattern. At the heart of this tendency of electoral process is the issue of state control, the center of political power and wealth accrual. Exactly, ethnic purgative is aftermath of elect osteopathy (Adar 2001:6).

The study shows that Kenya has experienced ethnic conflict in the years 1992, 1997, 2002, 2007 and 2013, all these being years of election in the country. This finding is in line with the findings of Apollo (2010) who claimed that, this trend is a clear indication that politicians are taking advantage of Kenyans who are polarized in Wamwere (2003) argued that involvement of reporter in presenting ethnic communication and contribute to misinterpretation. In generality, Wamwere (2003) contends that African reporters play significant part in spreading destructive cultures. According to Some (2008), inflexible struggle for inadequate financial prospects was one of the main reasons that promoted the 2007/08 post-election violence in Kisumu County.

Several conflicts have risen in Kenya with their main cause as ethnic disagreements or ethnic inclination. The concept of ethnicity occurs when people's needs and interests are solved or addressed based on tribal inclinations. When conflicts arise from ethnic differences they are driven by non-fulfillment or threats to the fulfillment of basic needs (Kelman, 1996). In Kenya, ethnicity is being used by many people as their form of identity and influences a lot of things like politics. It is a cause of distrust and mistrust between communities. Many stereotypes have come out of ethnicity leading to different strains of conflicts.

The findings reveal that historical injustices have been one of the underlying factors behind many conflicts in Kenya and especially along Nyakach border. The definition of boundaries and land allocation done in the periods before and after colonialism in Kenya were not done in a manner that had a lot of bias. These biases and favoritism have gone down in history and have been seen as sources of major conflicts in regards to land conflict. Intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic clashes are very common due to scarcity of land

134

and boundaries that are not well defined. Disputes related to boundaries and land ownership become hard to resolve when they arise (Njuguna *et al*., 2004).

These findings were supported by scholars who opined that; besides the historical, structural, institutional, and legal dimensions, electoral conflicts in Kenya may further be explored from a cultural dimension. There is a culture of violence in the country which is firmly ingrained in societal norms and practices. In most communities, the youth, in particular boys, are encultured to be warriors. For instance, in the Kalenjin community, boys are initiated into adulthood through cultural rights that fashion them as warriors and as protectors of their community and property, especially land (CIPEV 2008:76; KNCHR 2008:60). Besides, electoral violence in the country is funded through organised criminal militia networks that are 'ordained' by cultural elders. The networks are covertly funded by political actors who have interests in power aggregation in the country (Lafargue and Katumanga 2008:25).

The oathing practices repeatedly observed during electoral periods show the importance of culture as a dimension when analyzing conflicts in the country. The practice of oathing is embedded within the cultures of communities, and, as to religion, most communities have sentimental attachment to their cultural traditions. Such traditions also affect the conflict management processes (Munene 1997:31). Cultural propaganda that is passed down across generations heightens the 'we' versus 'them' dichotomy which permeates the country's political processes. The oathing ceremonies involve making sacrifices to the ancestors aimed at protecting one's family, land, and other property in times of conflict. The youth are therefore encultured into being militants, who always align with those who share their cultural indoctrinations.

In addition, electoral conflicts in Kenya are culturally engendered. On the one hand, men are encultured to be warriors in their communities and are in most cases the perpetrators of physical violence. On the other hand, women are viewed as victims of electoral violence. However, women are not only victims, but also perpetrators who are used as weapons of war (Ali 2014:71). While girls and women do not necessarily join the boys and men in violence, they provide resources and praises of war to men to fight for their families. This acts as a catalyst to the conflicts (Golicha and Elema 2014:116). This culture of violence hence advances the 'we' versus 'them' dichotomy between competing ethnic identities

The findings concur with Manoff (1998), who claimed that media has the capacity of transforming conflicts thereby enabling a swift flow of constructive and accurate content through its informing and educating mandate. Since many conflicts arise due to disagreements and misconceptions, the media transforms a conflict by also establishing the underlying issues, thwarting misunderstanding and advocating for a free consensus among the differing parties. The media also expands the concept of conveying information concerning the rights of individuals coupled with the tenets of desired governance, parliamentary democracy and a free election. As reiterated by many scholars, the media acts as a watch dog on the political leaders by monitoring them as well as ensuring transparency and accountability. In a broader sense the media transforms conflict by presenting earliest concerns and warnings on the potential intensifications of the conflicts. On the other hand, media has the ability of presenting and analyzing the history of the conflicts as observed from different parties' involvement and creating awareness on the historical and recognized injustices.

This was in agreement with the interview findings at Nyakach;

> The 2002 General elections marked the end of Daniel's Moi 26 year political regime after being ousted by a united front mounted by opposition leaders who the first time in their political careers put their personal differences aside. The end of Moi era was perceived as a positive move for democracy and media houses pushed the democratic transformation agenda most. The key message from the media was urging people to "vote wisely" (Interview with the former MP of Nyakach, Sondu Hall, 02/04/2019).

To the contrary, the interview with MCA of South Nyakach claimed that;

> Kenyans went to the ballot on the 27th December 2007. The media portrayed an atmosphere marred with violence and antagonism between Mwai Kibaki of PNU and Raila odinga of ODM. All the news and polls evidently declared our own was winning but "*wakia gimanotimore*" meaning we don't know what happened. The power just went off and when it came back, Kibaki was leading. "*Wan joluo imayowa to waneno, ne litnwa marach*" Meaning we Luos we are stolen from while seeing, it was very painful. (Interview with MCA, South Nyakach held at ward Office, 03/04/2019).

From the FGD one participant stated that:

> The blackout of media and power could aggravated further the fueling of violence. It was evident something was going thus the government didn't want people to see. They had ample time to manipulate the votes on their favor. Many local stations incited their members to fight for their rights, politicians used local radios to incite hatred and hate speech and propaganda (One of the discussants in FGD, held at Kondele Market, 7/04/2019).

This was supported by the findings of the National Communication on Human Rights report claimed that, the entire electioneering period was characterized by hate speech and incitement to violence. One thing that is memorable about 2007 elections is the role

played by all manner of information from all sources, unsolicited and solicited-SMS, blogs, newsletter, leaflets, TV and radio sources.

The finding was in support of Otenyo (2002) who claimed that the 1997 election was the first to be covered on the internet. Due to less accessibility, only a few could have been influenced. The study reveals that Kenya's media, particularly community-based radio stations, played a critical role before, during and after the 2007 general elections. While in some instances they provided important information on the election, in other cases they promoted violence through hate speech, incitement and propaganda. This was supported by statement of Ndemo who opined that; according to intelligence reports, the political violence that engulfed various parts of the country in 2007 and early 2008 was largely fueled by use of irresponsible and inflammatory language during the election.

Table 5.3: Correlations between types of conflicts and media

Correlations

		Resource based conflict	Ethnic conflict	Electoral conflict	Political Conflict	Interest based conflict
Resource based conflict	Pearson Correlation	1	.485[**]	-.592[**]	-.309[**]	.253[**]
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000	.000	.000
	N	400	400	400	400	400
Ethnic conflict	Pearson Correlation	.485[**]	1	-.373[**]	-.182[**]	-.185[**]
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000	.000	.000
	N	400	400	400	400	400
Electoral conflict	Pearson Correlation	-.592[**]	-.373[**]	1	.598[**]	-.432[**]
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000		.000	.000
	N	400	400	400	400	400
Political Conflict	Pearson Correlation	-.309[**]	-.182[**]	.598[**]	1	-.120[*]
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000		.016
	N	400	400	400	400	400
Interest based conflict	Pearson Correlation	.253[**]	-.185[**]	-.432[**]	-.120[*]	1

| | Sig. (2-tailed) | .000 | .000 | .000 | .016 | |
| | N | 400 | 400 | 400 | 400 | 400 |

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Source: Field Data (2019)

The results from Table 5.3 indicated that most experienced form of conflicts were electoral, ethnic and political conflicts. The study reveals that electoral and political conflicts are highly significant as they have the highest negative correlation. This shows a strong negative correlation between electoral and political conflicts.

5.1.4 Impacts of conflicts on Kisumu County

The study sought to find out the impacts of different types of conflicts on the respondents of Kisumu County. The results are as shown in Figure 5.2.
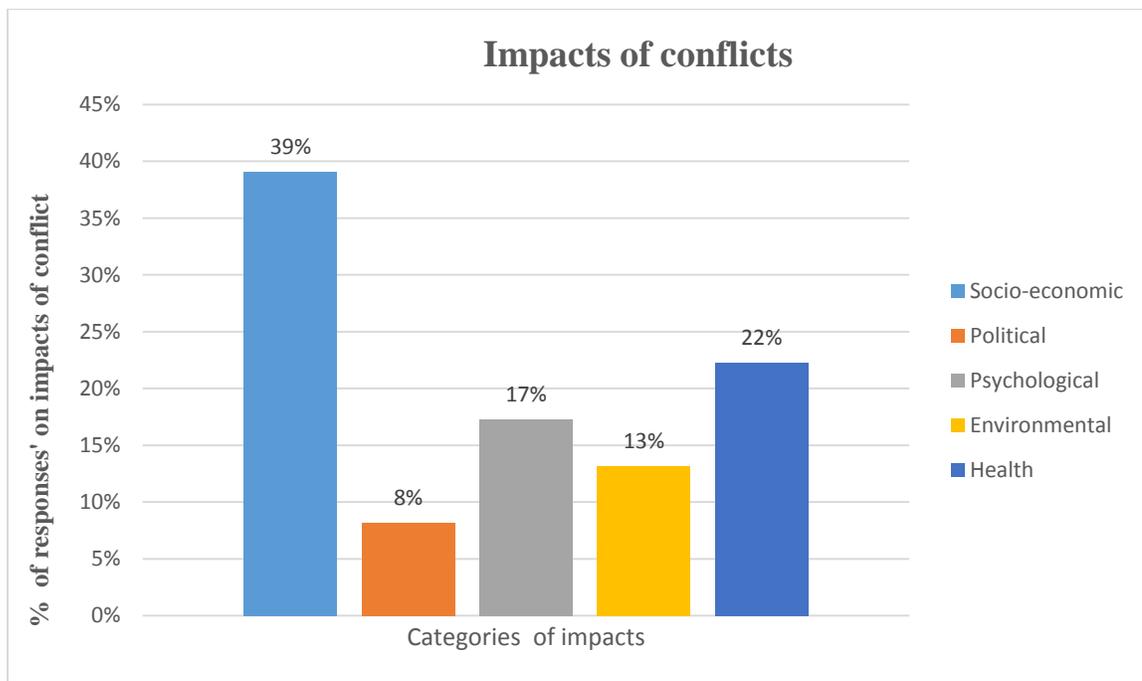
Figure 5.2: Impacts of conflicts on Kisumu County
Source: Field Data (2019)

The results in Figure 5.2 indicated that 39% of the respondents experienced socio-economic impacts, health impacts were 22%, political 8%, psychological impact 17%

and environmental impact 13%. These findings indicate that conflicts have greater impact on the socio-economic aspects of the study area. The majority of the respondents had experienced the impacts of the conflicts in study. These findings agree with a study by Akinyi *et al*., (2011) "which opined that communities from the two sub-counties had been affected by recurrent conflicts for many years, these conflicts have been more common since 1992 and have since then recurred over the years and thus justifying why majority of the respondents have been affected by conflicts".

In an interview, the chief of North Nyakach location indicated that:

> The recurrence of conflicts in the border areas of Nyakach led to the deployment of police and establishment of police post thus reducing the incidences of conflicts (Interview with Chief of North Nyakach, 04/04/2019).

All the chiefs, security officers who were interviewed indicated that Kenyan armed forces had really assisted in reducing the conflicts. It also emerged from the Luo council of elders FGD in Sondu construction and camping of armed forceshelped. KNHCR (2008) indicated that among the challenges the police face are hostility, bad weather and unfavorable working conditions. An official from Kenya Red Cross Kisumu Central also opined that conflicts are not common within Kisumu central sub-county unless and only during electioneering period. The sentiments of the Red Cross official were in agreement with those of the MCAs, chiefs and security officers interviewed in Nyakach.

One of the participants in the FGD, a member of the council of elders from Nyakach opined that:

> Most of the areas prone to conflicts are borders and Sondu town. These places are hotspots due to the cattle raiding which goes on in these areas and electioneering period. During 2007/2008, nobody could easily pass Sondu. There

was fire lit everywhere mostly on the main roads. (Sondu FGD participant, 5/04/2019).

An interview with women group leaders FGDs, Kisumu Central indicated that:

> During electioneering period any results that goes against Luos will escalate conflicts. The starting point for all conflicts in Kisumu is Kondele. It has remained hotspot for a long period. The worst area again is Nyalenda, the gangsters takes advantage of the electoral conflicts to loot, murder and threaten people (Luo Women group leaders FGD in Kondele Market, 27/03/2019).

The findings show that post-election violence had an impact on the country in different ways. For example, it had an impact on the economy, displacement of people, looting and burning of property, re-awakening of latent ethnic hatred among other impacts. The findings of the study indicate that journalists seemed to condemn violence.

The study found that conflicts also had serious implications on the economy and livelihoods of the people living in Kisumu County. According to the results, majority of respondents agreed that conflicts led to lack of market for farm produce and businesses. While only a few of the respondents had contrary opinion. This was attributed to the fact that during these conflicts, movement is limited and traders would not go to the market to their goods. This finding was in line with a key informant interview at Nyalenda:

> During conflicts mostly election violence, all roads leading to Kondele market are closed. None is allowed to pass unless you are carrying twigs and accompanying the demonstrators. Nyalenda is usually worst during election times. (Interview with Pastor of Anglican Church, Nyalenda, 08/04/2019).

The results from the FGDs and interviews concurred with findings from the council of elders. Participants in the council of elders FGD in West Nyakach opined that conflicts

greatly affected important economic activities in the area, mainly agriculture and trade. Kibuye market is the major market situated within the town.

The findings were consistent with a study by Masaka *et al*. (2017), in which cross-border conflicts in Kenyanya and Rongo Sub-counties have a great implication on the economic activities of the communities living in the area. According to the study frequent inter-ethnic violence affects the livelihood of the border residents in many ways. It affects the livelihoods of small-holder farmers in the sense that when clashes break out most of them are unable to access their farms to cultivate, plant or harvest crops. The conflicts also cause inaccessibility to nearby Rongo.

5.1.5 Actors involved in Conflicts in Kisumu County

The study sought to find out the actors involved in the conflicts in Kisumu County. The results are as shown in Figure 5.3.
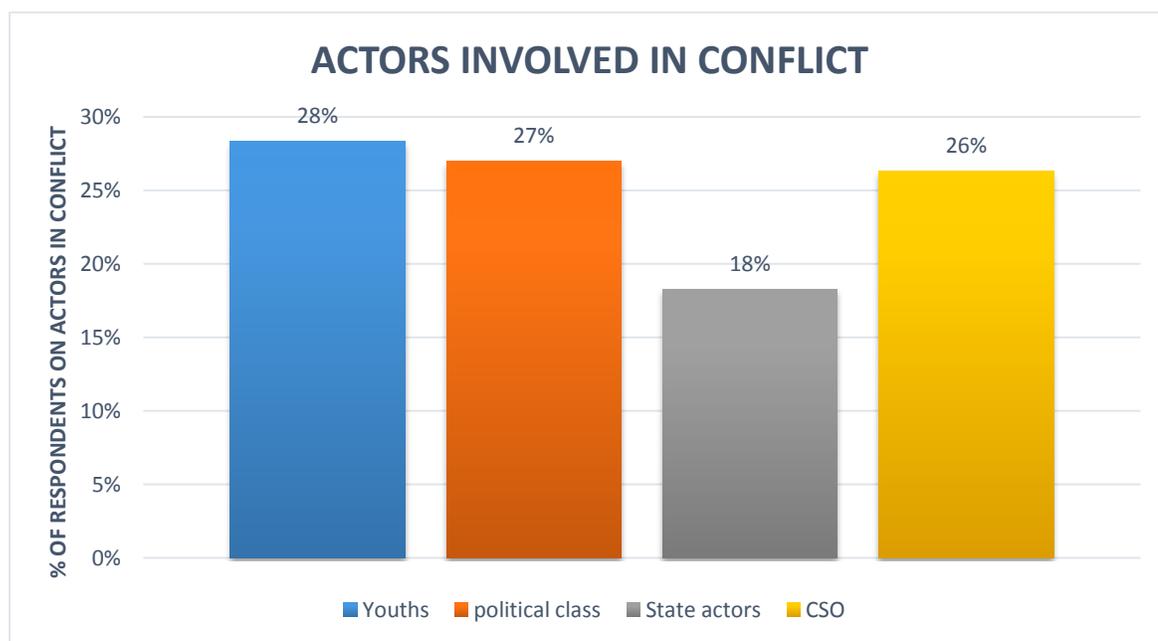
Figure 5.3: Actors involved in Conflicts in Kisumu County
Source: Field Data (2019)

From Figure 5.4, it is evident that most actors involved in conflicts are youths (28%), political class (27%), CSO were 26% and state actors 18%. In this sense, therefore, majority were of the opinion that youths are actively involved in conflicts. This can be a result of joblessness which leads to idleness. The findings also reveal that youths can be easily manipulated by the political class as they mostly need hand-outs.

The results were in agreement with the findings from key informant interviews and FGDs that clearly indicated the joblessness of many graduates thus easily manipulated by political class to cause mayhem in the area especially during electioneering process. In an interview with the chief of Manyatta location it emerged that the youths are the most active participants in electoral and political conflicts. Similar claims were made by the Women Group FGD and victims of PEV at Nyakach South.

5.1.6 The extent media has extensively highlighted conflict issues in Kisumu County

The study sought to find out the extent media has extensively highlighted conflict issues in Kisumu County. The findings are as shown in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4: The extent media has covered conflict issues in Kisumu County

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Very large extent	128	32.0	32.0	32.0
Large extent	196	49.0	49.0	81.0
Small extent	58	14.5	14.5	95.5
Very small extent	16	4.0	4.0	99.5
I don't know	2	.5	.5	100.0
Total	400	100.0	100.0	

Source: Field Data (2019)

The study findings in Table 5.4, reveal that majority of respondents said that to a large extent media has highlighted conflict issues. The findings show that large extent was 196(49%), very large extent was 128(32%), small extent was 58(14.5), very small extent was 16(4.0%) while I don't know was 2(0.5%). This shows that actually media has greatly took part in highlighting the conflict issues, historical injustices in Kisumu County.

Analysis on the coverage of land issues indicated that the land issue was framed as indigenous communities' versus non indigenous communities in all the general elections. The land issue was also framed as politically instigated by the government. In the 2002 General Election, land issue was framed as a tussle between minority elite land owners and landless, while in 2007 it was framed as a tussle between minority elite land owners and the landless. The 2007 gave a new lens of arguments on land issue.

The findings show that opinion on coverage of land issue in 1992 indicated that media on the land issue were given fair and accurate presentation. The writers' of print media did not misinterpret the facts on land issues, the articles on land issue did not have evidence of ethnic conflict of interest and the writers did not focus on ethnic relations but rather the important historical issues having an impact on the ethnic relations.

On the issue of Majimbo, the 1992 election print media framed Majimbo as support of the president in terms of the Kalenjin rallying behind Moi. In the 1997 and 2007 general elections, the Majimbo was framed as exposure of regional disparities and limitations and the inequitable sharing of resources among regions was also shown by the print media. The polarization between communities of the two presidential contenders namely Kibaki and Raila was also framed on PNU and ODM tussle.

The issue of constitution was not given focus in the 1992 general election. However, in the General election of 1997, the constitution was focused on and the necessity to do away with institutions that had hindered it was farmed. The findings show that the 2002 and 2007 general elections did not significantly focus on the constitution.

5.1.7 Media playing a role in conflict

The study sought to investigate the roles media could have played in conflict. The results are as presented in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5: Media playing a role in conflict

Do you think media played a role in conflict situation				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	354	88.5	90.0	90
No	46	10.3	10.0	100.0
Total	400	98.8	100.0	
Total	400	100.0		

Source: Field Data (2019)

From Table 5.5 it reveals that 90% of respondents said yes while 10% disagreed. A total of 354 (90%) respondents agreed that actually media have played a role in conflict. The findings reveal that media played many roles both positive and negative. Some of the positive roles suggested by the respondents were; education of the public, training of the journalists, calling for peace and advocating for human rights. On the contrary, the

negative roles were incitement of groups, hate speech, propaganda, corruption by media houses and withholding information.

From the FGD with Survivors,

> One discussant opined that; its leaders who incited members of the Kisumu county to chase away foreigners. Mostly leaders used derogative words such as foreigners and strangers. These elicited hatred and violence (FGD Discussant with survivors, 10/05/2019)

> On the same vein, another discussant said that; the politicians used words that exhibited hatred and anger amongst the citizens. This heightened the temperatures. Media only was used to pass the hate speeches and incitement but media did not in itself promote violence.

These findings disagree with the findings of Thompson (2007) who opine that, in the Balkans broadcaster's polarized local communities to the point where, violence became an acceptable tool for addressing grievances. In the case of Rwanda, the media was also used to guide the perpetrators of the genocide towards their victims. The media may also incite violence through manipulative, negative presentation of facts that create the impression that the situation is worsening.

5.2.8 Role played by Media during Electioneering Process

The study further sought to investigate the role media played during electioneering process in Kisumu County. The results of the study are as presented in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6: Role media played during electioneering process

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Conflict escalation	76	19.0	19.0	19.0
Peace-building	191	47.8	47.8	66.8
Both roles	133	33.3	33.3	100.0
Total	400	100.0	100.0	

146

From the table 5.6, it shows that 76(19%) of respondents were of conflict escalation, 191(48%) of respondents were of peace-building while 133(33%) were of both roles. This study, therefore, found that media played a greater role in peace-building than conflict escalation. While those who said both roles show that media remains a powerful tool and a double edge sword on both sides. A total of 76(19%) said media played conflict escalation role.

The study therefore found that Media is used to send messages between conflicting sides. In this case media acts as the diplomats by sending messages to test reactions on negotiations. Messages and signals may be sent to other groups through the media. This was in line by Gilboa (2002) who opined that the news media also invites leaders from the opposing sides to TV or Radio to discuss matters openly hence creating a bridge among enemies and building confidence that is needed to negotiate and bring the conflict to an end.

The study found that media events have extensive effects at the beginning of negotiations such as building confidence, facilitating negotiations or breaking diplomatic deadlocks to create favorable environments for negotiations. Press releases or programmes in the radio can help reach agreements and negotiations. In the same vein, Gilboa (2002) further show that, the media may also facilitate negotiations through the promotion and mobilization of public agreements.

The findings further revealed that media has the ability to promote positive relationships in conflict situations through lessening polarization between groups by showing the other group in the same light, showing people in the same problem, condemning

violence and sharing similar interests amongst other tactics that it uses. Roles played by the media are as indicated in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7: Roles of Media on the conduct of General Election

Escalation of Violence			De-escalation of Violence		
Role	Freq	%	Role	Freq	%
Promotion of propaganda	161	49	Civil education	163	49
Platform for hate speech	223	68	Preaching peace	265	81
Misrepresentation of information	167	51	Informing public on negotiation progress	164	50
Incitement	236	72	Fair coverage of political campaign	200	61
Airing violent scones	200	61	Airing of peace negotiation	299	70
Partisan or taking political Sides	272	83	Airing of contentious areas during negotiation	203	62

These results are in tandem with findings of Gopin (2001) who opined that, media used the special opportunities to work towards peace and reconciliation in Colombia so that people could obtain truth and reparation in relation to violations. The findings are in agreement with Williams and Gulati (2007) who claimed that observers provide physical presence that is intended to discourage violence, corruption and human rights violations in Sudan. Smith (2010) also supported this study finding by observing that media with willingness have gone beyond responding to effects of conflicts and have advocated and agitated for peace. Given the need for peace-building in Kenya after 2007, Nasongo *et al., (2009),* raised the question, "Are forgiveness and amnesty a panacea to Kenya's post conflict crisis?"

The findings of this study were further supported Viggo (2011), who opined that a conflict- galloped states, media often play an important role in generating and advancing both accelerating factors and activating factors linked to internal and external issues or threats facing the nation. According to Terzis & Melone (2002), media can create divisions by not revealing diversity in the social and political constructs

5.1.9 The extent Media has Facilitated Peace-building during Conflicts in Kisumu County

The study also sought to investigate the extent media has facilitated peace-building during conflicts in Kisumu County. The results of the study are as shown in Figure 5.4.
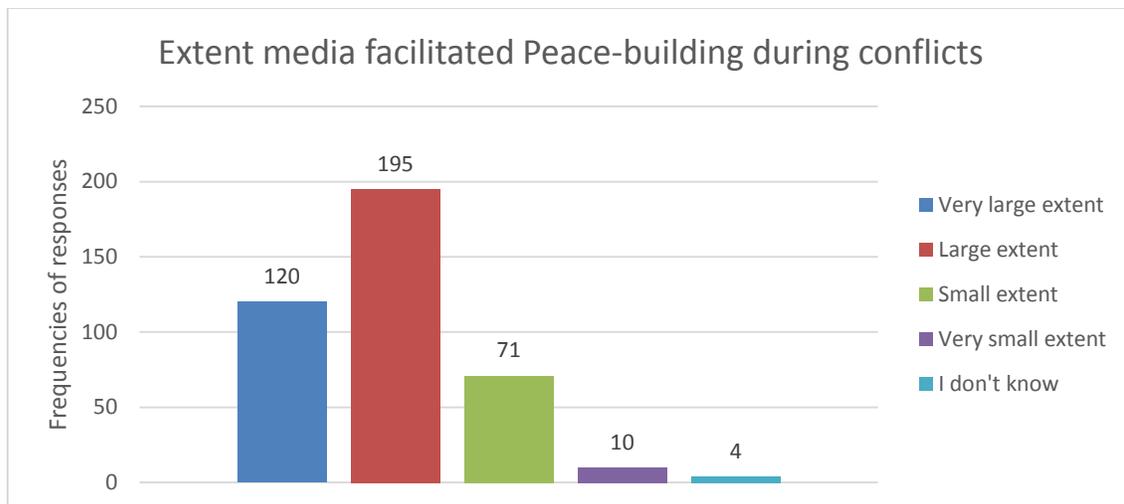
Figure 5.4: Extent Media has facilitated Peace-building during conflicts
Source: Field Data (2019)

Results in Figure 5.4, it shows very large extent were 120(30%), large extent 195(48.8%), small extent 71(17.8%), very small extent 10(2.5%) while I don't know 4(1.0%). This finding reveals that media has actually played larger role in peace-building during electioneering process. The results show that media has an influence during electioneering process by advocating for human rights, training journalists on aspects of conflict reporting and peace journalism.

Equally, Betz (2004) opined that Radio Ndeke Luka (RNL), a radio station focusing on development and peace in the Central African Republic (CAR), was established by the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic (MINURCA) and managed by Hirondelle Foundation to promote peace and reconciliation in CAR. Since its inception, the station has managed to contribute to peace-keeping as well as democratization and socioeconomic development. He further claimed that RNL has highlighted on issues relating to human rights and human rights abuses, the search for peace and initiatives in favour of peace. It has also promoted vocational training for journalists and technicians of Central African Republic resulting in the creation of a positive impact on local media.

The findings also indicate that when peace agreements are reached, efforts to sustain peace-building and enhance reconciliation and reconstruction are crucial. Media interventions can take the form of: Media training, especially in the fields of impartial or inter-ethnic news reporting. This is news reporting that adequately reflects the ethnic make-up of a country and true diversity of opinions. Programming aimed at sustaining peace through building support for peace agreements and focusing on reconciliation and support development of free media through policy and legislative reform and other measures.

5.2 Correlation Analysis

The study sought to investigate the correlation between media based age and gender. This was imperative to know the significance between media and human factors. How media influence different human factors. The results are as shown in Table 5.8.

Table 5.8: Correlation Analysis between influence of media based age and gender

Correlations[b]

		Gender	What role did media play	Age	Do you think media played a role in conflict situation
Gender	Pearson Correlation	1	-.056	-.283[**]	-.038
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.326	.000	.504
What role did media play	Pearson Correlation	-.056	1	.084	-.043
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.326		.139	.442
Age	Pearson Correlation	-.283[**]	.084	1	.025
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.139		.652
Do you think media played a role	Pearson Correlation	-.038	-.043	.025	1

in conflict situation Sig. (2-tailed)   .504   .442   .652

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Source: Field Data (2019)

The findings in Table 5.8 reveal that the coefficient of age is 0.652 showing a strong positive correlation that age has an effect on the media role in conflict. The finding also reveals there is a weak negative correlation between gender and media role in conflict. Therefore, the study confirms a strong positive correlation between age and media role in conflict. This study shows that there is statistical significance between age and media influence. Most respondents are influenced based on their age. While there is no significant difference between gender. This shows that both gender are influenced on same degree.

5.3 Chapter Summary

The findings of this study show that conflicts arise due to varied reasons. Electoral injustices and rejection of results lead to conflicts. Ethnicity is also another factor that could lead to ethnic conflict. Dominant ethnic communities that seek to impose their rule over the weaker ethnic communities could lead to ethnic conflict where the smaller ethnic groups seek equal distribution of resources and power. Control of resources is also a key source of conflict in Kisumu County. Valuable resources like water, land, territory among others, are major sources of inter-ethnic and intrastate conflicts.

The study further found out that major actors in conflicts are youths who are easily manipulated by politicians and leaders. Youths were found to be jobless thus making them vulnerable to manipulation and engagement in illegal acts. Politicians were also found to be active participants as they sponsor most of the warring parties. The study

established that conflicts in Kisumu County mostly occur during electioneering process thus majority of candidates but incumbent and existing ones engage in politics that are ethnically based leading to violence.

The study found out that media has extensively highlighted conflict issues and played a role both in escalation and peace-building. Majority of respondents agreed that to a large extent, media has covered conflict issues. On the other side, a total of respondents (71.3%) said media has played peace-building role through education, highlighting historical injustices and training of journalists.

The study further found out that political, electoral, economic and ethnic tensions are a feature of many societies in Kenya. Such tensions are increasingly being focused on by the media and peace-building organizations because they often ignite acute forms of conflict. For example, creative children's television drama produced by Search for Common Ground has been used to draw young people from ethnic groups so as to begin a positive inter-ethnic dialogue.

The study established that media should be given mandate to address the historical injustices facing people of Kisumu County. Thus, conflicts in Kisumu County can only be resolved when all leaders, stakeholders and local communities come together. The next chapter, Chapter Six, offers the data analysis and presentation for the third specific objective (challenges experienced by the media during electioneering process in Kisumu County) analyzed based on the various measures of the study objective as captured in the conceptual model.

CHAPTER SIX

CHALLENGES EXPERIENCED BY THE MEDIA IN PURSUIT OF PEACE DURING ELECTIONEERING PROCESS IN KENYA, KISUMU COUNTY

This chapter mainly endeavored to investigate knowledge on the challenges experienced by the media during electionneering process on the basis of descriptive statistics. The subjective responses on discontinuous scale like yes or no responses are first analyzed descriptively before embarking on other procedures. The chapter discussed dynamics of media, challenges and strategies to manage the challenges. The study also analyzed publications to show how media has evolved and challenges it has undergone. These included the *Standard, Sunday Standard*, *Daily Nation* and *Sunday Nation*. This chapter also draws the recommendations from respondents on how the conflict can be managed.

6.1.1 Media dynamics in relaying information during electioneering process since 1992

This study sought to investigate the dynamics and evolving dynamics of media since re-introduction of multiparty system in Kisumu County. This was imperative so that the study would be able to determine the challenges and progress media has made during electioneering process.
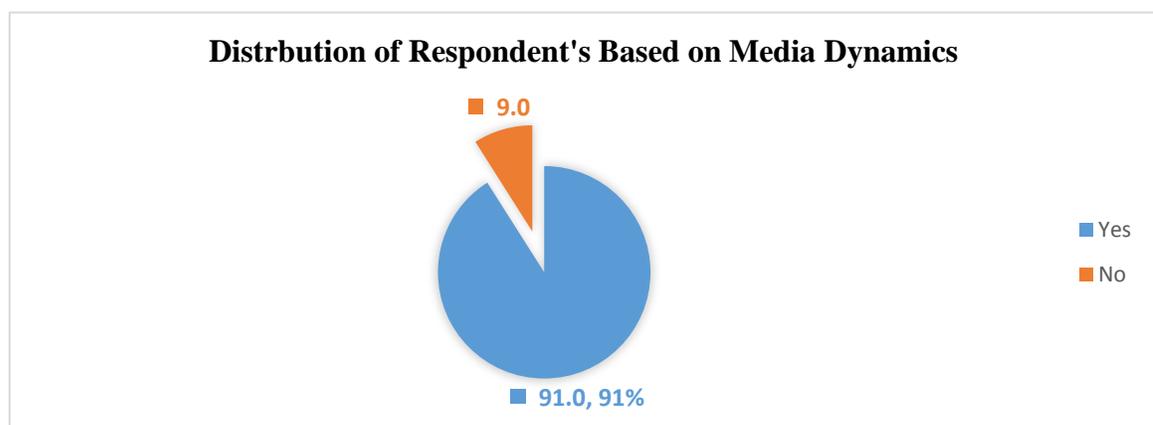
Figure 6.1: Media changes in the way they relay information since 1992 General Election
Source: Field Data (2019)

The findings in Figure 6.1 indicate that 91% of respondents said yes while 9% of the respondents said no. These findings divulge that majority of respondents (91%) agreed that media actually has changed and faced dynamism on how they report information. Only a minority disagreed saying media has not changed or evolved on how they relay information. The study found out that, the 1992 era marked the turning point for press freedom. KBC was still a government propaganda too and introduction of new radio and television media was meant to bring a new beginning. After the 1992 elections, a frustrated management seemed to say that if it could not control the news that came out

of KTN they would scrap local programmes all together. KBC did not change how they covered and reported by the time of 1992 elections.

The findings indicate KBC was silent on political violence and only favored the government. The media in 1992 did not contribute directly to the violence after the election because the only media then was state owned KBC and KTN. Media was still under government and there were stories that were not allowed to be aired for fear of victimization. The study reveals that, the 1997 general election was an improvement of the 1992 elections. Though ethnicity still had a key role in the conflict and politics, media remained a bit neutral and independent. This also shows growth of print and electronic media. Although during the 1997 elections, media also faced intimidations and assault of journalists.

The study indicates that the media influence on the violence of 2007/2008 did bring a lot of questions with regards to incitement to violence and spreading of hate speech that only aggravated an already dire situation. Four people were accused of using media to incite citizens and promote violence. The study further found out that media during 2013 electioneering process remained independent, neutral and impartial.

The findings also indicate that when peace pacts are achieved, attempts to uphold peace-building and enrich reconciliation and rebuilding are crucial. Media interpositions can take the shape of: Media educating, exclusively in the ground of independent or inter-ethnic news reportage. This is broadcast reporting that sufficiently exhibits the ethnic make-up of a country and true diversity of views. Training designed in maintaining peace via building support for peace accords and concentrating on ceasefire and support

growth of liberated media through policy and jurisdictive restructuring and further methods. According to a freelance journalist;

> The media in Kenya is unrestricted to extend that reporters can articulate themselves as far as they do not exceed to instigate *wanainchi* (citizens) over a national matter. The Media Council of Kenya emboldens us to follow professional ethics via unbiased and reasonable reportage (Interview with a freelance journalist held at sports ground, 30/4/2019).

He further said, in attempt to change the conflict milieu to a peaceful one, the Media Council of Kenya encouraged candidness and data sharing. The council commended journalists to obey media rules and confines of freedom of press. Largely journalists observed that the media state in Kenya has revolutionized from what it suffered in the preceding regimes. Contrasted to other African states, they agreed that the media in Kenya had comprehended its rights and freedoms as reinforced by the Freedom House (2010) index.

On the contrary, during the FGD discussion, one discussant opined that:

> Media has not changed the way it relay information more so relating to conflicts. Some media houses still were partisan and only gave one side view of the scenario. The vernacular stations only aired issues affecting their ethnic groups rather than giving a wide and holistic view of conflicts (FGD discussant with survivors, 05/04/2019).

6.1.1 Media Escalating Violence during Electioneering Process in Kisumu County

This study sought to investigate whether media escalated violence during electioneering process in Kisumu County. The findings are as shown in Figure 6.2.
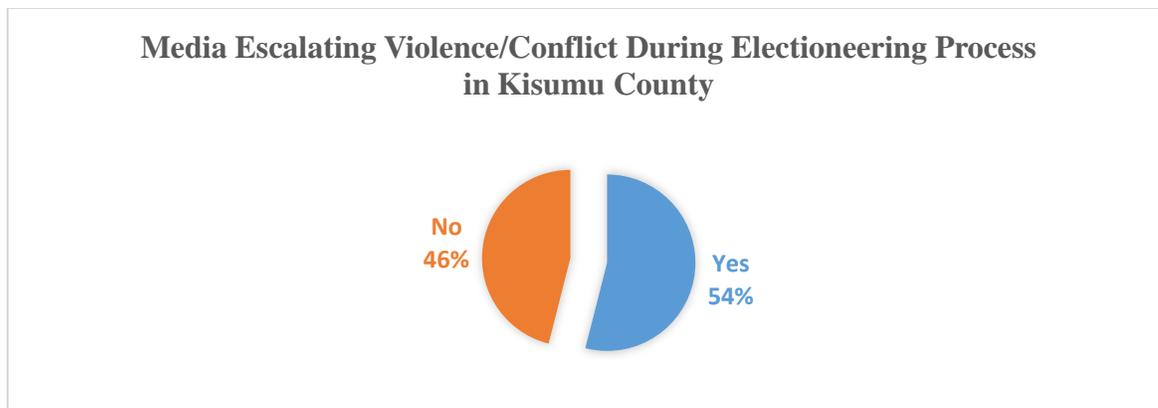
Figure 6.2: Media escalating violence or conflict during electioneering process in Kisumu County
Source: Field Data (2019)

From Figure 6.2, the study designates that 54% of respondents said yes while 46% of respondents said no. This shows that most respondents agreed that media actually escalate violence during electioneering process. This could be attributed to media owners being politician and businesspersons who will use them for selfish benefits. The respondents who disagreed could be attributed to media advocating for human rights, preaching peace and addressing historical injustices. The study, therefore, indicates that media can be used to escalate violence by corrupt leaders, selfish politicians and partisan journalists. On the contrary, media can be used to enhance peace through the social responsibility theory that assumes media has both moral and ethical obligations to advocate for human rights and address the structural and cultural issues.

This finding reverberates with what Reese *et al* (2001), had shown about media reporting in conflict situation. They stated that the media's role as an influential entity that attempts to influence conflict, as a subjective participant who either protects or assaults status quo, as a fourth estate 'watchdog' who influences the community on local dilemmas and as a gatekeeper who puts the agenda, sieves issues and emphasizes other

opinions to uphold balanced views, as intermediary that builds agreement and manages society hostilities, as a joint entity who celebrates conflicts and benefits due to intensified selling in swathing conflicts (Reese *et al*., 2001).

These findings corroborate the study by Okumu (1997) who opines that, in Uganda, inadequate media coverage was accused for the war in Northern Uganda where for more than two decades, the warfare among Uganda People's Defence Forces (UPDF) and the Lord Resistance Army (LRA) has not been sufficiently covered. This has made it difficult for the international community to intervene. Similarly, Somalia and Darfur conflicts were too under covered until recently when they hit the world headlines. Okumu (1997) further disparaged the global media for dwindling to effectively cover the emergent conflict situation in Rwanda that ensued in the absence of hasty interposition by the global society. In reality, he contends that a more inclusive and independent reportage on the Rwandan war could have deterred the 1994 massacre.

From the findings, it is revealed that nearly all clashes in Africa are as a product of the battle for supremacy. Examples include Congo, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, among others. The prejudice of the downgraded, governed by the political elect, offer appropriate arena for media to establish and advance both conflict accelerating and initiating factors by usage of "oppositional metaphors" ("us" vs "them"), (Dijk, 1997). From the study, past accounts instances where the media has been used as a devastating tool to fundamental human rights. Adolf Hitler created hatred for Jews by use of the media (Thompson, 1994:5). Rwanda's Radio Television Libre des Milles Collines (RTLM), commended audiences "to kill Tutsi" or what it baptized as "the cockroaches" (Des Forges, 2007).

The study found out that, media has also been used in several cases to promote ceasefire and settlement. For instance, the case of Northern Uganda, media was used to establish the mutual benefit for the people to enhance harmony (Struges, 2007). In Northern Uganda, Mega FM has been used to facilitate peace with positive effects since 2002. Indication also recommends that the station played a critical role in urging LRA members to come out of the wilds. Struges (2007) further observed that the LRA leadership was persuaded to listen to the radio and on many cases joined radio talk shows and held debates with government and civil society delegates, a helpful move towards peace-building. The finding reveal that media played escalation role as shown in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Escalation of Violence

Escalation of Violence		
	Frequency	%
Promotion of propaganda	167	51
Platform for hate speech	223	68
Misrepresentation of information	167	51
Incitement	236	72
Airing violent scones	200	61
Partisan or taking political Sides	272	83

Table 6.1, with these findings, media has a pivotal influence in conflict intensification. Preferably, through qualified goals of objectivity, accuracy and public obligation as mandated by libertarian theory, media ought to be a provider to peace-building. Conversely, the findings demonstrated the converse in that for the period of 2007 PEV, the media performed a deleterious role of conflict intensification. As contended by Wolfsfeld (2001), media exaggerates war with unsophisticated reportage that emphasizes stereotypes which supports elect consent, and manifests its own milieu of joint or secluded setting.

In evaluation with scholars' findings, the results agree with the findings by Dallaire (2007) in investigation of *Media Dichotomy, Case of Rwanda,* that the homegrown media, predominantly RTLM literally was used as a tool for inciting the massacres of Tutsi. On the other hand, the study by International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) on media role re-affirms that media not only used to defuse conflicts, nonetheless is also exclusively located to promote living and collaboration among people of diverse backgrounds. Moreover, observing impartiality, fact-based reportage which evades labels or rousing up gossips, distinct reporters and the media as a totality have a magnificent aptitude to interpose comprehension and rift-building as reinforced by Dallaire (2007).

The findings that media had a role in conflict intensification contradicts the supposition of social responsibility theory of media reportage, that compels media to adopt both

moral and legal obligations for all publications for the common good of the humanity without instigating any mischief. This intensification role triggered clash that resulted into demolition of properties and loss of lives. Although, the social responsibility theory necessitates mass media to underscore inequalities within the society and inform people on their privileges and rights, the quandary is that as persons turn out to be more informed, the thrust for their civil rights via whatever channels accessible, could result to clashes as was seen after the 2007 general elections.

In comparison to interviews with media experts and security authorities, they reinforced the finding that media invigorated abhorrence to a great extent because of majority of political affiliations such as Jubilee, ODM, ODM-K, PNU, Wiper in Kenya are ethnic or locally positioned and citizens trust and trail what their leaders say.

According to one media expert, hate speech can make receivers to ambiance that they are beleaguered and hence team up to guard themselves that causes clashes. To supplement, hatred is heartened via news bulletin. According to key informants interview, it was observed that majority of print media and radio presentations used newspapers vibrant quotations by political elites and opinion elect to by politicians and opinion leaders to create news bulletin, which most often with allusion to their news headlines, sometimes with reference to previous poignant memories and events that elicited prejudice and hatred.

In addition, once the fighting started immediately upon pronouncement of the presidential outcomes on 30th December, 2007. The local radio inclined to provide a lot of airplay and fame to the conflict through thwarted and lively images of what was

trending. For example, during the vote tally at KICC, NTV, Citizen TV, KTN and radio amongst other vernacular stations dedicated much of their time highlighting how ECK was bundling votes, fights and quarrels between officials and politicians and amongst politicians. This promoted hatred amongst the already polarized citizen that resulted in violence. To curtail this, media practitioners opined during the interview that;

> Carefulness must be applied by editors to safeguard that both sides are given fair coverage as well as internal training, especially to field reporters, on conflict sensitive reporting (Interview with Editorial media practitioner held at Imperial Hotel, 28/03/2019).

The finding is supported by other studies such as Thompson (2007) that Rwandan authorities relied on Radio Rwanda and RTLM to inflame, marshal that give precise orders of carrying out exterminations. Furthermore, Viggo (2011) in his analysis of Arab Springs in North Africa, using Libyan Uprising as a case, reported that these springs were engineered and subsequently escalated by media. More specifically, study by Abdi & Deane (2008) and reports (KNCHR, 2008; KNCHR, 2008b; MFAF, 2009; GoK, 2008) all corroborate that some media houses, particularly the radio stations, reinvigorated abhorrence that prompted ethnic revulsion and acrimony that led to sweeping post-election carnage. These findings were further supported by one discussants in an FGD held at Kondele who narrated his ordeal;

> Succeeding declaration of the presidential election results, individuals began belligerent while President Kibaki and his state defense steered by John Michuki systematized the military and police to handle demonstrators. Countless police and armed forces were deployed to Kisumu, particularly Nyawita, Kondele and Nyalenda to counteract the demonstrators. In rejoinder, citizens furnished themselves with clubs, machetes, bows, stones, sticks, and arrows, and spears and even guns. Havoc and brutality

163

described that period. Throughout the demonstrations, the uniformed forces brutally murdered innocent citizens in Nyawita, Kondele and Nyalenda who stayed along the highways using their God-given egalitarian right to dissent against the manipulating Election results (A discussion with a male FGD held at Manyatta on 26/03/2019).

6.1.2 Publication Analysis

The study endeavored to investigate how media has evolved in relying information and their coverage. This study therefore, focused on analysis selected newspapers from 1992 to 2017 as the scope of the study. The findings are as provided in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2: Publication Analysis of conflict and electioneering Process coverage and reportage

Item/Year	1992	1997	2002	2007	2008	2013	2017
Standard	15	18	12	20	10	11	17
Sunday Standard	11	13	10	24	21	26	30
Daily nation	13	11	11	22	20	20	24
Sunday Nation	14	13	10	21	19	18	21
Total	53	55	43	87	70	75	92

Source: Field Data (2019)

Table 6.2, indicates that a total of 53 newspapers were analyzed in 1992, 55 newspapers in 1997, 43 newspapers in 2002, 87 newspapers in 2007, 70 newspapers in 2008 and 75 newspapers in 2013 while 92 were analyzed in 2017. The difference in the number analyzed is because on some days the coverage of the main issue under study was too insignificant to warrant coding. From table 6.2 it is clear that the highest number of publications analyzed was the *Sunday Standard* with a total of 30 papers reviewed in 2017, followed by the *Sunday Standard* in 2013. This is because the

country witnessed violent election not characterized by influence of media compared to 2007/2008 general election and media was under international scrutiny. The *Sunday standard* publication had the highest number of papers analyzed in both 2007 and 2008 followed closely by *Daily Nation*. This is attributed to the fact that Kenya saw the worst election conflict that exploded immediately following the doubted top-level election results. *Standard* publication had the highest number of papers analyzed in 1992 followed closely by *Sunday Nation*. This is attributed to the 1992 general election marred by violence owing to the inception of multiparty democracy and government.

The researcher was interested on how media has changed the way it relays information. The findings indicated that majority of the publications 37(69.8%) in the 1992 General Election showed that publications on election violence was not given fair and balanced coverage and reporting of election violence. Nevertheless, the analysis showed that some publications had given fair, balanced and impartial coverage of election violence. This was in agreement with the findings from an interview with former KBC journalist who claimed that:

> Media only covered events that favored the state, by that time we had only one media station which was state owned thus could not go against the state. It was being used by the state to spread state propaganda (Interview with former KBC journalist at North Nyakach, 05/04/2019).

On the contrary, an interview with the freelance journalist opined that;

> Most media are abased with ethnified kind of reporting and analysis. You'll media personnel just supporting their 'own' vis-avi the code of conduct. Some media houses only welcomed leaders/politicians from their ethnic group"

The analysis on media coverage and reporting of election violence in 1997 showed that publications on the election violence gave a fair, balanced and impartial coverage of election violence. Some media houses, particularly the radio stations, appeared to have promoted hatred that stimulated ethnic animosity and acrimony that spurt into election violence, (BBC, 2008). Amongst the media that were most cited included Kameme FM, Kass FM, Inooro FM, and Lake Victoria FM (KNCHR, 2008b). While mainstream media houses like KBC, Nation Media and Standard Group were considerably more careful, radio stations specifically those disseminating in mother tongue dialects appeared to promote ethnic animosity and enmity through the use of despise and distasteful dialect. For instance, Lake Victoria FM radio station broadcasting to Luo's in the former Nyanza Province referred to their Kikuyu neighbours as "foreigners", whereas a widely held radio station, Kameme FM, frequently denoted Luo's as "fishermen" (Mbeke, 2009; KNCHR, 2008b).

6.1.3 Challenges experienced by the media in pursuit of peace during electioneering process

The study investigated the challenges experienced by media in their pursuit of peace during electioneering process. Respondents were asked to indicate the challenges media face during electioneering process. Table 6.3 shows the results.

Table 6.3: Challenges experienced by media during electioneering process

Challenges	Frequency
Insecurity	373
Weak national institutions	87
Fear of victimization	200
Unprofessionalism	134
Poor working condition	198
Brutality and killings	213
Conflict of interest	71
Destruction of cameras and gadgets	267

Source: Field Data (2019)

From the study, several factors were found to influence media performance during electioneering process. From the findings, it is revealed that insecurity was the most critical challenge faced by media during electioneering process. This was attributed to both harassments by the citizens, political leaders, and conflicting areas.

From the findings, it show that there are global north values, Asian values, African values, Islamic and ostensibly a clash of civilizations. Citizens incline to comprehend and analyze facts and ideas more from their own geographical, religious and cultural backdrop rather than from the truths and ideas themselves. Media organizations are on the alert to increase number of journalists who are being targeted and whose murderers escape punishment. New media and security legislations adopted affect media freedom

in addition to the existing limitations. Both state security and politicians strive to control, manipulate or silence a free press.

From the findings, it is certain that with an avalanche of information, real time communication, the dictatorship of images, and superiority of news over analysis and features, financial limitations that cut articles by half and do not allow field coverage leaves the public uninformed.

The study also reveals that credibility on the use of social media is one of the biggest challenge. This observation corresponds with the findings of the Journalists and media practitioners who identified consistency and trustworthiness of information as the greatest risk or danger of using social media. This finding also concurs with findings of the Social Journalism Study, UK (2013) which found out that journalists were especially concerned about the accuracy of social media information.

One of the key respondent stated that, Journalism is built on credibility. One live in a media-saturated era of information overload. One has a lot to choose from and most of it is free. This information access, although empowering presents unique challenges, both to journalists and to society. For the journalists, it is a question of which source can be trusted; for the audience, it is a question of which journalist or News Company can be trusted. According to a Royal Media Journalist;

> It remains a journalist's mandate to go beyond what is trending and to verify information; more so because news companies must be seen to remain authoritative even in the face of social media. (Interview with Citizen Journalist held at Milimani Hotel, 2/04/2019).

The question of whether a blogger is a journalist and whether there is a sharp distinction between the two disciplines is one of interest. This study found out that bloggers regard blogging as a profession. The Bloggers Association of Kenya is an organization which aims to provide bloggers with a platform for recognition. Besides both bloggers and journalists communicate to inform, educate and entertain. The study found out that journalists do not regard bloggers as legitimate affiliates of the fourth estate. According to an Osienala F.M journalist;

> The practice of journalism is governed by laws and ethics which are instilled through formal training. Blogging by nature is personal therefore biased, contrary to one of the basic tenets of journalism (Interview with Osienala FM journalist held at Osienala Reception Office on 02/04/2019).

The study found out that there are currently no rules and regulations in Kenya governing the practice of blogging. This in part has contributed to people running anonymous blogs which often are used to propagate gossip and hate speech. To remedy this situation, there has been suggested in the past by the Media Council of Kenya that bloggers acquire degrees or diplomas. This requirement could have both positive and negative effects. It could lock out many people looking to express themselves through blogging which would lead to deficiency of diverse content on the internet. On the flipside, requiring bloggers to undergo training could improve the quality of content on the internet thus bring about professionalism which is a challenge.

These findings corroborate with findings from the interviews with media practitioners and journalists who claimed that:

> You rather lose your life than the cameras, how did you lose the camera or vehicle? Failure to report or cover a certain politician will lead to them looking for your head.

(Interview with Media Practitioner of KBC, held at Milimani Office on 27/03/2019).

Another key informant claimed that:

> The police will arrest you even if you don't have a case to answer. The station you come from risks being burnt. Lose of tools like cameras, life and destruction of vehicle. Loss of jobs due to careless coverage (Interview with Ramogi journalist, held at Kisumu Hotel on 28/03/2019).

According to Media Foundation for West Africa (2011), all television channels instigated aggression against their adversaries thereby confronting media channels or reporters of their rivals. There is general agreement that some media channels played an influential function in aggravating the social, political and ethnic hostilities in the country (Reporters Without Borders, 2011). Matanga *et al*., (2012) observed that it is not predominantly the incidents on Election Day but relatively the activities preceding the election and the kind of inducements and opportunities established that embolden belligerent groups to change their tactics from hostility to electoral politics. This was supported by an interview which purported that:

> Physical attacks on journalists by the security forces, intimidation and open threats against journalists by politicians, seizure of journalists' equipment and the suppression of media content are all typical features of election campaigns in Kenya. And 2017 was no exception. Since the start of 2017, there have been at least five cases of violence against a total of eight journalists by public figures or their bodyguards after the journalists raised sensitive political issues (Interview with Namlolwe FM Journalist, 5/05/2019).

The findings indicate that, in the 1992-5 Balkan war, print and electronic media promoted ethnic tensions and abhorrence steering aggression as claimed by Buric (2000) & Sadkovich, (1998). The study findings reveal that, whereas the unequivocal air of hatred posts was occasional, the increasing effect of prejudiced analysis fueled the abhorrence for elongated period. This was further in tandem with Vladimir & Schirch (2007) who opined that, presenters infuriated common citizens to the view that fighting an appropriate means for tackling injustices.

These findings corroborate with several reporters who were indicted for captivating the massacres in Rwanda. Government officials exploited Radio Rwanda and RTLM presenters to incite thus directing exterminations where Tutsi took refuge (Kamilindi, 2007:136). This finding supports Thompson (2007) who contended that media spikes war in the community by constructing pejorative comments centered on ethnic variations "race, color, and sex". "In Rwanda like the Balkans, media messages were intended to refine ethnic and political understandings".

These findings negate provision of libertarian theory which requires media to be immune from authority hegemonies and act as ombudsman that guard against leaders abuses of power. Instead of condoning inflammatory hate remarks by politicians, media comfortably aired them, including political propaganda adverts directed towards opponents, thus allowing for manipulation by politicians. Conversely, "social responsibility theory binds the experts to report factually, honestly and blatantly as a responsibility". This should not be misconceived to mean inciting remarks, as the same theory also obligates reporters to undertake legal and moral accountabilities in all that they print for the common worthy of the community.

These findings corroborate with findings from the reports obtained from newspapers which claimed that Journalists sometimes pay dearly for covering election-related events, especially those organized by the opposition, or for negative portrayals of President Kenyatta's Jubilee party and its flaws. Walter Menya, a reporter for the Nation Media Group's *Nation* newspaper, was arrested on 18 June. His arrest came after he wrote stories implicating senior officials in the use of a foundation to provide Kenyatta's reelection campaign with illegal funding. National Media Group reporter Winnie Atieno was covering the opposition Orange Democratic Party's primaries on 22 April, when police grabbed her phone and deleted all the photos she had taken at a voting station (Daily Nation, 2017).

The interview findings show a diverging opinions. State officials in security department believed that media fortified or supported coordinated misinformation while media specialists repudiated thus claimed that they reported factually what influential spoke hence could have triggered clashes. In substantiation of this opinion, a media expert maintained that precaution is taken in any print to make sure misinformation is avoided. Equally, the state officials claimed that there could be truthful precision in a particular account that could not be relieved for the total fact. He stated that; "*Factual precision can be deceptive and hence can be exploited to further political indoctrination*". To discourage this, a media expert articulated that broadcast analysis and copy editor should pursue discretion expressions to a narrative and validation from pertinent experts before transmissions.

However, the findings further show that ever since the December 2007 elections and the ensuing bloody clashes, the authorities have mistrusted the media, accusing them of fuelling hatred and violence and thereby being ultimately to blame for the violence. At a

result, they have been tempted to gag the media although the freedom to inform is enshrined in the 2010 constitution. At the start of 2017, the authorities issued a series of directives to the media on how to cover the elections. Francis Wangusi, the head of the Communications Authority of Kenya (CAK), announced on 7 March that, in order to "avoid violence," the media were banned outright from announcing the election results. "We are not going to allow these platforms to be used by people the way they want to," Wangusi said. This announcement was preceded by a 28 February directive requiring journalist to keep all their notes and recordings for six months and to ensure that guests on radio and TV programmes measure their words and do not incite hatred on the air (Standard Newspaper, pp3, 2017). The journalists would be held responsible, the directive said.

> "RSF condemns these pre-election directives inspired by mistrust of the media. Banning the media from covering certain subjects or forcing them to follow certain rules in their coverage constitutes a violation of media freedom. Measures of this kind aim to intimidate journalists and force them to censor themselves".

The results of this study that media fairly promote propaganda corroborate the results of Chretien *et al*, (1995) in his research on the role of radio in Rwanda. Chretien *et al* (1995) findings reveal that from the conflict inception, the authority comprehended the significance of employing media to rally Rwandans around the government and exploited it to conduct a strong indoctrination crusade. In support of this, Chretien *et al* (1995) findings revealed how RTLM recounted the killing of the Burundi president in extremely exaggerated manner to underscore thought Tutsi inhumaneness and intensified Hutu phobia of Tutsi.

The results are further substantiated with findings of Howard (2003) who asserted that most media statements firstly did not appear truthful, impartial and reasonable in

broadcasting election outcomes. Furthermore, BBC (2008) also stated that media stations were unethical in the fashion they conducted the announcement of election outcomes. Media publicized contrasting, haphazard and hypothetical results that instigated fear and bewilderment among already agitated supporters within the nation. This prompted the acuity that the election was manipulated fueling the election brutality.

Some key informants, journalists claimed that they are poorly paid by their employers thus in continuous worry of being laid off their ranks, as a result of unstable job safety and rising struggle in the media industry. A Royal media journalist noted that:

> "Operational situations of reporters in Kenya are not favorable, either their human rights are desecrated and battered by their bosses or information sources. The legitimate stipulations are not sufficient to offer reporters protection, though bosses can misuse their entitlements to reasonable remuneration (Interview with Royal Media Journalist held at Sunset Hotel, Kisumu, 29/03/2019)".

The journalist further added that about 80% of broadcast subject in radio, television and newspapers are obtained from writers, who does not have official agreements with the media stations, yet they remain to labor as they offer news that the media lives on. She further observes that press freedom, liberated financial prudence and presence of editorial codes of conducts are not adequate provisions for the enhancement of just and principled broadcasting custom.The journalist further elucidated that historically the government of Kenya has exercised its authorities to outlaw publications, detain dealers, hunt and grab airing apparatus and interrupt connections. The government exercised jurisdiction over reporters, on justifications that they were "bargaining public security".

Aside from state persecution, the media was criticized for contravening ethical principles. The BBC World Service Policy Trust records that there were plenty of

unsubstantiated intrigue notions of tactics rigging elections. The media printed grave claims touching on hate speeches, absolute deceptive speeches by candidates thus aiding political extremist. The media appeared comfortable to state them in evocative terms, only citing the informants and sometimes the counteract debates, and in rare circumstances indicating the oppositions or setting to task the candidates flattening the claims to explicitly validate the assertions (BBCWST, 2008).

In the contrary, findings revealed that: Royal Media group reporter Emmanuel Namisi sustained a serious head injury when he was attacked and badly beaten by Bungoma County governor Ken Lusaka's bodyguards in a restaurant in Bungoma on 5 June, after he accused the governor of corruption in his radio reporting. They said he had damaged the governor's image and were angered by his report on *Radio Citizen* and *Mulembe FM* blaming them for a woman's death during a demonstration in Bungoma three days before Daily Nation, pp3, 2017. It was Kakamega County governor Wyclife Oparanya's bodyguards who gave *Standard* newspaper journalist Dan Ocholla a severe beating on 7 May when he photographed workers injured by the collapse of a building under construction in Kakamega (Standard Newspaper, pp 2, 2017). His assailants tried to confiscate his phone and camera.

Three journalists working for the Mediamax group – Sarah Ndungu and Charles Mathai of *People Daily* and *K24* TV cameraman Patrick Kimanthi – were badly injured by demonstrators while covering a visit by Nairobi governor Evans Kidero to Nairobi's Dandora district to resolve a land dispute. All of these abuses have gone unpunished and, in most cases, no investigation was even opened although the journalists filed complaints. Impunity is a chronic problem, as RSF noted after regional newspaper editor John

Kituy's murder in April 2016 while investigating the intimidation of witnesses in the International Criminal Court case against Kenyan Deputy President William Ruto (People's Daily, 2016).

This was supported by freelance journalist interview:

> "We call on the Kenyan authorities to end this persecution of journalists and we remind them that the provision of news and information is essential during an election campaign, RSF said. Unpunished attacks of this kind have just one aim – to deter journalists from tackling certain political issues out of fear of reprisals (An interview with freelance journalist at Milimani, 15/05/2019)"

Generally, interview findings revealed that media stations were partisan during the 2007 general election process while this was not the same during saba saba events. The majority of copyeditors conceded whereas some media stations were dramatic and superfluously warned their listeners. It is apparent from the findings that live transmission of tallying of votes during 2007 and 2013 election process and the discernible political animosity exacerbated hostilities, causing the nation to nearly a downfall. Nevertheless, the media has learnt better hence depicting a good and informed reportage with no or slight compromise.

6.1.4 Strategies that can be used by government to enhance peaceful electioneering process

The study sought to investigate the strategies or measures that can be used to enhance peaceful electioneering process. The respondents were asked to indicate any strategy that can help improve the situation and reduce conflicts. A total of 85% respondents

indicated the following strategies and measures to be taken to enhance peaceful electioneering process. They include but not limited to; electoral body should carry out proper civic education to the public; electoral body be given mandate to prosecute and take stun action against leaders who breach the electoral law; NCIC to sensitize people on the peaceful co-existence and cohesion, media should follow rules and regulations; legal framework should be put in guiding media practitioners; political class should build trust amongst themselves and accept reality; improved security for media houses and journalists; observation of professionalism and employment of youths among others. From the interview with key informants;

> "Most informants believed that Nyalenda, Nyawita and Kondele act as the main blocks of politics in Kisumu and Nyanza as a whole. Political affairs was claimed to be at core for the experiences of the people. One key informant said that, individuals within Kisumu have tendency to mistrust the leadership. Of recent, during 2013 election, for instance, there were political demonstrations and protest in Nyalenda, Nyawita and Kondele areas arising from Supreme Court of Kenya decision that upheld Presidential Election results". (Official of ICS at Milimani office, 10/05/2019).

The informant indicated that, citizens chose to protest along roads because of decision of the court, contending that the results were manipulated and cooked. The demonstration resulted in killing of two people, while dozens were injured.

To avoid such mistakes in future, both media, IBEC officials and security specialists suggested the following measures to be undertaken; enactment of laws to govern opinion polling and regulate media outlets on statistics; training of media personnel on elections coverage; public awareness on democratic electoral processes; reform of electoral body on management of elections; and vetting of leaders and employees of the body. Media

being a powerful tool can come up with strategies of helping in conflict resolution. Key informants in the interview indicated that for media to help in resolving the conflict, they should try and visit the grounds in which the conflict occurred and also give prominence to the issue at hand. This will cut down the biased reporting as they will be able to determine the importance of this matter.

6.2 Chapter Summary

The study has found out that media has really evolved on how it relays information. Media has faced dynamic changes due to improved technology and liberalization of the press. The study also found out that media has improved from how they used to cover and report information.

The study further found out that media escalated violence during electioneering process through incitement, hate speech, manipulation and failure to cover some issues. Therefore, the study concluded that media is a two edged weapon and therefore can be used for conflict escalation and peace-building. The study also indicated that media experience different challenges during electioneering process coupled with politically instigated conflicts, destruction of tools, withholding of information, corruption, poor working conditions, bad weather, unprofessionalism, brutality by the police among others.

The study finally concluded that measures should be implemented to minimize the challenges and enhance peaceful electioneering process. Majority of respondents indicated that media should ensure professionalism, security provided, improve working conditions, implementation of rules and laws that govern media reporting, political

177

leaders should be prosecuted among others. The next chapter, Chapter Seven, offers the summary, conclusions and recommendations of the study (media influence on the conduct of electioneering process in Kenya with reference to Kisumu County) analyzed grounded on the various measures of the study objectives as captured in the conceptual model.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter presents a summary of findings upon which conclusions and recommendations are constructed. This is done according to the specific objectives and the corresponding research questions. It basically provides information included in each chapter. This chapter ends with suggestions for further research.

7.1 Summary of Findings

The study assessed media influence on the conduct of electioneering process in Kenya with reference to Kisumu County. The study collected information on various indicators of media influence to assess their relationship with conduct of electioneering process in Kisumu County. The study was aggravated by the hardly scholarly effort focused on the influence of media on the conduct of electioneering process in Kisumu County. The study was subdivided into seven chapters. The first chapter is the preliminary chapter which to begin with, postulates the background information. In the background, the study explains what media influence entails and how it has been used during

electioneering process and conflict situations globally, continentally, regionally and even locally. It has also focused on the statement of the problem. The chapter has demonstrated that media influence has been viewed negatively in the study area but however, the positive aspect of media has not been adequately researched on by the scholars.

Regarding specific objective one, it has been established that majority of the respondents were youths ranging from 18-45 years constituting (76.3%). Youths are very active members of the society and means of production. The study revealed that gender was represented by 222(57.5%) male while 164(42.5%) were female. The findings revealed that most of the Kisumu residents are married which constituted 307(76.8%), 62(15.5%) were single while 22(5.5%) were divorced. This indicated that majority had family responsibilities. The study further revealed that both respondents were drawn from Kisumu Central constituting 207(51.8%) and Nyakach constituted 192(48.0%). The findings indicated that majority of respondents had lived in the study area for over 15years constituted 214(51%), 10-15 years 105(28.8%).

The study further found out that, majority of respondents had post primary education thus had knowledge, could write and understand the questions posed. 248(62.0%) had college/ university education while 125(31.3%) had secondary education. Education was found to have greater implications on the livelihoods of the Kisumu residents.

The study found out that most preferred source of information was radio that constituted 136(34.0%) followed closely by internet 115(28.8%) and television 110(27.5%). This was credited to the point that radio has higher infiltration to the local areas, cheap and local stations. Television was preferred because of the photos and live coverage while internet provided faster news which are not monitored or controlled.

Television was found to be the most trusted source constituted 176(44%) as it provided photos, live coverage and visuals of the events. Respondents who agreed that media shapes their opinion were 251 (62.8%) while 135(33.6%) disagreed. The study further found out that television displayed photos and live coverage that influenced the public opinions on how to vote, engage in violence and conduct of electioneering process. These types of media influence people differently based on their ethnicity and political affiliations.

The study further found out that media influences their opinions to a large extent 194(48.5%), very large extent 133(33.3%) while only a few said it did to a very small extent 28(7.0%). This meant that there is high level of trust on media information, coverage and reporting hence influencing perceptions and opinions. Majority of respondents subscribed that media had a part in peace-building 377(94.2%) while only 23(5.8%) disagreed. This showed that media stations mostly the local FM played a role in cultivating peace.

When the correlation and regression was conducted, the study found out that there is great significance association between the independent variables thereby confirming linear correlation. The study found out that media role during electioneering process is twofold depending on how it used. Media can enhance peace when it is used objectively and maintain their watchdog and social responsibility role while it can be used for violence when manipulated by the government or political leaders.

The study further established that media coverage and reporting are much greatly reliable during the electioneering process since people make opinions and change behaviors depending on the agendas of the day. Most respondents (72%) believed that media influence their opinions and election outcomes.

Majority of the respondents 251(62.8%) held that the media coverage and reporting have effect on the voting behavior of respondents. Some of these cases arise where some politicians collude with media houses and journalist for greater focus in addition to bribing of the voters. As a result of such focus and opinion polls also indicating figures resulting in inflation and impression of a given politician or party is leading. This will influence the people's behavior towards voting pattern in a particular direction.

The media influence public opinion as far as coverage, reporting and agendas are concerned. The public tend to be swayed and believe what the media reports. Corrupt leaders will on the other side take advantage of the media houses and partisan journalists to propel their agendas and also misleading the people hence influencing public opinion.

A total of 287(71.8%) respondents liked the local stations which reports in mother-tongue languages as they easily understand the language, signs and depth of particular agenda set. The local stations brought political uncertainties and captured the minds of people towards their ethnic political orientations hence triggering violence especially during 2007 election. The media house however, portrayed a particular political party leading and popular but when the contrary happened, conflict erupted. The study further found out that television displayed photos and live coverage that influence the public opinions on how to vote, engage in violence and conduct of electioneering process.

There are other respondents which constituted (6.2%) who disagreed that media does not influence their opinions while 93% agreed. According to those who disagreed, the conduct of electioneering process is an issue of IEBC and politicians who determine how it's conducted. The influence of media houses and journalists' sparks conflict or facilitates peace-building depending on the direction they have taken.

Respondents which constituted (71.2%) agreed that media influence their opinions to a large extent, for instance, during the Presidential debate which first happened in Kenyan history and *Majimbo* talk which sparked off the heated debate and tension in Kenya in 2017 and 2007 and contributed to PEV in 2013 and 2007. The agendas on the debates contributed to PEV in 2013 and 2007 as per the study findings. However, the study found out that the media influence during 2002 election focused on historical injustices not ethnicity thus led to peaceful electioneering process.

However, despite media being observed to significantly influence the conduct of electioneering process leading to violence in 1992, 1997, 2007 and 2017, it was observed that it only acted as a trigger through influencing the public opinions such as politicians' statements, hate speech, impartial state of the electoral body, tribalism, failure to concede results, incitements by leaders, failure of KIMS kits, rigging claims, bribery, ethnic imbalance and unfair distribution of resources.

A number of media platforms chose social media to advocate for peace and reconciliation. These kinds of calls and platforms encouraged mediation and peaceful electioneering process. Some voters could change their opinions last minutes to casting of ballots due to the media influence on the opinions.

The study found out that media influences people mostly based on their age and gender. This was indicated by the tendencies of active participants during the electioneering process. The study found out that the youths ranging from 18-45years (78.8%) were mostly influenced as they are unemployed and depend on the politicians for hand-outs. The study also found out that at some ages, they have high tendency of voting and also not talking too much. The elderly tend to be cautious on how they respond and which topics they discuss with people. Men were found to be more influenced by the media.

However, some disagreed saying that since the inception of *Majimbo*, both female and male are influenced the same way. Women also fought for their posts and used media to sway or influence voters.

Chapter five examined the causes and types of conflicts during electioneering process. The study found that the major causes of conflicts were socio-economic factors constituted 211(51%), political and institutional factors constituted 157(38%) while resource and environmental constituted 47(11%). The chapter also addressed the types of conflicts which were found to be; electoral constituted (41%), ethnic conflict constituted (22%), political conflict constituted (18%) while resource-based conflict constituted (12%). The study established that electoral conflict has had widespread impact on the study area constituted (82.5%) followed closely by political conflict constituted (62.5%) while interest based had the least impact constituted (26.5%). The correlation shown that electoral and political conflicts were highly significant with high negative correlation. The study established that conflicts in the study area have had numerous impacts on the psychological, socio-economic, health and less impact on the political.

The study further established that youths constituted (28%) and political class (27%) were the major actors in conflicts within Kisumu County. This was attached to the point that youths could easily be manipulated by political class. The study established that media had covered conflict issues to a large extent constituted (49%), very large extent was (32%) while very small extent was (4%). This show that media performed a great influence in highlighting the conflict issues, chronological injustices in Kisumu County. Respondents constituted 354(90%) agreed that media had a role in conflict while 41(10%) of the respondents disagreed. The study further found out that media played a

role during electioneering process with respondents constituted 191(47.8%) said peace-building, conflict escalation was 76(19%) while both roles were 133(33.3%).

The study also established that media facilitated peace-building with respondents constituted 195(48.8%) said large extent, very large extent was 120(30%), and small extent was 71 (17.8%) while very small extent was 10 (2.5%). The study established that the correlation on media influence based on age showed a strong positive correlation of coefficient 0.652. While there was a weak negative relationship between gender and media role in conflict. The study, therefore, established that media should be given mandate to address the historical injustices facing people of Kisumu County. Thus, conflicts in Kisumu County can only be resolved when all leaders, stakeholders and local communities work together.

Chapter six assessed the challenges experienced by the media in their pursuit of peace. The study found out that media has really evolved on how it relays information. Media has faced dynamic changes due to improved technology and liberalization of the press. The study also found out that media has improved from how they used to cover and report information.

The study further found out that media escalated violence during electioneering process through incitement, hate speech, manipulation and failure to cover some issues. Therefore, the study established that media is a two edged weapon and hence used for conflict escalation and peace-building. The study also indicated that media experience different challenges during electioneering process coupled with politically instigated conflicts, destruction of tools, withholding of information, corruption, poor working conditions, bad weather, unprofessionalism, brutality by the police among others.

The study finally established that measures should be implemented to minimize the challenges and enhance peaceful electioneering process. Majority of respondents constituted (79.1%) indicated that media should ensure professionalism, security provided, improve working conditions, implementation of rules and laws that govern media reporting, political leaders should be prosecuted among others.

7.2 Conclusions

This study has extended the boundaries in the body of knowledge regarding conduct of electioneering process by illustrating the unique role played by the media, as a fourth estate that engages the social, psychological, cultural and political dimensions of human beings in promoting peace. Peace does not stop at mere activities but begins with an individual and spreads to relationship with others. This study has augmented the body of knowledge by providing illustration on the validity of Siebert *et al*'s Social Responsibility theory, which underscores the need for the media to create a cohesiveness and promote human rights among people. By touching on the fundamental of human being for respect and universal rights, a strong motivation for peace-building efforts has been called for in the various media houses. The conclusions are provided as per specific objectives as follows:

In conclusion, one must revisit the major challenge of this study. This study had initially focused on assessing the media influence on the conduct of electioneering process in Kenya with reference to Kisumu County following the PEV. However, due to the foregoing discussions, the study advances the thesis that peaceful conduct of electioneering process is not only about addressing the direct violence, it also addresses

peace-building process and human rights in Kenya by looking at structural and cultural causes of violence to.

Finally, the study concludes that media have a significant influence in that it impacts the conduct of electioneering process in Kenya either positively or negatively. This mainly arise due to media coverage, reporting, partisan and neutrality which influence public opinions during the electioneering process. The kind of media influence led to PEV in 1992, 1997, 2007 and 2017. On the contrary, 2002 witnessed a peaceful conduct of electioneering as media focused on the issues affecting society not ethnicity or politics.

As regards first objective, the study found out that media influence the opinions of people to a large extent. This meant that there is high level of trust on media information, coverage and reporting hence influencing perceptions and opinions. The study further concludes that there is a greater significance association between the independent variables thereby confirming linear correlation. The study found that media role during electioneering process is twofold depending on how it used. Media can enhance peace when it is used objectively and maintain their watchdog and social responsibility role while it can be used for violence when manipulated by the government or political leaders.

The study therefore concludes that, the media coverage and reporting during electioneering process influences people's opinions and majority of firms rush making money to advertise particular leaders or politicians. The study also concludes that, media acted as a trigger to conflicts especially PEV but there were other factors that led to violence such as negative ethnicity, rigging claims, unfair resource distribution, incitement and hate speech from leaders and corrupt electoral body.

Generally, the study concludes that media influences electioneering process in that it shapes the opinions of the public, advocate for rights of the citizens, highlights the historical injustices, highlights the ongoing claims of rigging and corruption, educate the public and train the IEBC on how to conduct peaceful election. Media also raise the temperatures and captured the minds of people hence having perceptions of rigging hence leading to violence in 1992, 1997, 2007 and 2017.

As regards second objective, it was concluded that historical injustices, election rigging claims and ethnicity were the major causes of conflicts within Kisumu County. Youths are actively involved in conflicts due to high level of unemployment. People are always prepared that their own will win and address the historical injustices. People were prepared for violence as media reported an atmosphere of rigging or volatile for conflicts. A win mentality in Kisumu County where there are only winners and no losers also precipitated conflicts.

The study also concludes that the major types of conflicts in Kisumu County are electoral and political conflicts. Most conflicts in Kisumu occur during electioneering process. However, ethnicity was also alluded to as a major type of conflict that affects mostly the border of Nyakach and Nandi. Negative ethnicity has influenced the recurrence of conflicts along the Nyakach and Nandi border.

Finally, the study concludes that youths and political class are the major active participants in these conflicts. Also media have played a role during electioneering process eliciting both positive and negative aspects. Therefore, it is imperative to include youths in the peace initiatives. Nevertheless, media is not the only contributing factor on the nature of elections in Kenya. There are additional elements influencing the kind of electioneering process. Actually, media may not be the underlying cause but triggers. It

shapes the opinions of the public towards peaceful or violent electioneering process. Other factors that can lead to peaceful conduct of electioneering process are fair electoral body, fair distribution of resources, balanced ethnicity, resolving historical injustices, national based political parties and neutral security officials. While factors contributing to conflict include, unfair distribution of resources, tribalism, imbalanced ethnicity, rigging claims, marginalization and negative ethnicity

As regards third objective, it was concluded that media portrayed a volatile environment and always focused on who was likely to win, thus people were geared towards confrontation if results did not favor them. Insecurity issues was also a challenge during electioneering process in Kenya. Many journalists lost their gadgets or cameras, lost their lives and some brutality harassed by police and political leaders. A must win mentality that was fueled by biased coverage, reporting and misled polls are a challenge to media.

The study also concludes that the media reporting and coverage are conducted in a way which favors a particular political party or individual. Moreover, the media create tension by portraying certain candidate to be un-familiar in the country and also creating rifts between communities. The media and journalists were also influenced by the ethnicity and political leaders thus shifting from objective to subjective kind of reporting. The journalists also faced hostility from the community or society members.

Generally, media experienced challenges during electioneering process which includes unprofessionalism, poor working condition, destruction of their gadgets and even harassment or murder, unwillingness of the public to provide information.

7.3 Overall Conclusion

The overall conclusion that tallies with the general objective of the study is that electioneering process is not all about addressing the direct causes of violence. Instead, it addresses peace-building by looking at the structural and cultural dimensions of peace. The media influence in conduct of electioneering process can be better understood by Galtung's structural peace-building theory and Siebert *et al's* Social Responsibility Theory. Involvement of media during electioneering process within Kisumu County has transitioned over decades since post-independence democratic struggle; from being passive to aggressive pro-activity; an evolutionary move from being in the background to being at the forefront in championing peace and human rights.

Therefore, the media influence on the conduct of electioneering process in Kenya can be better understood within the framework of Galtung's structural peace-building theory and Siebert *et al* Social Responsibility Theory. In so doing, the study advances the body of knowledge on the conduct of electioneering process by illustrating the peculiar role played by the media as a fourth estate that engages the social, psychological, cultural and political dimensions of human beings in promoting peace. In so doing, the major challenge to the media is the deep rooted ethnic violence often submerged with the politically aware society and structures of the culture itself.

Therefore, the overall conclusion of this study was that the media has contributed to the peaceful electioneering process by not only educating and training, but by also addressing the historical injustices, structural and cultural conflicts. However, it was further observed that these influences of media have not been without challenges such as insecurity and unprofessionalism exhibited by journalists and media houses.

7.4 Recommendations

Based on the conclusions, the study makes the following recommendations according to the specific objectives. It is generally recommended that media be embraced in high peace-building initiatives since it has proven to be more effective in addressing election issues and historical injustices where other forms of avenues have failed.

In view of the data gathered on the types of media influence according to the specific objective one, the study recommended that all media stations and platforms must be compelled to be objective, neutral and impartial in carrying out their duties so that they avoid misleading information and biasness towards other people that may drive the country to harm. A regulatory law should be enforced that monitor the reliability of these media platforms. In case, some stations are owned by politicians and businesspersons, their motivation may be for selfish gain as opposed to public good. A body should be enforced to oversee how media works within the ethical standards and codes. This can increase trust and reliability of the information disseminated by the media for the public consumption. The media can do better by interrogating the ideologies and issues these politicians stand for and how it will benefit common citizens.

As regards causes and types of conflicts according to specific objective two, it is recommended that the National and County Government must address the structural and cultural causes of conflicts across the country. There is need for the media to accept and incorporate some of the traditional mechanisms of conflict resolution which have been undermined since colonial era. The study therefore, recommends that political leaders, local community members and media should partner in addressing the underlying triggers and nature of conflicts in Kenya. There is a need to institute measures to counter

the culture of violence in the country. This would involve promoting tolerance and understanding among all ethnic, religious and regional formations in the country. It is also important to address the prevailing social constructions and cultural stereotypes that identify some communities as inferior to others. In addition, there is the need to tame hate speech and hate media that accentuate the prevailing negative cultural and ethnic differences in the country. Of greater import is the need to engage a gendered discourse on conflict resolution in the country with a view to integrating the efforts of both men and women in the pursuit of positive peace for the posterity of the nation.

As regards to challenges experienced by the media as per specific objective three, it is recommended that the media needs to find mechanisms for resolving the challenges where it appears some journalists are politically partisan and biased in media coverage and reporting or where they are sometimes perceived as corrupt or unprofessional. Apart from the media practitioners and security officers, both religious leaders, local citizen should be incorporated in the peaceful electioneering process. As such, working as partners will ensure inclusivity to engage groups.

Therefore, this study recommends that in future, measures and strategies should be taken to ensure that the media include all stakeholders in promoting peaceful electioneering process. The media role is paramount as reported in the literature in other developing countries such as Rwanda where the media has taken a lead in reconciling the communities and promoting development agenda. Lastly, institutional strengthening is of great import in assuring positive peace in the country. Institutional failure contributes significantly to the cycle of conflict in the country. Key institutions that would assure peaceful transfer of power are increasingly being compromised by the ruling elite. For instance, the electoral commission has on several occasions been accused of

manipulating electoral results, thereby leading to violence in the country. Subsequently, in the August 8 2017 elections, the National Super Alliance (NASA) accused the IEBC of rigging the presidential elections in favour of Jubilee Party's candidate and the then incumbent, President Kenyatta. Consequently, NASA filed a petition in the Supreme Court.

7.5 Suggestions for Further Research

Based on the gray areas that this study did not adequately tackled, it is hereby proposed that further research be conducted on different context and regions of the country. According to specific objective one on types of media influence, the study suggests that further research be done on the influence of state on liberal media during elections. This will help in the development of policies that govern media operations during electioneering process hence streamlining media coverage and reporting.

As regards specific objective two, the study investigated the causes and types of conflicts during electioneering process in Kisumu County. It should be noted that media reporting and coverage are not the only causes of conflicts. However, some factors causing conflicts had been dealt with but their influence during electioneering process has not been clearly examined. Therefore, this study suggests a further research be conducted on the influence of ethnicity and media partisan on the conduct of electioneering process.

As regards specific objective three, the study assessed the challenges experienced by the media in their pursuit of peace. For a long time, journalists have misrepresented facts, thereby fueling conflicts. This study, therefore, suggests further research that critically examines journalists' relationship with conduct of electioneering process in Kenya.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRES FOR REGISTERED VOTERS, STATE MEDIA AGENCIES AND DEPARTMENTS AND ORDINARY CITIZENS

My name is Rodgers Ombeck, a student pursuing Masters of Science in Peace and Conflict Studies at Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology. I am currently conducting a study on "*Media Influence on the Conduct of Electioneering*

Process in Kenya with reference to Kisumu County, Kenya". To fulfill this task, I kindly request you to complete this Questionnaire. Kindly feel free to respond to all questions appropriately. This will be treated with a lot of confidentiality.

Tick (√) where necessary

SECTION A: BASIC INFORMATION:

1. Please indicate your age

   ☐   8-35   ☐   36-45   ☐   46-55   ☐   Above 55

2. Please indicate your gender

   ☐   Male   ☐   Female

3. Indicate your marital status

   ☐   Single   ☐   Married   ☐   Divorced

4. Please indicate location you reside/work from in Kisumu County?

Sub-county…………………………………………

Division……………………………………………

Ward……………………………………………….

Location……………………………………………

Sub-location………………………………………..

5. For how long have you been living/working in Kisumu County?

   ☐ Less than 5 years   ☐ Between 5 and 10 years   ☐ Between 10 and 15 years

   ☐   Over 15 years

6. Please indicate your highest level of education and training obtained

   Primary ☐   Secondary   College/University   Others (specify)………....

SECTION B: TYPES OF MEDIA INFLUENCE ON THE CONDUCT OF ELECTIONEERING PROCESS IN KISUMU COUNTY.

7. Please indicate your most preferred sources of information?

☐ Internet ☐ Television ☐ ☐ Radio
Facebook

☐ Twitter ☐ Newspapers ☐ ☐Magazines
Blogs

8. Please indicate your most trusted source of information.

☐ Internet ☐ Television ☐ ☐ Radio
Facebook

☐ Twitter ☐ Newspapers ☐ ☐Magazines
Blogs

9. Do you think the media shapes your opinion during electioneering process?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If Yes/No, please explain how;

…………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………

10. To what extent do you agree or disagree that media reporting/coverage shapes most of your opinions during electioneering process?

☐ Very large extent ☐ Large extent ☐ Small extent

☐ Very small extent ☐ I don't know

11. In your own view, do you think the media has a role to play in peace-building?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If Yes, kindly explain how;

……

……

12. To what extent do you trust the media to give reliable information on violent conflict issues?

☐   Very large extent   ☐   Large extent   ☐   Small extent

☐   Very small extent   ☐   I don't know

13. Based on the listed factors, rank them in a scale of 1-5 (denoting no influence to greater influence) the extent to which they influenced your reactions/opinions towards media reporting and coverage during electioneering process.

Age

Gender

Social status

Habitation (urban/rural)

Ethnicity

SECTION C: EXAMINE THE CAUSES AND TYPES OF CONFLICTS DURING ELECTIONEERING PROCESS IN KISUMU COUNTY.

14. In your view, what do you think are the main causes of conflict in Kisumu County?

……

……

15. What types of conflicts have been experienced in Kisumu County since 1992?

……

………………………………………………………………………………………………………

16. From the above mentioned, what type(s) of conflicts has had a wide spread effect in Kisumu County since 1992?

☐   Resource-based conflict ☐ Ethnic conflict ☐   Electoral conflict

☐   Political   ☐   Interest-☐ased   Others (specify)…………

17. What are some of the impacts of conflicts in Kisumu County?

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

18.   Who are the actors involved in different types of conflicts in Kisumu County?

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

19. Kisumu County has been an epicenter of conflicts since 1992, to what extent do you agree or disagree that media has extensively highlighted the issues of violent conflicts in the area?

☐   Very large extent   ☐   Large extent   ☐   Small extent

☐   Very small extent   ☐   I don't know

20. In your own view, do you think media could have played a role in conflict situations during electioneering process in Kisumu County?

☐   Yes   ☐   No

If Yes, what role did media play?

☐   Conflict escalation   ☐   Peace-building   ☐   Both roles

21.   To what extent has media facilitated peace-building during conflicts in Kisumu County?

☐   Very large extent   ☐   Large extent   ☐   Small extent

☐   Very small extent   ☐   I don't know

22.   In your own opinion, what are some of the measures put in place in managing the conflicts in Kisumu County?

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

SECTION D: CHALLENGES EXPERIENCED BY THE MEDIA IN PURSUIT OF PEACE DURING ELECTIONEERING PROCESS IN KENYA, KISUMU COUNTY.

23.   In your own view, do you think media has changed in the way they relay information during electioneering process in Kisumu County since 1992?

☐   Yes   ☐   No

Explain your answer……………………………………………………………

24. In your own opinion, does media escalate violence/conflict during electioneering process?

☐   Yes   ☐   No

25.   With reference to the above question, state some of the challenges experienced by the media during electioneering process

……………………………………………………………………………………………

26.   In your own opinion, what are some of the strategies/measures the Government can use to enhance peace during electioneering process in Kisumu County?

……………………………………………………………………………………………

THE END.

Thank you very much for your time and cooperation. God bless you

APPENDIX 2: KEY INFORMANTS INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (STATE MEDIA AGENCIES, JOURNALISTS, MEDIA HOUSES AND GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS)

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What types of media are common sources of information for Kisumu County residents?
2. What influence do you think media has had on peace-building during electioneering process since multi-party democracy?
3. What are the effects of agenda setting on conflicts during electioneering process?
4. How has the media influenced public opinion during electioneering process in Kisumu County?
5. What role do journalists play in peace-building during electioneering process?
6. In your own view, what is the future of the media on peace-building?
7. What are some of the causes of conflicts in Kisumu County?
8. What are the types of conflicts that are common in Kisumu County?
9. What are the impacts of these conflicts on the Kisumu residents?
10. What are the challenges facing media operations in conflict situation?
11. What are the challenges experienced by the media during electioneering process?
12. In your own view, what do you think are the best strategies for managing the challenges?

THE END.

Thank you very much for your time and cooperation. God bless you!

APPENDIX 3: KEY INFORMANTS INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR CSO, SECURITY OFFICIALS & LOCAL LEADERS

My name is Rodgers Ombeck, a student pursuing Masters of Science in Peace and Conflict Studies at Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology. I am currently conducting a study on *"Media Influence on the Conduct of Electioneering Process in Kenya with reference to Kisumu County, Kenya"*. You have been selected to take part in this study. Kindly feel free to respond to all questions appropriately. This will be treated with a lot of confidentiality.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. What is the role of the media during conflict/violence?
2. Does media have any influence on the decisions made by government? Explain.
3. How does the media influence peace-building during electioneering process?
4. In what circumstances do you think media would have performed better during electioneering process in Kisumu County?
5. In your own view, what do you think are some of the causes of conflicts in Kisumu County during electioneering process?
6. What are some of the types of conflicts that are normally experienced in Kisumu County during electioneering process?
7. What are some of the factors that affects media influence on peace-building during conflicts?
8. What are some of the factors/ challenges in your own view, you think affects media performance during electioneering process in Kisumu County?
9. In your own view, what do you think are the best strategies for managing the challenges?

<div align="center">

THE END.

</div>

Thank you very much for your time and cooperation. God bless you!

APPENDIX 4: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS GUIDE FOR WOMEN GROUP, VICTIMS AND COUNCIL OF ELDERS

My name is Rodgers Ombeck, a student pursuing Masters of Science in Peace and Conflict Studies at Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology. I am currently conducting a study on "*Media Influence on the Conduct of Electioneering Process in Kenya with reference to Kisumu County, Kenya*". You have been selected to take part in this study. Kindly feel free to respond to all questions appropriately. This will be treated with a lot of confidentiality.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION:

1. What is the role of the media during crisis?
2. Does media have any influence on the decisions made by government? Explain.
3. How does the media influence peace-building during electioneering process?
4. In what circumstances do you think media would have performed better during electioneering process in Kisumu County?
5. In your own view, what do you think are some of the causes of conflicts in Kisumu County during electioneering process?
6. What are some of the types of conflicts that are normally experienced in Kisumu County during electioneering process?
7. What are some of the factors that affects media influence on peace-building during conflicts?
8. What are some of the challenges experienced by the media during electioneering process?
9. In your own view, what do you think are the best strategies for managing the challenges facing media during electioneering process in Kenya?

THE END.

Thank you very much for your time and cooperation. God bless you!

APPENDIX 5: AUTHORIZATION LETTER FROM MMUST- DPS

MASINDE MULIRO UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (MMUST)

Tel: 056-30870
Fax: 056-30153
E-mail: directordps@mmust.ac.ke
Website: www.mmust.ac.ke

P.O Box 190
Kakamega – 50100
Kenya

Directorate of Postgraduate Studies

Ref: MMU/COR: 509099

21st February, 2019

Rodgers Ombeck Oyoo,
CPC/G/01-54638/2017,
P.O. Box 190-50100,
KAKAMEGA.

Dear Mr. Oyoo,

RE: APPROVAL OF PROPOSAL

I am pleased to inform you that the Directorate of Postgraduate Studies has considered and approved your Masters proposal entitled *"Media Influence on the Peaceful Conduct of Electioneering Process in Kenya with Specific Reference to Kisumu County, Kenya"* and appointed the following as supervisors:

1. Prof. Pontian G. Okoth   - SDMHA, MMUST
2. Prof. Frank K. Matanga   - SDMHA, MMUST

You are required to submit through your supervisor(s) progress reports every three months to the Director of Postgraduate Studies. Such reports should be copied to the following: Chairman, School of Disaster Management and Humanitarian Assistance Graduate Studies Committee; Chairman, Peace and Conflict Studies & Departmental Graduate Studies Committee. Kindly adhere to research ethics consideration in conducting research.

It is the policy and regulations of the University that you observe a deadline of three years from the date of registration to complete your Master's thesis. Do not hesitate to consult this office in case of any problem encountered in the course of your work.

We wish you the best in your research and hope the study will make original contribution to knowledge.

Yours Sincerely,

DEAN
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
MASINDE MULIRO UNIVERSITY
OF SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

Prof. John Obiri.............Sign:.....................
DIRECTOR, DIRECTORATE OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES

APPENDIX 6: AUTHORIZATION LETTER FROM MINISTRY OF INTERIOR AND COORDINATION OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

THE PRESIDENCY

MINISTRY OF INTERIOR AND COORDINATION OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Telephone: Kisumu 2022219/Fax: 2022219
Email: ckisumucounty@gmail.com

COUNTY COMMISSIONER
KISUMU COUNTY
P.O. BOX 1912-40100
KISUMU

Ref: CC/KC/ED/3/VOL.4/(185)

Date: 15th May 2019

All Deputy County Commissioners
KISUMU COUNTY

RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION: RODGERS OMBECK OYOO

Reference is made to a letter from National Commission for Science Technology and Innovation ref: NACOSTI/P/19/28968/29515 dated 12th April 2019 on the above subject matter.

The above named is a student of Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology, he has been authorized to carry out a research on *"Media influence on the peaceful conduct of electioneering process in Kenya with specific reference to Kisumu County*. The research ends on 12th April, 2020.

Kindly accord him any assistance that he may need.

P.A. DOLLA (MBS)
COUNTY COMMISSIONER
KISUMU COUNTY

Copy to:
Rodgers Ombeck Oyoo
Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology
P.O. Box 190-50100
KAKAMEGA

APPENDIX 7: AUTHORIZATION LETTER FROM MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

REPUBLIC OF KENYA

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
State Department of Early Learning & Basic Education

Telegrams:"schooling",Kisumu
Telephone: Kisumu 057 - 2024599
Email: countyeducation.kisumu@gmail.com

When replying please quote

COUNTY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION
KISUMU COUNTY
PROVINCIAL HEADQUARTERS NYANZA
3RD FLOOR
P.O. BOX 575 – 40100
KISUMU

REF: CDE/KSM/GA/19/3A/V.II/190   9th May, 2019

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION
RODGERS OMBECK OYOO – NACOSTI/P/19/28968/29515

The above named is from Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology.

This is to certify that he has been granted authority to carry out research on *Media influence on the peaceful conduct of electioneering process in Kenya with specific reference to Kisumu County, Kenya"* for the period ending **12th April, 2020.**

Any assistance accorded to him to accomplish the assignment will be highly appreciated.

EVANS O. MOSE
For: COUNTY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION
KISUMU COUNTY

APPENDIX 8a: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION LETTER

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone:+254-20-2213471,
2241349,3310571,2219420
Fax:+254-20-318245,318249
Email: dg@nacosti.go.ke
Website : www.nacosti.go.ke
When replying please quote

NACOSTI, Upper Kabete
Off Waiyaki Way
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref: No. **NACOSTI/P/19/28968/29515**

Date: **12th April, 2019**

Rodgers Ombeck Oyoo
Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology
P. O Box 190-50100
KAKAMEGA

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on *"Media influence on the peaceful conduct of electioneering process in Kenya with specific reference to Kisumu County, Kenya"* I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Kisumu County** for the period ending **12th April, 2020.**

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Kisumu County** before embarking on the research project.

Kindly note that, as an applicant who has been licensed under the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2013 to conduct research in Kenya, you shall deposit **a copy** of the final research report to the Commission within **one year** of completion. The soft copy of the same should be submitted through the Online Research Information System.

GODFREY P. KALERWA MSc., MBA, MKIM
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
Kisumu County.

The County Director of Education
Kisumu County.

APPENDIX 8b: RESEARCH PERMIT

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MR. RODGERS OMBECK OYOO
of **MASINDE MULIRO UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, 0-50100 KAKAMEGA,** has been permitted to conduct research in *Kisumu County*

Permit No : NACOSTI/P/19/28968/29515
Date Of Issue : 12th April,2019
Fee Recieved :Ksh 1000

on the topic: *MEDIA INFLUENCE ON THE PEACEFUL CONDUCT OF ELECTIONEERING PROCESS IN KENYA WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO KISUMU COUNTY, KENYA*

for the period ending:
12th April,2020

Applicant's Signature

Director General
National Commission for Science, Technology & Innovation