

**THE IMPLICATIONS OF *NATION* NEWSPAPERS PEACE REPORTING IN
THE RUN UP TO 2013 ELECTIONS IN KENYA**

OCHIENG EVANS ERICK OTIENO

**A Project Report submitted to the Graduate school in Partial Fulfillment of the
requirements for the award of Master of Arts Degree in Journalism and Mass
Communication of Egerton University**

EGERTON UNIVERSITY

NOVEMBER, 2016

DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATION

Declaration

This Project Report is my original work and has not been presented for the award of any Degree in any other University.

Signature

Date

EVANS ERICK OTIENO OCHIENG

REG NO: AM19/00011/12

Recommendation

This Project Report has been submitted for examination with our approval as University supervisors.

Signature

Date

DR. PHYLIS BARTOO

Department of Literature, Languages and Linguistics

Egerton University

Signature

Date

DR. FURAHA CHAI

Department of Literature, Languages and Linguistics

Egerton University

COPYRIGHT © 2016

Ochieng, Evans Erick Otieno

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, distributed, or transmitted in any form by any means, including photocopying, recording or other electronic or mechanical methods, without the prior permission of the copyright owner, except in the case of brief quotations embodied in critical reviews and certain other noncommercial uses permitted by copyright law.

DEDICATION

To my loving parents Mr. Hesbone Ochieng Abuto and Mrs. Pamela Awino Ochieng and my fiancé Ms. Stella Jepkemboi Boiywoh

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I thank God for the gift of life and having enabled me to reach this level of education. It is all through His grace and guidance. My deepest gratitude goes to my supervisors; Dr. Phylis Bartoo (Chair Department of Languages, Literature and Linguistics, Egerton University) and Dr. Furaha Chai (Associate Dean, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Egerton University) for their guidance, support, encouragement, and positive critical comments that have helped me to come up with this Project; may the almighty God bless you in abundance.

I am equally grateful to the following distinguished scholars who were instrumental in ensuring the success of this project: Prof. Nabea Wendo (Laikipia University) who taught me a course on Peace Journalism where the project idea was conceived as a class assignment, Ms. Lydia Mareri (Lecturer Department of Languages, Literature and Linguistics, Egerton University) who helped me develop my concept paper, Dr. Vicky Khasandi Telewa (Senior Lecturer Department of Literary and Communication, Laikipia University) who dedicated her time to edit and proofread each of my proposal and project report drafts, Prof. James Onyango Ogola (Laikipia University) whom I consulted on research theory to use in the study and taught me a course on Research Methods, Prof. Felicia Arudo Yieke (Laikipia University) for her moral support and words of wisdom, Dr. Babere Kerata Chacha (Laikipia University) for his moral and financial support, Mr. Sammy Gakero (Asst. Lecturer Department of Languages, Literature and Linguistics, Egerton University) for providing me with important literature to help beef up my background to the study and literature review.

Special thanks also go to my classmates Stellah Nasimiyu Matofari, Samwel Kipsang, Ivy Chebunyo, Habakkuk Wanyonyi Nakiboli, Manoah Otuoma Mukhwana, Esther Adhiambo, and Beatrice Wangari Maina for their moral support throughout this project and in helping me conceive my topic. Your support cannot pass unmentioned.

May I also not forget to acknowledge my siblings Fredrick Ouma Ochieng, Kennedy Omondi Ochieng, and Tom Joseph Owino Ochieng for their constant encouragements; to you brothers I say thank you. My sincere thanks also go to library staff at Nakuru Town

Campus College Library for providing access to newspaper archives where I was able to retrieve my data, which formed the sample of this study. I also appreciate the overwhelming support and cooperation that I received from the all the participants at the following newspaper vending points: KFA roundabout Nakuru, Section 58, Huduma Centre Nakuru opposite the National Bank of Kenya and Afraha Stadium junction. To those not mentioned and were instrumental to this project work, I sincerely thank you for your enthusiasm and cooperative spirit and may God bless you all.

ABSTRACT

This study examined peace reporting by *Nation* newspapers in the run up to the 2013 elections. In the run up to the 2013 general elections, Kenyans were constantly reminded of the 2007/2008 post election violence through newspaper reporting. Since the media is inextricably connected to elections, seemingly there was the need to interrogate the implications of peace messages in newspapers and the coverage of elections held in Kenya. The objectives of the study were: to describe the *Nation* newspaper peace messages in the editorials, headlines, news, opinion, and advertisement in the run up to the 2013 elections; to establish Kenyans' reactions to the peace messages from the newspaper contents; and to determine the perceptions of the newspaper readers on the contribution of these messages to the 2013 elections in Kenya. The study relied on descriptive research design, which is a design in qualitative research and premised on Agenda Setting theory by Mc Combs and Donald Shaw. The study population consisted respondents from four marked newspaper-vending points within Nakuru town and the selected contents from the *Nation* newspapers. These newspapers carried messages advocating for peace between the periods of February and April 2013. Purposive sampling was used to select newspaper contents with peace messages and to select newspaper readers in Nakuru town. Focused Group Discussions and Interviews were used as research instruments. Content and textual analysis was the main form of data analysis in the study. Research findings showed that *Nation* newspapers carried peace messages in news and feature stories, editorials, opinion and advertisements. The study findings revealed that majority of Kenyans read the peace messages and took them into consideration in their conduct during the elections. However, the findings show that although media experts and scholars accused the media of 'indulging' in peace advocacy and forgetting their watchdog role, the respondents praised the role media played in ensuring after poll calm, peaceful coexistence and tolerance. These findings are useful to the media houses and media practitioners in their effort to use newspapers as a medium of peace reporting and other forms of advocacy besides contributing to knowledge on how media contents are received by the society and the way society behavioral patterns are shaped through the media.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATION..... ii

COPYRIGHT © 2016..... iii

DEDICATION.....iv

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT..... v

ABSTRACT.....vii

TABLE OF CONTENTS viii

LIST OF TABLES.....xi

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS.....xii

CHAPTER ONE 1

INTRODUCTION1

 1.1 Background to the Study 1

 1.2 Statement of the Problem 6

 1.3 Objectives of the Study 6

 1.3.1. General Objective.....6

 1.3.2. Specific objectives6

 1.4 Research Questions 7

 1.5 Significance of the Study 7

 1.6 Scope and Limitation of the Study 7

 1.7 Definition of Terms..... 9

CHAPTER TWO10

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....10

 2.1 Introduction 10

 2.2. Newspaper as an Effective Mass Communication Medium 10

 2.2.2 Newspapers Influence to Readers11

 2.2.3 Power and Ideology in Political News during Elections14

 2.2.4 Functions of Newspaper Headlines.....18

 2.2.5 Consumption of Newspaper News.....21

 2.3. Theoretical Framework 22

CHAPTER THREE.....25

METHODOLOGY25

3.1 Introduction	25
3.2 Research Design	25
3.3 Population of the Study.....	25
3.4 Sample size and Sampling Technique	26
3.5 Research Instruments	28
3.5.1 Focused Group Discussion.....	28
3.5.2 Interviews	28
3.6 Data Analysis.....	29
3.7 Ethical Considerations	30
CHAPTER FOUR DATA ANALYSIS, REPRESENTATION AND DISCUSSIONS.....	31
4.1. Introduction	31
4.2. Peace Messages from the Newspapers.....	31
4.2.1. Messages from the Newspapers Front Page	31
4.2.2. Peace Messages from the Editorial Pages	34
4.2.3. Mixed Reactions after Voting	36
4.2.4. Messages in the News Feature Pages	38
4.2.5 Peace Messages in Promotional Content.....	40
4.3. Kenyans’ Reactions to the Peace Messages	44
4.3.1 Trust and Reliance on the Media Messages	44
4.3.2 Interpretation of the Peace Messages Shown	45
4.3.3 Appropriateness of the Peace Messages.....	46
4.3.4 Role of Media in Peace Advocacy	46
4.3.5 Peace Messages and Conduct of Kenyans before and after 2013 Elections	47
4.3.6 Handling of Peace Reporting by Newspapers in 2013 Elections	48
4.3.7 Media as Peace Advocates or Not.....	48
4.4 Discussion of the Results	49
CHAPTER FIVE SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	54
5.1 Introduction	54
5.2 Summary of findings	54
5.3 Conclusion.....	56
5.4 Recommendations.....	56

REFERENCES	58
APPENDICES	62
APPENDIX ONE: INTRODUCTORY LETTER.....	62
APPENDIX TWO: PEACE MESSEGES MATRIX Data Erick.....	63
APPENDIX THREE: FGDS GUIDELINES	67
APPENDIX FOUR: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE QUESTIONS.....	68

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Sample of Study.....	26
Table 2: Framework unit of analysis.....	27

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

- BBC-** British Broadcasting Corporation
- Cord-** Coalition for reforms and democracy
- FGD-** Focused Group Discussion
- KANU-** Kenya Africa National Union
- KBC-** Kenya Broadcasting Corporation
- KFA-** Kenya Farmers Association
- KTN-** Kenya Television Network
- MCA-** Member of County Assembly
- MP-** Member of Parliament
- NARC-** National Rainbow Coalition
- NGO-** Non Governmental Organization
- NTV-** Nation Television
- ODM-** Orange Democratic Movement
- PNU-** Party of National Unity
- TV-** Television
- UNDP-** United Nation Development Programme

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

A newspaper is a publication that is printed on paper and whose issues come out regularly, usually daily or weekly (Weber, 2006). Newspapers carry information and opinions on current affairs or events and news items. Usually, newspapers carry a lot of topics and issues with them especially on politics, crime, sports, business and opinion among other issues. The underlining factor in newspapers is that people like reading them in order to be updated on local and international issues and happenings. Newspapers are important media in covering volatile events such as elections and war (De Kantzow, 2000).

In Kenya, for example, newspapers are known to lead in the coverage of elections. Elections are unavoidable in democratic societies and media is always out to ensure free, fair and democratic election processes. It is ostensibly based on free and fair elections that leaders are elected into political offices to oversee the affairs of any independent nation and Kenya is no exception. Kenya's leading television channels are owned by different media groups. Royal Media, a Kenyan multimedia house, own *citizen*; NTV is owned by Nation Media group, a Kenyan media company. KBC is owned by the state/government, which is the equivalent to Britain's BBC. In addition, KTN is owned by the Standard Group, a regional media company which also publishes the *Standard* newspaper.

Apart from the television stations, in print media, the mainstream newspapers are privately owned. *The Daily Nation* was started in 1958 as a Swahili weekly called *Taifa* by the Englishman Charles Hayes and was bought in 1959 by the Agha Khan and became a daily newspaper. The newspaper in addition has electronic platform where news and current events in Kenya are published over the internet further increasing the total number of readers by a significant figure. This newspaper is owned by the Nation Media Group which publishes more than eight newspapers in Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, and Rwanda. These includes: *Daily Nation*, *Saturday Nation*, *Sunday Nation*, *Taifa Leo*, *Taifa*

Jumapili, Business Daily and *Daily Metro*. The *Nation* newspaper is one of the mainstream newspapers in Kenya with the highest circulation as at 205,000 readerships on average per day with a market share of 74% (Maina, 2006)

The mass media are the most common source of information about election campaigns in democracies and societies in transition around the world. In terms of the sheer volume of information available to citizens via the media on issues, political parties and leaders, election campaigns often represent a high point for political communications. Concerns about political communication bias in the mass media are at the heart of debates about the roles and responsibilities of the media at election time. Behind these concerns is the assumption that there may be effects, intended or unintended, on public opinion and political behavior and, ultimately, electoral outcomes. In every election campaign, citizens must not only decide upon the party or candidate they wish to support, they must also decide whether they will vote at all or not and how they should conduct themselves.

In democracies that do not mandate compulsory voting, most political observers would agree that turnout in an election is a measure of success where the higher the turnout, the better. In most cases, parties and candidates use all means to stimulate turnout and motivate supporters to go to the polls. In some cases, however, parties and political camps aim to repress turnout to accomplish their goals. It is the larger context of political party strategies and tactics, and the structure of the mass media environment, that we also need to consider when we turn to addressing questions about reportage and coverage of election campaigns and the electoral process.

Media plays an increasingly important role in shaping the culture of our society (van Dijk, 1996). Media, be it electronic, print or otherwise has always had the opportunity to collect, process and disseminate information and knowledge with the objective of developing inclusive knowledge societies. It is required, however, that in their duty journalists and editors demonstrate their professionalism while reporting and giving information to the society (Harrower, 2009). Therefore, ethical and professional standards are required to make the best out of the pivotal role good journalism plays in

today's societies. Newspaper reporting has been in the line of journalism for decades and its function in the society is highly significant.

In Kenya, elections have usually been marred by violence. Kenya became independent from British rule in 1963. Chapter Four of the Constitution of Kenya (2010) on Bill of rights, articles 33 and 34 guarantees freedom of the press, free speech and freedom of assembly. The public service broadcasting ethos, with the duty to 'inform, educate and entertain' predominates. Journalists are known for independent and objective reporting. Broadcasting in Kenya was originally modeled on the BBC, following the introduction of radio in 1927 under British colonial rule.

In the run up to the 2007 general election, the UNDP contracted Strategic Public Relations & Research Limited to conduct monitoring from September through December 2007, with the goal of informing journalists, public, and politicians to ensure "enhanced fair and accurate media reporting on electoral issues." Balance, accuracy, impartiality and fairness was the goal of the exercise, with a focus on equitable access to media by political parties. Media monitoring reports were issued regularly with quantitative and qualitative assessments of political news in six newspapers, four television channels, six English/Swahili radio stations, and ten vernacular radio stations.

The media monitoring operation specifically aimed to influence journalists, editors and media owners to provide accurate, impartial and fair reporting, and to encourage adherence to professional standards by journalists. By publicizing results periodically during the months preceding the election, the monitoring operation aimed to alert citizens to question their sources of information and to encourage parties and candidates to refrain from negative campaigning. The UNDP project also sought to advocate for new legislation to protect freedom of the press, the right to information, and the right of expression.

Kenya's code of conduct and practice of journalism provides guidelines on a number of issues to ensure free, fair and accurate coverage of election campaigns including:

accuracy and fairness; right of reply; letter to the editor; unnamed sources confidentiality; misrepresentation; obscenity, taste and tone in reporting; pay for news; plagiarism; discrimination; reporting ethnic, religious and sectarian conflict; recording interviews and conversations; privacy; intrusion into grief and shock; sex discrimination; financial journalism; protection of children; victims of sex crimes; use of pictures and names; innocent relatives and friends; acts of violence; editor's responsibilities; advertisements, (Ndonye, 2013).

There are also guidelines for election coverage that have been developed by news practitioners and media owners, with the goal of facilitating free, fair and democratic elections to assist voters in making informed choices. Subjects of the guidelines include: accuracy and fairness; sources of information; favors and special treatment; role of media owners; opinion polls; hate speech and incitement; minorities; state media; private media' separation of fact and opinion; advertorials; identification; attacks and threats; journalists and assignments; electoral processes and malpractice; informing and educating voters; human rights, political activity.

The history of post election violence dates back to 1997 and the peak of it were experienced after the 2007 elections that led to the infamous 2007/2008 post election violence. This claimed lives of close to 1400 people and internally displaced hundreds of thousands of others. Therefore, the 2013 elections were a defining moment for Kenya, hence was aimed at ensuring peace and nonviolent outcomes. The media was blamed for failing to uphold its professional standards in 2007 and hence partly contributing to the violence (Krieger Report 2009 & Waki Report, 2009). It was for these reasons therefore, that formed the basis of the 2013 peace messages for fear of a repeat. The post election violence gave birth to a new constitution promulgated in 2010 that established new institutions such as the Supreme Court, the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission among other institutions that would ensure justice in future elections.

In the run up to the 2013 elections in Kenya, tensions were high and media took upon itself to ensure people's confidence in Kenyan's institutions such as the rule of law; the

courts, the electoral body and the security agencies. Media was at the centre stage to orchestrate a historical moment and through newspapers, the media sought to pass peace messages that could regain Kenyan's confidence in themselves, their friends and their government.

Kenyans went to the ballot on 4th, March 2013 to elect preferred leaders as is the Constitutional requirement for elections to be held after a term of five years. However, there exist varied controversies as to how the media managed to mediate peace throughout the electoral process. Differences in opinion emerged as some scholars argue that the media might have censored itself concerning how it conducted itself throughout the entire electoral process (Ndonye, 2013). Many believe that journalists' discretion reflected responsible journalism. A case in point is the Media Focus on Africa (2013) which opines that the Kenyan media received praises both locally and far away, on how they managed to calm the country after the hotly contested 2013 election. On the contrary, foreign media was criticized for always muckraking for violence news even when there was peace.

The newspapers, alongside other mainstream media played a big role in ensuring Kenyans remain calm, patient and peaceful even after some challenges faced the electoral body and the tallying process. In their unpublished journal article, "Media as the Opium of the Masses" Ndonye and Nabea (2013) argue that the relative peace witnessed in the 2013 elections was occasioned by the fear of the media that violence would occur again like in the case of the 2007/2008 post election violence. According to them, the call for peace through messages was intended to achieve peace irrespective of whether the election process was free and fair, and that the masses were well informed of the entire process a phenomenon many argue that the media played the role of peace activists.

In these regards, the media has moral obligation to ensure free, fair and transparent elections and governance (Louw, 2008). Before the 2013 elections, the media owners, editors' guild and other industry stakeholders held consultative forums to establish the best way to cover the elections. The result of such forums was a signing of a code of

conduct that would guide journalists in ensuring free, fair and balanced coverage of elections process that would ensure Kenyans remain calm, have confidence in their institutions and ensure peaceful transition from one government to the elected one. It is from this background that the role that newspaper peace reporting played in Kenya in the run up to 2013 elections need to be evaluated and the outcomes determined.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Peace reporting is a contemporary issue in journalism and newspaper reporting. In the run up to the 2013 general elections, Kenyans were constantly reminded of the 2007/2008 post election violence through newspaper reporting. The newspapers urged the people to embrace each other vote peacefully and maintain peace. They constantly ran headlines and other content with messages urging Kenyans to vote peace and maintain peace. Media experts argue that the media played the role of peace activists at the expense of their watchdog role. The media is expected to exercise impartiality while at the same time performing its watchdog role. Since little or no study has been done on, the implication of peace reporting in newspapers and the coverage of elections in Kenya there was a need to investigate this phenomenon.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

Research objectives of the study were categorized into two; the general objective and specific objectives

1.3.1. General Objective

The main objective of the study was to examine the implications of *Nation* newspapers peace reporting in the run up to the 2013 elections in Kenya.

1.3.2. Specific objectives

The study was guided by the following objectives:

- i. To describe the *Nation* newspapers peace messages in the editorials, headlines, news and advertisement in the run up to the 2013 elections in Kenya.

- ii. To establish respondents' reactions to the messages that called for peace from the *Nation* newspaper in the run up to the 2013 elections in Kenya.
- iii. To determine the perceptions of the readers on the contribution of these messages to the 2013 elections in Kenya.

1.4 Research Questions

The study sought to answer the following questions:

- i. What were the aim of the *Nation* newspaper peace messages in the editorials, headlines, news and advertisement in the run up to the 2013 elections in Kenya?
- ii. What are the respondent's reactions to the messages that called for peace from the *Nation* newspaper in the run up to the 2013 elections in Kenya?
- iii. What are the perceptions of the readers on the contribution of peace messages to 2013 elections in Kenya?

1.5 Significance of the Study

Peace reporting is a new issue in communication that tests the function of the process. The study findings are useful to the media houses and media practitioners because it contribute to knowledge of the outcomes of their effort to use newspapers as a medium of peace reporting. It also contributes to knowledge of how media content is received by the society and the way society behavioral pattern can be shaped through media. The findings are also useful for media scholars and researchers who have interest in peace reporting besides contributing to literature in media studies.

1.6 Scope and Limitation of the Study

The study focused on peace messages in the coverage of the 2013 General Elections in Kenya by the *Nation* newspapers in Kenya (The *Daily Nation*, the *Saturday Nation* and the *Sunday Nation*). The researcher analyzed 30 editions of the *Nation* newspaper between the periods of February and April 2013 from which 33 excerpts were extracted to form the sample size for the study. This was a month to the 2013 elections, the month of the elections and a month after the elections. The study focused on newspaper headlines, news stories, editorials, opinions, and adverts purposively selected based on

the theme of peace reporting. The researcher therefore was of the assumption that since election was slated for March 4th 2013, there would be an intensive peace reporting as Kenyans approached the election and would inform the start of data collection for study.

Since the study was based on past newspaper editions the researcher had to present the newspaper cuttings and pages that carried the newspaper content with peace messages to the respondents' in order to refresh their memories. This ensured that the respondents received the information as if they are reading the newspapers at that point in time consequently, a great limitation of this study. The newspaper served as the only form of media used in the study therefore future research might include other forms of media such as radio, television, magazines or any other media worth studying. Because of financial constraints, the researcher only sampled articles published in the *Nation* newspaper leaving out other newspapers published in Kenya.

1.7 Definition of Terms

- 2013 Elections:** - The elections in Kenya held to elect the President, Governors, Senators, MPs, Women Representatives and MCA.
- Edition:** - An edition in this study is a day' publication of the *Nation* newspaper.
- Election:** - A formal decision-making process by which a population chooses an individual to hold public office in a democratic way, which is free and fair.
- Mainstream Newspaper** - Any newspaper that influences a large number of people in a nation or state and shape their opinions and thinking.
- Newspapers peace reporting:** - this is reporting by the newspapers that pass messages to the audience so that they value non-violent responses to issues of conflict through various contents.
- Peace messages:** - a message themed on advocacy for peace in a newspaper headline, soft or hard news story, editorial, opinion or advertisement
- Peace reporting:** - this is the act of editors, reporters and journalists, the act of packaging news content and information in a way that is responsive to conflict and that encourages the audience to value non-violent response to issues of conflict.
- Peace:** - The calmness that produces nonviolent coexistence among people in the society
- Perception:** - This is the conscious understanding of something
- Tabloid** - A newspaper having pages half the dimensions of the standard format especially one that favours stories of sensational nature over more serious news.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the literature reviewed for the concerns raised in the study. Based on the objectives, the literature review has two sections. The first section covers issues of newspaper as an effective mass communication media, how people react to the selected newspaper content, how newspapers influence readers, power and ideology in political news during elections, functions of newspaper headlines, and consumption of news. The last section presents the theoretical framework in which theories informing the study are discussed.

2.2. Newspaper as an Effective Mass Communication Medium

Newspaper as a mass media is one of the most powerful forces for shaping public opinion. According to Demirsoy, et.al, (2013), newspaper headlines as a subgenre of media genre are of importance in news discourse. As an opening section to their relevant main text, headlines have been ascribed different functions. Headlines and leads have been referred as categories forming “the summary” of the news reports. There is a distinction between headlines functioning as the abstract of the main event of the story and headlines as promoting one of the details of the story. Although in most cases headlines do bear such functions in news reports, some newspapers headlines present their readers with complex riddles, which neither summarize nor present the detail of the news reports. The issue of determining the role of the headlines would be much more complicated if one considers the kind of newspaper texts, in which the headlines appear. Different newspaper texts namely: service information, opinion and news would both semantically and pragmatically require certain types of the headlines based on the text and the receiver (reader). However, most of the studies on the headlines focused on either service information texts such as advertisement or news texts such as daily news reports. In other words, the role and function of the headlines in opinion texts have rarely been explicated in the literature. Newspaper editorials as a kind of opinion texts are different

from the other types of news discourse in that they are supposed to present evaluations and comments about the news events already reported in the newspapers.

In the 20th century, newspapers were the main means of propaganda, incorporation of government, and were used for mobilization of nations to achieve political goals (Demirsoy, Dikener & Enderhan, 2013). The power of newspaper as a mass medium is generally symbolic and persuasive, in the sense that the mass media such as newspapers primarily have the potential to control to some extent the minds of readers or viewers, but not directly their actions (Altheide, 1985; Liechter et al., 1990). Except in cases of physical, coercive force, the control of action, which is usually the ultimate aim of the exercise of power, is generally indirect, whereas the control of intentions, plans, knowledge, beliefs, or opinions that is, mental representations that monitor overt activities is presupposed.

It has also been accepted that psychological and sociological evidence suggests that despite the pervasive symbolic power of the media, the audience generally retains a minimum of autonomy and independence, and engage more or less actively, instead of purely passively, in the use of the means of mass communication (Johnson-Laird, 1983). In other words, whatever the symbolic power of the news media, at least some media users generally resist such persuasion by ensuring they are balanced. In most cases, also, media takes the power and decides to use it to control and direct the society towards an intended good and that is what newspapers probably aimed to do in the run up to 2013 general elections in Kenya.

2.2.2 Newspapers Influence to Readers

Most people like reading newspapers because newspapers give them information that shapes the way they react, relate and perceive issues affecting them (Johnson-Laird, 1983). There would not be a lot of interest in studying newspapers if they did not influence the way the audience relate to issues. Peace reporting in newspapers demands a lot of self-awareness from the editors and reporters. As such, media is in a position to promote peace or trigger violent responses to conflict issues because media content has

been proved to determine, shape and affect the behaviour of individuals and groups (van Dijk, 1996).

Newspapers are often regarded as a blot on the country's political landscape. Two main charges are frequently levied.

1. The first, and more traditional one, is that they have an undue influence on how people vote.
2. The second, more recent, claim is that their negative, if not indeed increasingly cynical, coverage of politics has helped to undermine trust in politicians, and thus in turn discouraged people from voting at all.

Most countries like Britain have long had a highly partisan national newspaper industry (Seymour-Ure, 1996), in contrast to others like the United States. Many newspapers ally themselves with one political party or the other. Thus, for example, the *Daily Mirror* of Britain has long been a consistent supporter of the Labour Party while *The Daily Telegraph* is sometimes regarded as the house journal of the Conservative Party. A newspaper's stance is most obviously revealed in its leader columns, but is certainly not confined there. Its political outlook can also affect, which stories are given prominence and how they are reported. Thus, someone who regularly reads one particular newspaper is liable to be exposed to a slant on events that could be expected to encourage them to vote for one part rather than another.

Not only are Britain newspapers partisan, but traditionally more of them have favoured the Conservative Party rather than Labour (while since the demise of the *News Chronicle* in 1960 there has not been any newspaper at all consistently linked with the Liberals or Liberal Democrats). As a result, many members of the Labour Party have long felt that the Conservative Party had an unfair advantage at election time (Miller, 1991). This concern reached its height in 1992 when in that year's election; The *Sun newspaper* produced some highly unflattering coverage of Labour's election campaign and the party's leader, Neil Kinnock. When the Conservatives secured an unexpected victory, the Sun itself famously exclaimed, "It's The Sun that won it" (Harrop & Scammell, 1992).

The first charge against newspapers is essentially a concern about their tendency to criticize one party while praising another. The second, in contrast, argues that the problem with newspapers is that they are critical of all politicians. Instead of reporting what politicians say and do, it is argued that journalists increasingly interpret politicians' words and actions, and do so through a cynical frame of reference. Thus, for example, if a politician introduces a tax cut, this may be reported as an attempt to bribe voters. If a president pays a visit to the United States, it may well be considered an attempt to deflect public attention from political difficulties at home, (Harrop & Scammell, 1992).

Meanwhile, it is also argued that journalists increasingly exhibit an unnecessary and unhealthy interest in alleged improprieties in the financial and personal affairs of politicians; an interest that reached its height in the allegations of 'sleaze' that surrounded the 1992–1997 Conservative government. Such coverage, it is claimed, produces an increasingly cynical and alienated electorate that opts not to go to the polls at all (Patterson, 1993; Franklin, 1997; Cappella and Jamieson, 1997; Barnett, 2002; Lloyd, 2004).

Despite the obvious differences between these two sets of charges, they have one thing in common. They both assume that newspapers influence relatively large numbers of voters. If newspapers influence their readers but their readership is small, they will inevitably influence insufficient people to make much difference to the overall outcome of an election amongst the population in general (Harrower, 2009). This, perhaps, suggests that such countries like Britain's democracy might be healthier if fewer people read newspapers. Yet it can be argued that newspapers have an important contribution to make to the health of the nation's democracy. It is often argued that a more informed electorate is better able to participate effectively in the political process, not least in deciding how to vote (Bartels, 1996; Christin *et al.*, 2002; Luskin *et al.*, 2002). While voters usually report that television, not newspapers, is their single most important source of information about politics, newspapers are able to cover political stories in greater depth than can any television news bulletin. Meanwhile, newspapers that are more popular can perhaps

attract the attention of those with less interest in politics who are unlikely to watch a half-hour news bulletin but who do buy a popular newspaper for its human-interest stories and then come across its political content, too. In short, newspapers could have an important role to play both in producing a more informed electorate and in helping politicians to reach out to those who might not otherwise pay much attention to them. In the reporting during elections, all political content is news and the media houses have many alternatives to select from. However, Hamilton (2004) argues that what information becomes news depends on ; Who cares about a particular piece of information; What they are willing to pay to read it, or what others are willing to pay to reach them; Where can media outlets or advertisers reach these people; When is it profitable to provide the information and Why it is profitable.

2.2.3 Power and Ideology in Political News during Elections

During elections, the issues of power and ideology dominate the media and newspapers in particular. Ideology is the attitudes, set of beliefs, values and doctrines with reference to political, social and economic life, responsible for shaping the individual and group's perception and through which media constructs reality and have the audience interpret it (van Dijk, 1996). Ideology is based on the maxims that there is no news content that can pass the test of being neutral, transparent or innocent in its packaging. van Dijk (1996) argues that ideology, informed critical social theory throughout the twentieth century. Language, as used in the headlines therefore, can never appear by itself; it always appears as the representative of a system of linguistic terms, which themselves reflect the prevailing discursive and ideological systems (van Dijk, 1996).

In order for a mass medium to have the readers react the way they want, they should be particularly effective when the readers “do not realize the nature or the implications of such control and when they change their minds of their own free will, as when they accept news reports as true or journalistic opinions as legitimate or correct” (van Dijk, 1996: 11). In this case, the evaluation of social power in media together with its symbolic dimensions requires going beyond a narrow social or political approach to power and control. It is significant to study and consider the mental representations, including so-

called social cognitions such as attitudes and ideologies, shared by groups of readers or viewers (Kahneman & Tversky, 2000). If we are able to relate more or less explicitly such mental representations, as well as their changes, to properties of news reports, important insights into media power can be gained. It is from this stand point that the influence and control that mass media such as newspapers has on the readers can be precisely understood.

For the newspapers, and other mass media, scholars approach is negative in nature because mediated information is seen as biased or concealed in such a way that the knowledge and beliefs of the audience are changed in a direction that is not necessarily in its best interest (van Dijk, 1996: 12). However, in the study, the manipulative function of the newspaper headlines were seen as being positive in the sense that they manipulated the readers and the audience at large to be tolerant, accommodative and embrace peace in looming crisis. Therefore, in order to understand legitimate or acceptable power and distinguish it from power abuse, the term dominance should be considered.

According to van Dijk (1996), dominance usually involves “processes of reproduction that involve strategies aimed at the continued preferential access to social resources and the legitimating of such inequality” (p.13). It should be here noted that although the mass media have special access to the peoples’ minds, it does not mean it has total control over them (Overbeck & Park, 2001). The readers of newspapers for instance have always had freedom of choice of what they can read and what they can leave out. The messages may not also change the readers mind along the lines desired by the more powerful newspaper editors and reporters. As such, the readers may react with rejection, disbelief, criticism, or other forms of resistance or challenge that signal modes of counter-power (Altheide, 1985). Through the stories and headlines in the newspapers, the forms or modes of discourse may indirectly be accessed through text and this content is known to shape the readers’ mind in one way or the other.

Kenya has a perception of a country that lacks ideology (Ndonye, 2013). Prior to 2010, Kenya’s political terrain was a coat of many ideological colors. Four distinct phases of

ideological development are discernible, corresponding to global geo-political shifts. First, in the 1960s decade, the nationalist elite across the political divide shared the ideology of freedom. However, the nationalist consensus soon collapsed, giving way to ideological polarization between the left-leaning socialists and west-leaning rightists or capitalists (Ndonye, 2013). First, the leftists lost the fight. Second, the 1970-1980 decade was Kenya's age of absolutism philosophically anchored on the Hobbesian idea that people must willingly submit to absolute rulers because life without government is nasty, brutish and short. Absolutism inspired the imperial presidency of the KANU days. Third, the end of the Cold War and the triumph of capitalism over communism/socialism in the late 1980s ushered in the neo-liberal ideas of free market, progress (change), equality and freedom, which underpin the new constitution.

After KANU's demise in 2002, all political formations have ideologically claimed to pursue a national democratic and developmental state in Kenya. This overarching ideology drove the NARC Government's Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation (ERS), the creation of the National Social and Economic Council (NSEC) and Kenya Vision 2030. Similarly, the manifestoes of both the Jubilee Alliance and ODM/Cord coalition are aligned to this overarching ideology. Beyond this overarching ideology, after the 2013 elections, Kenya's political class is badly divided along two competing and diametrically opposed ideologies, which are likely to colour the struggle for power on the road to 2017 election (Ndonye, 2013). The first ideology, identified with the Jubilee administration, is the "productionist" or "growthist" paradigm that stresses economic productivity and growth. The productionist ideology is prioritizing a plethora of mega-projects in energy and infrastructure calibrated to reduce the cost of production, grow the economy, transform the country into a middle-income level state and pull the mass of Kenya's poor out of poverty.

The second ideology, identified with ODM/Cord coalition, is the "distributionist" paradigm. The new constitution, especially the devolution component, was expected to end the perennial problem of distributional grievances behind the 2008 post-election

violence. The “distributionist” paradigm rests on two ideological planks, which are anarchism and brazen ethnocentric (Ndonye, 2013).

Anarchism is a belief that everything about government is repressive, and therefore must be challenged or abolished entirely (van Dijk 1996). The new Security Laws (Amendment) Act, 2014 has been used to fortify the alarmist thesis of the return of dictatorship. Pushed to the extreme, anarchism leads to another ideology known as nihilism or a belief that everything must be periodically destroyed in order to start afresh. The second plank, which is brazen ethnocentric ideology, seeks to polarize the country into ethnic-haves and ethnic-have-nots. Speaking in September 2013, the retired South African Judge, Johann Kriegler, noted that, despite its much-acclaimed new constitution, the only way to save Kenya is by liberating the country from ethnic ideologies. Recently, the ethnocentric ideology has been buttressed by official studies claiming injustice in the public sector because certain ethnic groups dominate civil service. A report unveiled recently by the Public Service Commission chairperson, Margaret Kobia, which incidentally found its way into the cover story of the *Daily Nation* (DN January 8, 2015) claims that five communities (Kikuyu, Kalenjin, Luhya, Kamba and Luo) are over-represented in the public service. Why this “revelation” should be newsworthy and intriguing is puzzling. Collectively, these communities constitute over 75 % of the national population. Naturally, they are bound to be proportionately higher in any sector of the Kenyan society.

Newspapers alone are not responsible, but they can raise the temperature of particular issues, and help shape perceptions and understanding of politics over time (van Dijk 1996). They can also create a climate that legitimises certain issues over others, setting the boundaries of policy debates that make it difficult for parties outside this consensus to appear rational or credible. So, for example, while the Green party argues for an end to austerity, a new wealth tax on the top 1% of earners and a significant rise in the minimum wage, most national newspapers would simply characterise these policies as being too radical and potentially damaging to the economy.

2.2.4 Functions of Newspaper Headlines

Traditionally, newspaper headlines have been functionally characterized as short, telegram-like summaries of their news items. This is especially true with respect to news headlines. Van Dijk (1988) couches this traditional insight within his discourse-analytic framework: Each news item in the press has a headline and many have a Lead, whether marked off by special printing type or not. There is also an elementary rule for them: Headline precedes Lead, and together they precede the rest of the news item. Their structural function is also clear: Together they express the major topics of the text. That is, they function as an initial summary. Hence, as in natural stories, the category summary can be introduced to dominate Headline and Lead. The semantic constraint is obvious: Headline plus Lead summarizes the news text and express the semantic macrostructure.

Newspaper headlines play a critical role in determining the readership of an issue (Harrower, 2009). Newspaper headlines are usually packaged with special linguistic characteristics. A well-written newspaper headline must be able to attract attention of the reader. In most cases, newspaper headlines are unusual, sensational and short. There are four functions of a headline that scholars are mostly interested in (Harrower, 2009). First, headlines should be crafted in a way that they grab the attention of the readers. The best tool for a headline to capture the reader's attention is to select words that present the readers' self-interest. For example, search engine scholars have realized that the word "free" attracts a lot of viewer ship and readership for the newspapers (Kahneman & Tversky, 2000; Hamilton, 2004). Another thing that captures the attention of a newspaper headline is the news item because readers are always waiting to see and read about something new. In Kenyan elections in 2013, such words as free and fair elections frequented the newspaper headlines and attracted a lot of attention from the readers. A headline should select the newspaper and story readers.

The headlines are supposed to be specific in order to screen viewers and readers. Moreover, a headline should deliver a complete message because most people read headlines and few read the story under the headline (Harrower, 2009). Headlines are also supposed to draw reader's attention through style and creativity. Styles such as humour,

curiosity and suspense intrigue the readers. This is usually done by posing a question or suspending an issue and promising to give it later in the story. By controlling the knowledge of the readers through stories, the newspapers can also control the understanding of such an audience (Kahneman & Tversky, 2000). Therefore, if the news media and political as well as other elites access news fail to provide detailed information about the interest of any country. Scholars agree that the control of one's knowledge through media is a crucial element of controlling the discourse of understanding. Beyond knowledge, there are important forms of what is generally called social cognition and specially shared opinions, which are traditionally known as attitudes.

Newspaper headlines do provide what seems to be a summary (or abstract) of their stories, but the general theoretical conception which takes this to be the essential function of the headline seems to be too narrow, for at least three complementary reasons. First, even the most prototypical news headlines, those that appear in what is sometimes called 'quality newspapers' do not always summarize their stories. Some headlines highlight a single detail extracted out of the story, and others contain a quotation which the editor decided should be promoted to the foreground. Some headlines even contain material, which does not appear in the news item itself. Different writers have (noted the fact that headlines do not always summarize, but sometime³ highlight or quote. Bell (1991), for example, makes a distinction between headlines which "abstract the main event of the story", and headlines which "focus on a secondary event or a detail". Nir (1993) distinguishes between headlines which function as "a summary of the story" and "Headlines which, rather than summarize the story, promote one of the details of the story". Second, the traditional notion of headlines-as-summaries definitely does not capture the function of headlines in more popular newspapers, and especially in tabloids. Different writers, most notably by Lindemann (1990), have made this point. As Lindemann shows, tabloid headlines rarely summarize their stories, are not always telegram-like, and in many cases are not even informative. Lindemann discusses the function of tabloid headlines in poetic terms: They present the reader with a "complex riddle", which, first, triggers frames and belief systems in the reader's mind, and, then,

gets resolved in the ensuing text. This is a classic example of how the *Nation* newspaper carried their stories in the run up to the 2013 elections.

Implicit in Lindemann's analysis is the assumption, that the function of tabloid headlines is so radically different from their function in quality newspapers, that the two cannot be theoretically unified. The relevance-based analysis will allow exactly for that to anyone's mind, a very welcome theoretical result.

The other reason to reject the traditional conception is the simple fact that headlines seem to have an additional, pragmatic function, beyond the semantically oriented function, which is supposed to be captured by the headline-as-summary analysis. Bell (1991) says that headlines are a "part of news rhetoric whose function is to attract the reader". Nir (1993) claims that, the headline has to attract the attention of the reader and provoke the reader to read the whole story. In a sophisticated analysis of the semiotics of headlines, Iarovici and Amel (1989) explicitly contend that the headline has a double function:

1. The implicit convention between author and reader regarding the intention of correlating a text to another text as a headline, and regarding the formal marking of this quality by a privileged position, concerns the double function of the headline.
2. A semantic function, regarding the referential text, and a pragmatic function, regarding the reader (the receiver) to whom the text is addressed.

The two functions are simultaneous, the semantic function being included in and justified by the pragmatic function. The main function of the headline is to alert the reader who is the receiver to the nature or the content of the text. This is the pragmatic function of the headline, and it includes the semantic one. The headline enables the reader to grasp the meaning of the text. The headline functions as a plurality of speech acts (urging, warning, and informing). The challenge posed by the above assertions is that of theoretical unification. At least two questions are involved:

1. Can we functionally define the headline in a way, which would transcend the above distinctions between the different semantically- oriented functions? In other

words, is there a generalized function, which summarizing headlines, localizing headlines and quotation headlines have in common?

2. Can we define the headline in a way, which would transcend the distinction between the above semantic function and the parallel pragmatic function, which headlines fulfill?

2.2.5 Consumption of Newspaper News

Readership of newspapers has declined sharply over the last 20 years around the globe. This decline seems set to continue yet further due to technological advancements. In particular, the countries so called 'popular' newspapers are now a lot less popular than they once were. But even the ability of the quality press to maintain its overall level of readership also looks unimpressive given the increase in the number of graduates in the population over the last 20 years. It could be argued that this is healthy for most countries' democracy. It means that the ability of newspapers unfairly and unaccountably to sway the outcome of an election, is now much diminished. It also means that fewer people are exposed to their supposedly cynical coverage of politics that discourages people from participating in politics at all. However, this seems too dismissive a picture. Popular newspapers were once a mechanism whereby information about politics could reach those with little inclination to follow political matters. Now they are increasingly unable to fulfill that role. Instead, the readership of newspapers in Britain and other parts of the world including Kenya is increasingly confined to those with an interest in politics. For years politicians have worried about the power of the press. But perhaps, instead it is time for them to be concerned about its weakness.

Newspaper readership is a generational phenomenon. Older people acquired the newspaper reading habit many years ago when there were indeed fewer alternative sources of news or entertainment. But as they die out, they are being replaced by younger people who have not acquired that same habit, because of the wider range of sources of information that are available when they were growing up. The impact of technological development ranging from television to the internet has been the reason.

According to Sparks (2010), the newspaper audience is increasingly inclining towards a need for sensationalism but during elections, the audience expects a lot from media and is constantly expecting new information and counsel from the media. Since headlines are meant to be sensational, headlines pass a message to the audience that ensures viewers evaluate such stories as objective and believable (De Kantzow, 2000). During elections, any political news is news and people are eager to know what is happening with the other party or the party they support. In fact, the election process brings with it hype and a lot of sensational materials coming from the politicians through the media engage the minds of the affected society into a political hype (Uribe & Gaunter, 2007). It is this time that media can take a chance to control and direct the society's minds to think, behave and act in a certain way. In this regard, the *Nation* newspapers, over the entire period of study propagated peace messages across the various sections of the paper ostensibly to drive the peace agenda during the electioneering period in 2013.

2.3. Theoretical Framework

The Agenda setting theory inform this study. Kurt Lewin coined the term “agenda setting” in 1947 to describe the people who decide which messages go through the gates that control information flow to reach the consumers. An agenda setter decides on the information to be published and by so doing, they are able to control the public's knowledge of actual issues or events.

According to Tan and Weaver (2007) agenda setting is concerned with the various stages a newspaper item goes through in a newsroom before it is finally published. The source, the reporter, the sub editor and the editors are in their own rights agenda setters since they determine what ends up as news. Factors of political interference, personal interests, media law and ethics may determine the amount of agenda setting, an exercise that can be both useful and dangerous. It is useful if it shields audiences from harmful information and dangerous if, it shields the public from the truth.

Applied to the case of newspaper reporting, Agenda setting theory (McCombs & Shaw, 1972) prioritizes issues that the media want to be in public discussion. In the case of the

2013 general elections in Kenya, the *Nation* newspaper repeatedly published stories with peace messages ostensibly to set an agenda, in this case peace. Throughout all the sections of the newspaper including the headline stories, editorials, opinion pieces, news features and advertisements, the theme was purely to crusade or champion for peace in the electioneering period. For example, most headline stories that were published during the study period were solely meant to inform or persuade Kenyans to maintain peace throughout the election process and never to go back to the 2007/2008 post election violence.

Because of the desire to protect a newspaper's reputation and the desire not to inflame public passion that may disrupt national cohesion and peace, newspaper editors choose to make a wise choice while at the same time controlling the attitude of the readers. One of the key assumptions of this theory that were crucial in guiding this study is that the media tells the people what to think about and not what to think. As a result, the media will not reflect reality but instead filter and shape it such that what the media gatekeepers want is what will appear it does not matter whether it the reality or not. This renders the audiences or media consumers' passive and not active participants in terms of interacting with the media. In the case of the *Nation* newspaper in the run up to the 2013 elections, the newspaper carried grim headlines in order to inform the public debate hence forming people's perception on issues to create an agenda.

The other assumption of this theory that informed this study is the fact that the media deliberately decides to concentrate/ emphasize or over concentrate/emphasize on a particular issue(s) making the public to perceive or believe that the issues are very important than others. Consequently, the media presents information of a particular nature to the public to consume which might not necessarily be important them. The over emphasis for example in terms of the coverage, space and time allocated, the font size of headlines, and the contents, makes the readers or media consumers to pay attention to these messages which in turn inform their perception on issues.

This theory is important to the study in the sense that only issues that are perceived to be of importance by the media are let out to the public domain. This means only a few of the information material can get to the pages. These messages shape people's perception of events and people in connection their reaction to the outcome of the 2013 general elections. Even though some media scholars have come out to castigate the reporting of the media during the 2013 elections in Kenya, it is important to note that loyalty to one's country and cooperation with government agencies that might have been biased could have arisen out of the "best wish" for the country. "Best wish" for the country includes peaceful election, favorable image internationally, and national cohesion and peace. This is what Kenyans experienced in the 2013 elections.

In line with this understanding, the media might have chosen to go for press releases and briefings in order to avoid investigation and reporting of the electoral process, which could have resulted in information that could inflame ethnic and political sectarian passions, presenting an unfavorable image of the country. The choice to report electoral political events as opposed to pointing at sensational anomalies of the electoral process may also have been conditioned by 2007 general elections and peace campaigns that preceded elections. There were intense media peace campaigns through advertisements, NGO and religious meetings. This theory was useful in trying to understand how the Kenyan media set the agenda for the Kenyan society that it was time to maintain peace by being tolerant, patient and understanding. The newspapers and other media based their argument of the horrors of 2007/ 2008 post election violence.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology that the study used in order to achieve its set objectives. The chapter covers the research design, location of the study, the study population, sampling procedure, sample size, instrumentation, data collection and procedures, validity of data collection instruments, reliability of the data collection instruments, questionnaire and qualitative interviews.

3.2 Research Design

The descriptive research design, one of the qualitative research designs was used in the study. A research design is a blueprint for conducting a study with maximum control over factors that may interfere with the validity of the findings (Kothari, 2004). Qualitative research entails several types of inquiry that explain the meaning of social phenomena through interactions with them without disrupting the natural environment. The design was fit for the study because it is a systematic design in which the researcher describes the phenomena and does not interfere with the process. This design was appropriate since it involved the collection of information from a cross section of respondents selected in the study area since it offers a researcher the advantage of focusing on specific description or characteristics and opinions of respondents towards the phenomenon under study. The design involved an interaction initiated by the researcher for specific purpose of obtaining relevant information as per the objectives of the study.

3.3 Population of the Study

The population of the study was twofold: everybody who could read the *Nation* newspaper but the target population was Nakuru town and the *Nation* newspaper editions that carried contents of peace messages but the target population was the *Nation* newspaper editions that were published in the period between February, March and April 2013. The researcher chose Nakuru town for the study because it was the heart of former Rift Valley province and the bedrock of the infamous 2007/2008 post election violence according to Kriegler and Waki Reports (2009). Whatever happens in Nakuru would be

replicable in the entire country. The *Nation* newspaper is one of the mainstream newspapers in Kenya with the highest circulation as at 205,000 readerships on average per day with a market share of 74% (Maina, 2006). It is one of the oldest newspapers in Kenya that is owned by the Nation Media Group. The newspaper relevant contents selected for analysis must have been published one month to 4 March 2013 elections and one month after the elections as determined by their availability (Patton, 2002).

3.4 Sample size and Sampling Technique

The researcher used purposive sampling to select *Nation* newspaper contents with peace messages and to select newspaper readers in Nakuru town. Newman (2006) upholds purposive sampling as a method of sampling where the researcher deliberately chooses who to include in the study based on their ability to provide necessary data. This method was most appropriate for the study as the researcher would handpick the *Nation* newspaper cuttings which contained peace messages in the run up to the 2013 elections in Kenya and the number of participants to be included in the study is the prerogative of the researcher, (Patton, 2002).

The sample size of newspaper readers consisted of respondents from four marked newspaper vending points (Section 58, Huduma Centre next to the National Bank of Kenya, Afraha stadium junction and Kenya Farmers Association roundabout) within Nakuru town. With the help of the newspaper vendors from each vending points, the researcher was able to identify frequent *Nation* newspaper readers which formed the Focused Group Discussion and the participants in the interview sessions. The researcher therefore chose between 6 and 12 participants at four vending points to form four FGDs in the study.

With regards to the sample size of the *Nation* newspaper contents with peace messages, the researcher selected a total of 33 excerpts from the *Nation* newspapers (*Daily Nation*, *Saturday Nation* and the *Sunday Nation*) between the period of February, March and April 2013. These excerpts were then grouped into five categories namely: headlines, opinion pieces, editorials, news stories, and Advertisements. With the help of the

newspaper vendor, the researcher engaged the respondents in Focused Group Discussions.

Since the main aim of the study was to examine the implications of *Nation* newspaper peace reporting in the run up to the 2013 elections in Kenya, the study used descriptive research design to solicit for qualitative data in the study. Qualitative research focuses on describing, understanding and classifying on human experience as opposed to how representative the sample is (Hansen, Anders, 1998). Therefore, in order to arrive at the sample size of the study, the researcher focused on analyzing peace messages one month to and a month after the elections. In this case, the researcher analyzed peace messages in the months of February, March and April 2013 from *Nation* newspaper cuttings purposively in a one month period.

Table 1: Sample in Study

Period	No. of Editions
February 2013	7
March 2013	19
April 2013	7
Total	33

The *Nation* newspaper was selected because it is has the highest circulation in the Kenyan market and it also has other sister newspapers namely: the *Sunday Nation* and the *Saturday Nation*, The paper has print in addition to electronic platform where news and current events in Kenya are published over the internet further increasing the total number of readers by a significant figure indicating a large audience that could potentially be affected by the messages within its contents. The year have been selected for the study because it is the year that elections were held in Kenya and unprecedented peace messages coverage in the electioneering was witnessed than ever before. The period selected was appropriate for the study because Kenyans were in election mood and any message the media disseminated would influence the readers in one way or the other whether consciously or unconsciously hence provide accurate information to the study.

3.5 Research Instruments

The study used Focus Group Discussions and interviews as research instruments to collect data from the selected respondents from Nakuru town. According to Newman (2006), a research instrument is “a tool used to collect data. An instrument is a tool designed to measure knowledge, attitude and skills and in this case, focus group discussions fulfilled these purposes in the study.

3.5.1 Focused Group Discussion

Focused Group Discussion (FGD) is a rapid assessment, semi-structured data gathering method in a purposively selected set of participants gather to discuss issues and concerns based on a list of key themes drawn up by the researcher or facilitator (Kumar 1987). The FGDs consisted of male and female respondents comprising of 6-12 respondents per group. In using this technique, the researcher formulated a list of question guides that were posed to the participants after they were shown the newspaper cuttings of the peace messages from the *Nation* newspaper. Through the Focused Group Discussions, the researcher was able to get the respondents reactions to the messages that called for peace in the run up to the 2013 elections in Kenya and to determine the readers perceptions on the contributions of the peace messages to the 2013 elections in Kenya which the researcher needed to collect for his second and third objectives respectively.

3.5.2 Interviews

The researcher also used the interview schedules to collect his data however; the interview questions were almost similar to the FDGs questions. The aim of the interview was basically to establish the respondents’ reactions to the peace messages that were carried in the *Nation* newspaper cuttings and to establish whether the peace messages informed their behaviours before, during and after the 2013 elections. The interviews were supplemented by issuing the respondents with *Nation* newspaper cuttings with the peace messages they carried in the run up to 2013 general elections. The contents were selected from newspaper cuttings from Egerton University Nakuru Town Campus library and archives section and photocopied the relevant contents for the study. The researcher collected newspaper contents from the publications in February, March and April 2013. This enabled the researcher to realize the second and third objectives of the study.

3.6 Data Analysis

In this section, there were two sets of data: Data from the newspapers and the responses from the FGD and interviews. Data analysis is a way of organizing, providing structure and eliciting meaning from the information obtained. First, there was newspaper information which the researcher organized into five categories: Headlines, editorials, Opinion pieces, News, and advertisement. The extracted peace messages from each of the five categories were analysed according to the peace theme, the textual meanings of the messages and relationship between the messages, the elicited meanings and the intended meanings by the newspaper editors to the audiences who read the messages. In doing so, the researcher was able to analyse 33 excerpts through interpretations of the peace messages which helped the researcher address his first objective of the study.

Secondly, there was also the information from interviews (inform of notes and audiotapes) which was guided by the interview schedule questions and through Focused Group Discussion. The researcher refreshed the memories of the respondents in the interview and Focused Group Discussions by presenting them with the past newspapers cuttings in order to observe their reactions to the peace messages presented to them. Consequently, the researcher was able to establish the respondents' reactions and determine their perceptions to the peace messages by the *Nation* newspaper in the run up to the 2013 general elections which enabled the researcher to address his second and third objectives of the study respectively. This ensured that the researcher realized his broad research objective which was to examine the implications of *Nation* newspaper peace reporting in the run up to the 2013 elections in Kenya.

Table 2: Framework unit of analysis

Excerpt No.	Text	Theme	Categories
Excerpt 2	Never Again!	Peace	Headline
Excerpt 3	PEACE	Peace	Editorial
Excerpt 31	Uniting colours of Kenya: PEACE, LOVE and UNITY	Peace	Advertisement

Excerpt 21	Leaders call for peace ahead of petition ruling	Peace	News
Excerpt 7	Use final rallies to push for peaceful elections	Peace	Opinion

3.7 Ethical Considerations

This study adhered to several ethical considerations throughout the process of the study. Before the commencement of interviews and Focus Group Discussions, the researcher explained the research objectives and tasks to all participants in research in a way that they best understood; respect for all participants' dignities and abilities were also observed throughout the research; the respondents' rights to say no to participation in research were observed. Confidentiality of each respondent who participated in this study was also taken into consideration as per the research code of ethics.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, REPRESENTATION AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1. Introduction

This chapter includes data presentation, analysis and discussion of the findings on the implications of *Nation* newspaper peace reporting in the run up to the 2013 elections in Kenya. The chapter has three parts drawn from the objectives. The first part is the analysis of the peace messages obtained from the *Nation* newspapers. The second part is the responses of the audiences in FGDs and interviews with regard to the peace messages and the third and final part is the discussion of the results.

4.2. Peace Messages from the Newspapers

The first objective of the study was to describe the peace messages in the headlines, editorials, news stories, opinion pieces and advertisements of the *Nation* newspaper messages in the run up to the 2013 elections. After identifying and sorting out the data, the researcher presents herein the results of the textual analysis.

4.2.1. Messages from the Newspapers Front Page

The March 4th elections in 2013 were preceded and followed by peace messages from Kenyan news papers. Most of these messages were placed at the headlines. For example, on February 25, before the elections, the *Nation* newspaper carried a story in which Kenyans flocked to Uhuru Park to pray, repent and seek to forgive and be forgiven ahead of the March 4th elections. The message was right at the front-page reading:

Excerpt 1

JOINING HANDS FOR PEACE [TENS OF THOUSANDS FLOCK TO UHURU PARK NAIROBI FOR A MOVING EXPERIENCE OF PRAYER, REPENTANCE AND FORGIVENESS]

The above message functions to show the need for every other Kenyan elsewhere to seek peace. The statistical reference, which is “tens of thousands”, is a display of the magnitude of the need for peace. The fact that the meeting was a “moving experience”

also shows the surrender of Kenya as a country to a peaceful deal during and after elections. At this point in time, it was significant to engage all stakeholders and especially religious leaders. For this reason, such a meeting was so critical and timely for a national reporting. Majority of Kenyans expected their spiritual leaders to lead the way in asking for forgiveness from the most high having taken part in forceful eviction of people, killing and displacing innocent Kenyans in the infamous 2007/2008 post election violence. The *Nation* newspaper therefore, in making this story appear as headline signified the importance attached to it. The prominence and the in-depth coverage of the prayer event which was attended by all the presidential candidates in the 2013 Kenyan elections was meant to call upon their supporters to promote coexistence and maintain peace as Kenyans moved closer to the ballot to elect their leaders. The event was deliberately featured in the *Nation* newspaper headline for a majority of readers to and read with the potential to make them behave or act in a particular way.

On the material day, which is on March 4th 2013, the whole of *Nation* newspaper front page was dedicated to only two word message headline:

Excerpt 2

“*NEVER AGAIN*”

The above headline appeared on the *Nation* newspaper in white background to echo the messages that had been repeatedly crusaded that Kenya should never again go the 2007/2008 violence way. The white background symbolizes peace that the paper wanted all Kenyans to champion by whatever means possible. The fact that this message was designed on the voting day, speaks volume on the intentions the newspaper had which was to advocate for peace and reminding them about the 2007/2008 post election violence, Kenyans were therefore warned to avoid the repeat.

This was to be followed by more messages after elections. It was accompanied by an editorial cartoon strip that carried the following message:

Excerpt 3

“PEACE”

The cartoon strip symbolized a ballot box to be used in the march 4th 2013 elections and a ballot paper bearing the word ‘peace’ which was an illustration and the desire for people to choose peace and to expect peaceful outcomes. Peace was the message being cast into the ballot for the elections.

Two days after elections, i.e., on 6th March, the Nation newspaper front page story headline was reporting the bid for Kenyans to remain calm as the independent electoral and boundaries commission processed the results. The headline read:

Excerpt 4

“CALLS FOR CALM AS IEBC FACES RESULTS DELAYS”.

The above message was meant to remind Kenya on the events of 2007 presidential elections when the then Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK) chairman Samuel Kivuitu, when at the Presidential elections tallying headquarters in Nairobi Kenya made remarks alluding to the fact that election results were being rigged or cooked and that occasioned the delay in the transmission and subsequent tallying of the presidential election results which was panning out to be a tight race pitting ODM candidate Raila Odinga and the then incumbent and PNU candidate Mwai Kibaki. The delay caused anxiety to many Kenyans and supporters of different camps with most media stations transmitting the results further exacerbating the anxiety. The media was later accused of fanning the 2007/2008 post election violence on how they reported the 2007 election. For these reasons, in the 2013 elections, the media was very vigilant in their reporting of election matters.

The front page still continued to call for peace even long after the supreme resolved the 2013 election dispute that erupted. This was occasioned by the Cord coalition’s refusal to accept the election results instead petitioned the supreme court of Kenya. The editors

were not leaving any chance of telling about steps meant to Kenyans coexist peacefully. For example, on April 20, the newspaper front story was focusing on Uhuru Kenyatta and his second run up candidate's effort to unit Kenyans:

Excerpt 5

“UHURU, RAILA IN FRESH BID TO UNITE KENYANS”.

The above headline was very critical at that time given the fact that the supreme court had upheld the election of president Uhuru Kenyatta, a ruling which most supporters of the Cord coalition felt was unfair and unjust. The Nation newspaper therefore ran the above headline and even had the photograph of Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga holding hands together to symbolize that the duo were actually friends and talking to each other in attempts to ease the visible tensions that had started to grip the country over the election results. Therefore, the peace message was meant to prevail upon the supporters of each candidates to maintain calm peacefully coexist.

4.2.2. Peace Messages from the Editorial Pages

The *Nation* newspapers also carried peace messages and majority of such messages were found in the opinion section. The page contained the opinion from Kenyan writers, commentaries on the opinion and the editorial column written and published by the *Nation* newspaper staffs as the voice of the newspaper. The messages started as early as February 20, when the newspaper opinion pages showed the efforts made by Kenyans to ensure the forthcoming polls would be free, fair and peaceful:

Excerpt 6

“KENYA'S PARTNERS WORKING TO SUPPORT POLLS THAT ARE FREE, FAIR AND PEACEFUL.”

The partnering bit was important given that everyone would feel that Kenyan situation was not only a concern of Kenyans but for everyone globally. People from other countries around the world were concerned about Kenyan welfare were supporting the

dominant mood in the country; the need to maintain peace and refuse the so called 2007/2008 violence demon.

There were also messages from the opinion page that traced the progress of the politicians and the messages in which they constantly called for peace. Such reporting was paramount given the intensity of the matter and the history of Kenya's experience with post election violence. For example on March 1st 2013, just three days to the election, the *Nation* newspaper headline page story was:

Excerpt 7

“USE FINAL RALLIES TO PUSH FOR PEACEFUL ELECTIONS.”

This message was also elaborated on the March 4th 2013 editorial story which called for a united effort to maintain peace during voting: The headlines only served to push for peaceful coexistence before, during and after the 2013 elections. The media were urging the politicians to reign on their supporters to ensure that peace prevailed and that peace initiatives started with them. Most editorial pieces during the electioneering period were full of calls for peaceful elections through peaceful means and the *Nation* newspapers were no exceptions. Examples of other editorials with peace messages included:

Excerpt 8

“LET’S SEND OUT A FIRM MESSAGE: NEVER AGAIN”.

Never again was in apparent reference to the 2007/2008 post election violence in Kenya in which approximately 1400 people perished and hundreds of thousands displaced. This was a very powerful message meant to appeal to Kenyans to maintain peace.

On the same day, a more critical message appeared on the opinion page thus:

Excerpt 9

“WE HAVE TRADED PEACE FOR JUSTICE AND OURSELVES THE TWO CAN’T COEXIST.”

The information piece was accompanied by a photo message

Excerpt 10

“VOTE RESPONSIBLY, KEEP PEACE, ENJOY LIFE ONE LOVE, ONE PEOPLE”

The newspaper opinion page carried the thought of the identified writers on their behalf of which could otherwise be supported by the media houses. For this message to appear in the opinion, it meant that the editors were pleased with the theme and had made its selection to pass a message through its opinion writer.

4.2.3. Mixed Reactions after Voting

After the March 4th 2013 elections, the opinion page however, started carrying critical messages and analysis of the event following a tension moment as the cord went for a petition against Jubilee candidates win. The messages on the March 12 opinion page celebrated peace, but mourned the tensions that followed:

Excerpt 11

“PEACE TRIUMPHS BUT KENYA REMAINS A DEEPLY DIVIDED NATION.”

The realization that peace had prevailed over coexistence was coming to dawn. More significantly the country was moving toward a petition filed by the opposition and the malfunction of the electoral equipment, which almost divided Kenyans. However, there were no reported physical violence and the country was cooling back to normalcy. The war was taken and fought otherwise with the social media being a battle field for the techno savvy. For instance, a day after, another opinion piece was to carry out a more open call for peace on social media where Kenyans had resorted to cyber bullying and

some unprecedented war online. The headline on the story read:

Excerpt 12

“COOL DOWN DANGEROUS WAR ON SOCIAL MEDIA.”

Such calls were critical given that the country could not take it for granted. It was felt that the war could escalate and be transformed in the physical form.

The opinion pages also continued to carry more messages especially a piece that praised media for advocating for peace throughout the period of elections. An example is the March 12 piece:

Excerpt 13

“THE MEDIA DID A HIGHLY PROFESSIONAL JOB UNDER EXTREMELY DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES.”

However, the opinion also was critical of the peace messages and carried some headlines such as of March 16:

Excerpt 14

“PEACE MESSAGES BEING PEDDLED BETRAY A SOCIETY ON THE BRINK OF IMPLOSION”.

The exit messages for the month of April as the tensions cooled down were directed to the two candidates with majority of Kenyan followers. For example on April 1, the message was:

Excerpt 15

“NATIONAL HEALING MUST REMAIN TOP OF THE AGENDA”.

The above headline was meant to bring Kenyans together after the poll divisions which came with some elements of bitterness especially on the side of the Cord coalition

supporters who felt that their victory was stolen. The nation was almost divided right in the middle and there was urgent need for the media to call for national healing which could give peace and harmony a chance. The *Nation* newspaper ran such headlines ostensibly to prevent any potential violence that would arise especially after the hotly contested elections in 2013.

On the April 10th 2013, the *Nation* newspaper ran the headline with the message:

Excerpt 16

“NOW WALK THE TALK OF UNITY, MR. PRESIDENT”

The above headline was a testimony that Kenyans remained deeply divided after the 2013 polls even if there were few or no incidences of violence reported by the media.

The other message that featured on the *Nation* newspaper was on April 20th 2013 that was referring to the war on social media and calling for Cord and Jubilee candidates to intervene and tame their followers. This was testimony to the fact that Kenyans were reacting differently upon receiving the outcomes of the elections. The headline read:

Excerpt 17

“UHURU AND RAILA MUST REIN IN THEIR SUPPORTERS FEUDING ON SOCIAL MEDIA”

4.2.4. Messages in the News Feature Pages

In the run up to the 2013 elections, the newspapers used features and news stories especially those covering on the subject of peace. They covered stories that related to issues of peace advocacy. For example, on March 12, the *Nation* newspapers carried a story that reported of the effort elders in Kenya were putting in ensuring there would not be any violence after elections. This was done in recognition that elders were the opinion shapers and that their stand could mean a lot in the advocacy process. The headline read:

Excerpt 18

“ELDERS STRIVE TO NURTURE POST-POLL PEACE.”

Another story covered on March 22nd 2013 brought onboard the religious institutions perspective on the hate speech that followed the announcement of Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto as the president and deputy president elect. The headline was:

Excerpt 19

“CLERICS CALL END TO HATE SPEECH ON SOCIAL MEDIA”

The news feature stories followed the unfolding events after the 4 march elections as includes a headline that the elect president spoke to Kenyans regarding the state of peace after the elections. The story was tagged:

Excerpt 20

“UHURU SALUTES KENYANS FOR KEEPING PEACE”

This came amid tensions and as the country came into terms with their promise of keeping peace amidst loosing elections. The March 30 stories were focusing on the issue of a presidential petition that was filled by the Cord leaders disputing the outcome of the election.

The ruling was awaited and leaders were calling for peace as reported by a story headlined:

Excerpt 21

“LEADERS APPEAL FOR PEACE AHEAD OF PETITION RULING.”

It was after the ruling that much disunity erupted on social media between the beneficiaries (Jubilee followers) and the Cord followers who were declared as official opposition. It was tension especially given that the opposition leaders have no place to be

in parliament in the new constitution because they were not allowed to contest for other elective positions as in the new constitution. The government elect had to give reassurance of uniting Kenyans. This is exemplified by a story on April 10 headlined:

Excerpt 22

“RUTO PLEDGES UNITY FOLLOWING POLL DIVISIONS”.

4.2.5 Peace Messages in Promotional Content

The 2013 election was awaited with mixed expectations and caution because of the experiences of the 2007/2008 post elections violence. The violence had taught Kenyans that violence affects all stakeholders ranging from individuals, politicians, the church, the business world and non-governmental organizations. Therefore, the run up to 2013 elections saw all stakeholders converge to call for peace and at least pass their message in their own ways to the society that peace should be prioritized.

As early as February, the advertisements and promotional content by different companies and organizations carried peace messages. On 1st February, for example, the National conference for gubernatorial candidates emphasized on peace and bought a space in the daily nation where their theme was:

Excerpt 23

Peace Communiqué (deliberating on peace)

The above advert was in partnership with the following: Deloitte, Family Bank, Kenya vision 2013, PWC, Housing Finance, Transforming Kenya, National Democratic Institute, and United Nations Development Partners [UNDP]. The candidates called for peace ahead of the 4th March elections and promised to celebrate with decorum and accept defeat in their respective 47 counties. The transitional authority of Kenya bought the promotional page where the meeting proceedings were made public and declarations drawn.

Another advert with peace messages was on February 6 by elections observation group which had the message:

Excerpt 24

“WE ALL WANT PEACEFUL ELECTIONS”

The most remembered however was a national prayer meeting called by Prophet David Owuor of the ministry of repentance and advertised on televisions and newspapers. On February 23, the *Daily Nation* published a promotional poster headlined:

Excerpt 25

“HISTORIC NATIONAL REPENTANCE: DAY OF PEACE AND RECONCILIATION”.

The message was so significant because the prophet had all presidential candidates come for prayers and acceptance of peace.

On Feb 26, 2013 the *Daily Nation* set aside a promotional space where they had a poster with the message:

Excerpt 26

“AS WE APPROACH THE 4TH MARCH 2013 ELECTIONS, IT IS CRUCIAL FOR US KENYANS TO MAINTAIN PEACE DURING AND AFTER THE ELECTIONS PERIOD.”

Inter-Governmental Standing Committee on Shipping (ISCOS) placed this alongside an advert with the title:

Excerpt 27

“KENYA’S GENERAL ELECTIONS: A CALL FOR PEACE”.

The ushering in of the month of March was marking dramatic steps toward elections and

the newspaper on 1st March carried unapologetically peace advocating messages which were very detailed. For example, the Kenya Commercial Bank Group (KCB) incorporated the following message in form of a pledge in its audited results for the period ended 31 December 2012:

Excerpt 28

PEACE PLEDGE!

IN EVERY ASPECT OF MY LIFE, I WILL ADVOCATE AND PROMOTE NON-VIOLENCE

I WILL SOLVE PROBLEMS, AND NOT ATTACK PEOPLE

I WILL ALWAYS LOOK TO FIND A COMMON GROUND...EVEN WHEN THERE COULD BE DISAGREEMENT...BECAUSE I RECOGNIZE THAT IT IS OUR DIFFERENCES IN THOUGHT AND PERSPECTIVE THAT MAKES US UNIQUE

I WILL BE WILLING TO WORK TOWARDS ADDRESSING, AND FIXING PROBLEMS THROUGH CONSENSUS AND IN A SPIRIT OF RESPECT FOR ALL INVOLVED

I WILL NOT SUPPORT PEOPLE WHO PROMOTE TRIBALISM, OR OTHER DIVERGENT VIEWS BASED ON RELIGION, GENDER, CULTURE OR BACKGROUND

I WILL MAKE AN EFFORT TO ACHIEVE PEACE BY PEACEFUL MEANS.

On the same date, the *Daily Nation* had a page reminding Kenyans on the events of the 2007/2008 post election violence in a bid to remind them that they should not go the same way again: the poster carried the message:

Excerpt 29

IN THE YEAR 2007/2008, SOME 1300 PEOPLE WERE KILLED, 633921 PEOPLE DISPLACED, PROPERTY WORTH BILLIONS OF SHILLINGS DESTROYED. NEVER AGAIN SHALL WE KILL ONE ANOTHER, MAIM, DESTROY PROPERTY AND DISPLACE FELLOW KENYANS. VOTE PEACEFULLY ON 4TH 2013 AND THEREAFTER REMAIN A PEACEFUL UNITED COUNTRY, KENYA.

The NAKUMATT Supermarket also had an advert notifying its customers that it would not open its supermarkets on 4th March. The advert had a title message,

Excerpt 30

“VOTE WISELY, VOTE FOR PEACE”.

After elections, most companies and organizations incorporated peace messages in their advertising or promotional posters. For example, on 20th March the crown paints Kenya carried a message creatively incorporating what they called

Excerpt 31

“THE UNITING COLORS OF KENYA: PEACE, LOVE AND UNITY”.

There were also congratulatory messages after the elections incorporated in the promotional content such as the one by NACADA on 3rd April thus:

Excerpt 32

“THANK YOU KENYANS FOR VOTING PEACEFULLY”

Another on April 9, 2013 by Kenya Tourist Development Corporations (KTDC) that read:

Excerpt 33

“WE ALSO CONGRATULATE ALL OF US KENYANS FOR PEACEFUL ELECTIONS”

It was important to assume a voice of compliment by many businesses. These stakeholders are out to do business and they are aware that the environment on which they operate requires some atmosphere of peace. Their security is their stock and he assurance that their consumers are at peace and free to trade. The congratulatory messages serve to seal the already concluded deal and put Kenyans away from political thinking and back to normal life.

4.3. Kenyans' Reactions to the Peace Messages

The second objective of the study was to establish Kenyans' reactions to the peace messages from the newspaper content. The following interview schedules results were obtained from the newspaper readers after they were shown the peace messages from the newspapers. The results are presented as derived from the questions asked. The participants were asked whether they read *Nation* newspapers and how often they did so. From the responses, majority of the participants agreed that they were readers of daily nation newspaper. However, they reported that they could miss daily editions but not weekend editions i.e., *Saturday Nation* and *Sunday Nation* newspapers. In most cases, weekend editions are well read given that people are off their formal jobs. This gives them ample time to read and reflect on the stories and issues highlighted. This explains a reason why such editions are more details and carry more information than dailies. The readers were aware that weekend editions carry stories that are more detailed. They also agreed that the weekend editions carried many messages regarding peace.

4.3.1 Trust and Reliance on the Media Messages

As to whether the respondents trust and rely on the media messages, majority of the participants in the FGDs agreed that they trust the media fully and only a few participants argued that they partly trust the media. The majority who fully trust the media argued that the media reports exactly what is happening and that there are a few circumstance when the media has been involved in cooking or guessing information. An argument by one of the participant, which was unanimously supported, was that there is no other institution that can consistently inform and educate “*wananchi*” like media. “*Hata kanisa tunaenda siku moja ama mbili kwa wiki, lakini habari tunapatiwa kila wakati* (even in church, we are served once or twice in a week, but as for news you get them everytime).

The respondents who felt that they partly trust the media gave their reasons. It was a feeling among them that the media has been, in several circumstances blamed for exaggerating their news in the guise of reporting accurately. These respondents invoked the experiences of the 2007/2008 post election violence in Kenya. Most of these respondents solely argued that the media played a great role in kindling the violence.

However, they argued that if the media would have not reported the few places where the violence began, the rest of Kenyans would have known that there is fighting in some parts of the country. Consequently, this large percentage would have not thought of fighting because most of them fought back to revenge after getting news from the media that ‘their relative’s and ‘people of their tribe’ were being fought by other tribes in some parts of the world. This in turn, played part in fueling the violence and the infamous experiences of the 2007/2008 post election violence.

4.3.2 Interpretation of the Peace Messages Shown

Concerning the take on the peace messages shown by the media, most participants had the view that they are positive messages geared toward the healing of the nation and for the integration of all Kenyans regardless of one’s tribe. However, they argued that peace messages portrayed by the Kenyan media have been taken to be a fashion and very few people know the outcome and impact of peace messages on Kenyan media. These respondents aired their view that there should be an attempt to fill the gap between well-meant peace messages portrayed by the media so that they not taken literally. According to these respondents, the messages target regions emerging from conflict, encourage tolerance and dialogue, strengthen non-violent conflict resolution systems, and increase understanding of human rights as key priorities. The media has commonly tried to change the political culture, civic values, and practices of conflict resolution at the local level through widespread dialogue, education, and information campaigns. These peace messages have actually worked as intended; they have changed and continue to change the negative norms and behaviors of Kenyans while promoting positive norms and behaviors among Kenyans.

In addition, a most interviewees argued that the peace messages shown on media are just pretenses aired to make Kenyans forget the regular conflicts occurring in the country from time to time. This portion of respondents supported their argument by the view that the peace messages shown on media are exactly the opposite of what happens in day to day life. For instance, they argued that Kenyan leaders are leading in dividing Kenyans

instead of uniting them; at the same time, these same leaders are in the frontline preaching peace in the media.

4.3.3 Appropriateness of the Peace Messages

Upon enquiring from the respondents whether the peace messages were appropriate during the 2013 election run up, majority participants in the FDGs were for the opinion that the messages were appropriate while 40% disputed that the messages were not appropriate at that time. The respondents at the interviews felt that the messages were appropriate at that time argued that there was need to remind Kenyans from time to time and especially during that last minute to elections that peace in the country was very crucial. They further added that Kenyans forget quickly, that there was a probability they had forgotten what begot the country after the 2007 general elections hence there was need to take them back, remind them of the bloodshed during the time and urge them to maintain peace during the 2013 general elections.

According to the interviewees, peace messages were not appropriate during that time; their views were that; peace is something built over time, according to them rushing with peace messages during the last minute might not do much. At the same time, they felt that the essential for building a culture of peace is education for peace. According to them, the United Nations has called on every country to ensure that children, from an early age, benefit from education to enable them to resolve any dispute peacefully and in a spirit of respect for human dignity and of tolerance.

4.3.4 Role of Media in Peace Advocacy

As per whether print media is well placed in advocating for peace, most participants agreed that the media is well placed in advocating for peace though they were of the view that the large percentage of Kenyans do not access print media. As per their views, print media in Kenya is mainly through the newspaper and more so the *Nation* newspaper which they termed to be very expensive for the ordinary Kenyan. These respondents argued that advocating peace messages by using community newspapers can help reach people in different areas, even with different languages more easily. This way people can

be addressed directly and their own personal experiences and lives can be incorporated much better. The danger of manipulation and inflammation of ethnic tensions, however, cannot be ignored. Another advantage of local print media is that in border areas it is possible to convey peace messages to passing fighters and refugees. Democratic media structures need more than this; it is vital that the use of information within a society is not solemnly passive but that the population gets actively involved in creating content and passing it.

Although some respondents argued that print media is well placed in advocating for peace, they were for the opinion that electronic media would have done better. According to them, electronic media reaches many Kenyans as compared to print media; at the same time, electronic media in Kenya is disseminated even in vernacular. At least every tribe in Kenya has a vernacular radio today. For instance, one respondent argued that: *Sisi kwa wakale tuna kass FM lakini hatuna gazeti ya kikalenjin.* (We Kalenjins have a radio station known as Kass FM but we do not have a newspaper written in Kalenjin).

4.3.5 Peace Messages and Conduct of Kenyans before and after 2013 Elections

On whether the respondents considered media messages in their conduct during and after elections, every respondent argued that during elections, peace messages dominated the media. This continued shortly after elections during the presidential disputes in court. Thereafter, the media went silent on the subject. According to the respondents, peace building should be an everyday activity and not an activity of before, during and after elections. Concerning whether the respondents thought that other Kenyans were influenced by the peace messages during and after elections, the respondents/ interviewees were for a common opinion that Kenyans were greatly influenced by the messages. One interviewee said: *Kila wakati sio kwa magazeti peke yake, lakini hata kwa redio na TV tulikuwa tunaonywa tusipigane. Ujumbe kwa media ilitufanya tusipigane na wakenya wengi walitii.* (Every time, in newspapers, radio and TV we were warned against violence. The media messages really prevented us from resorting to violence).

4.3.6 Handling of Peace Reporting by Newspapers in 2013 Elections

On how the media handled the reporting of the elections, majority of FGDs participants felt that during the 2013 elections, the newspaper handled the reporting of the campaigns keenly and carefully. They further argued that the media had been warned prior by the state on reporting suspicious news that would bring about tension upon citizens like hate speeches. Hence the media was very careful on what they were reporting. In addition, there were tremendous changes that were done on the constitution of Kenya that put restrictions on Kenyan media reporting especially when it comes to sensitive matters like campaigns.

A few participants argued that the newspaper was of a great assistance in reporting campaigns and peace building. However, they argued that their power was limited, as they were not allowed to report beyond certain circumstances especially the negative side. The newspaper would only be a good tool in a healthy and functioning environment but more is needed than ethical and responsible reporting to ensure lasting peace and safety. The role of the media (newspaper) is twofold: on the one hand, the media report and reflect on pressing issues and can help to question established concepts and ideas. On the other hand, they can be used for propaganda purposes and instead of revealing truths, try to cover things up and by this curtail people's freedom and right to information. The newspaper was suppressed on the second fold during the 2013 elections, this way; the newspaper was underutilized to this point in time. All the respondents in this study were of the view that the dominant messages from the media were advocating for peace. The *Nation* newspapers were not an exception, its dominant messages were advocating for peace as well.

4.3.7 Media as Peace Advocates or Not

Concerning some people's argument that the media should not have advocated for peace, all respondents were of the common view that the media is very important in advocating for peace and any other course. According to them, the media is the only means, which can reach all or most people in the country. Although it has double effect, meaning it can also be misused, they agreed that it has been premised on maximizing good and

minimizing harm. There has been a debate by analysts that many journalists, editors and others information gatekeepers do not perceive the undesirable news values and counterproductive effects of the media from a peace building perspective. Kenyans see that media, despite its strong influences on the society, for a number of reasons is handicapped in the role of peace building in that the media tends to choose frames that are not compatible with the nature of peace processes. The role of Media as ‘watchdog’ of campaigns and other events during elections is a necessary ingredient. The appropriate coverage of the protest events with the value-added opinion formation of the public, besides practical suggestions for the sustainable solutions, is destined to become a factor of relief and peace for the whole society.

From the FGDs, the participants agreed that media played a role in quenching the violence in 2013, and it was felt that they never did this in the 2007/2008 election time. The participants felt that media, all times of media, are potential advocates of good course. One participant intimated that if all media collude to drive a campaign, they would succeed because they are highly regarded by the audiences.

4.4 Discussion of the Results

The first task was for the researcher to answer the question as to whether the *Nation* newspapers carried messages calling for peace in the run up to the 2013 elections in Kenya. The results showed that the newspapers carried such messages in their different sections such as the front page, the editorial pages, the news and feature sections and advertisements. The finding agrees with the argument that newspapers are the main carriers of messages of whatever kind as it may be needed by the audience. It was also clear that mass media (such as newspapers as studied) are the most prevalent source for information especially about election campaigns in democracies and societies in transition around the world, both developed and developing. Through mass media, information is availed to citizens through the media on issues. This is where political parties and leaders as well as election campaigners often represent optimal points for political communications. For the example in the literature, it was established that in the 20th century, newspapers were the main carriers of propaganda, incorporation of

government, and were used for mobilization of nations to achieve political goals (Demirsoy, Dikener & Enderhan, 2013). This was because the power of newspaper as a mass medium is generally symbolic and persuasive, in the sense that the mass media such as newspapers primarily have the potential to control to some extent the minds of readers or viewers, but not directly their actions (Altheide, 1985; Liehter et al., 1990).

The participants in the FGDs agreed that the newspapers carried messages that advocated for peace and these messages were repeatedly published under different content. It was also found that the audience, both in FGDs and interviews read newspapers because at large, newspapers gave them information regarding the elections and therefore of peace messages. This as the participants agreed in FGDs and interviews, shaped the way they reacted, related and perceived issues affecting them during the run up to the 2013 elections (Johnson-Laird, 1983). This observation is in agreement with the agenda setting theory used in this study because as it argues only issues that are perceived to be of importance by the media are let out to the public domain. The case for the study was to advocate for peace. This means only a few of the information material can get to the pages. The theory further argues that the messages shape people's perception of events and people in connection their reaction to the outcome of the 2013 general elections.

The second question was regarding the respondent's reactions to the messages that called for peace from the *Nation* newspapers in the run up to the 2013 elections in Kenya. The findings show that the respondents were influenced by the messages and they considered the messages in their conduct. Peace reporting in newspapers demands a lot of self-awareness from the editors and reporters. As such, media is in a position to promote peace or trigger violent responses to conflict issues because media content has been proved to determine, shape and affect the behavior of individuals and groups (van Dijk, 1996). It was established from the FGDs and interviews that respondents were convinced to remain calm and united during and after elections because they trust media and the media guided them on how to conduct themselves through peace messages. This line of thought is supported by the literature reviewed in which it was found that ideology is the attitudes, set of beliefs, values and doctrines with reference to political, social and

economic life, responsible for shaping the individual's and group's perception and through which media constructs reality and have the audience interpret it. Ideology is based on the maxims that there is no news content that can pass the test of being neutral, transparent or innocent in its packaging. This is in agreement with Van Dijk (1996) stand that ideology, informed critical social theory throughout the twentieth century. The agenda setting theory, as supported by Tan & Weaver (2007) has it that agenda setting is concerned with the various stages a newspaper item goes through in a newsroom before it is finally published. The source, the reporter, the sub editor and the editors are in their own rights agenda setters since they determine what ends up as news. For the period under study, all media corroborated to preach peace and avoid the repeat of the 2007/2008 post election experiences.

These results support the literature reviewed further because, as it was analysed, the issues of power and ideology dominate the media and newspapers in particular in times of general elections. And since ideology is the attitudes, set of beliefs, values and doctrines with reference to political, social and economic life, responsible for shaping the individual's and group's perception and through which media constructs reality and have the audience interpret it, it becomes very critical when people are in the mood of election and transition. Van Dijk (1996) argues that ideology, informed critical social theory throughout the twentieth century.

The third question was whether the *Nation* newspapers messages on peace contributed to the formation of different perceptions of the readers on the 2013 elections in Kenya. The findings of the study show that the messages did greatly contribute the Kenyan's conduct before, during and after the 2013 general elections in Kenya. The FGDs and the interviews show that Kenyan's were considering the messages seriously. Most respondents said if the messages were not broadcast with such a frequency, probably there could have been violence in some places. The most conspicuous of the parts of newspapers were the front-page headlines that carried peace messages in attention capturing sizes and fonts. In the literature, it was established that the manipulative function of the newspaper headlines are positive in the sense that they manipulate the

readers and the audience at large to be tolerant, accommodative and embrace peace in looming crisis. Moreover, it is to be noted that newspaper headlines play a critical role in determining the readership of an issue (Harrower, 2009). Newspaper headlines are usually packaged with special linguistic characteristics as seen in the headlines for the nation newspaper. A well-written newspaper headline must be able to attract attention of the reader. In most cases, newspaper headlines are unusual, sensational and short. There are four functions of a headline that scholars are mostly interested in (Harrower, 2009). First, headlines should be crafted in a way that they grab the attention of the readers. The best tool for a headline to capture the reader's attention is to select words that present the readers' self-interest. Therefore, language, as used in the headlines can never appear by itself - it always appears as the representative of a system of linguistic terms, which themselves reflect the prevailing discursive and ideological systems.

It is at this point, where agenda setting takes place as seen in the theoretical framework. van Dijk, (1996: 11) as established in the literature reviewed argued that in order for a mass medium to have the readers react the way they want, they should be particularly effective when the readers "do not realize the nature or the implications of such control and when they change their minds of their own free will, as when they accept news reports as true or journalistic opinions as legitimate or correct". This was particularly true in the study because most respondents engaged in the FGDs were not aware of the implications of believing newspapers and mass media. According to Kahneman and Tversky (2000) it becomes important to study and consider the mental representations, including so-called social cognitions such as attitudes and ideologies, shared by groups of readers or viewers, and this was why the researcher engaged them in Focus group discussions so that they could discuss the raised issues freely and then the researcher could draw some conclusions. The results were that the readers were observed to support to the ideals that were found to be homely to their affiliated political party ideals.

This becomes important in analysis because the evaluation of social power in media together with its symbolic dimensions requires going beyond a narrow social or political approach to power and control. If we are able to relate more or less explicitly such

mental representations, as well as their changes, to properties of news reports, important insights into media power can be gained. It is from this standpoint that the influence and control that newspaper messages during the selected period in the study was to be examined for some understanding. Because of the messages usage by the newspapers, the findings of this study show that the messages contributed to the peace and calm witnessed during the run up to 2013 elections in Kenya. The subject of peace at the time was taken as a dominant and necessary ethic to guide Kenyans on their conduct. This is in agreement with the agenda setting theory that factors of political interference, personal interests, media law and ethics may determine the amount of agenda setting, an exercise that can be both useful and dangerous. It is useful if it shields audiences from harmful information and dangerous if, it shields the public from the truth. For this case, the peace messages produced favorable results although most scholars have argued that media overdid it and forgot their watchdog role.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of the findings about the three objectives of the study, the conclusions and the recommendations based on the carried study.

5.2 Summary of findings

The first objective of the study was to describe the peace messages in the headlines, editorials, news stories, opinion pieces and advertisements of the *Nation* newspaper messages in the run up to the 2013 elections in Kenya. The findings show that there were messages carried by the *Nation* newspapers during the run up to 2013 elections in all the 33 excerpts that were sampled for analysis in the study. The study findings further show that the newspapers carried such messages in their headlines, the news and feature sections, the editorials, opinion pages and the advertisements. This way, the messages were able to have huge impact on the readers. The participants in the study agreed that they actually saw the messages and understood the meaning of each message clearly. These findings are in tandem with the agenda setting assertion that the media sets nation agenda (Mc Combs 1972). In this case, the *Nation* newspapers messages were set by the media elite and media professionals for a particular course. The fact that there was an increase in the frequency in which peace messages were carried in the *Nation* newspapers before and after the 2013 elections in Kenya was enough proof that the *Nation* newspapers was keen to propagate or advocate for peaceful elections.

The second objective was to establish respondents' reactions to the messages that called for peace from the *Nation* newspapers in the run up to the 2013 elections in Kenya. The respondent's reactions were tested through two research tools; the Focused Group Discussions and the interview schedules. From both the FGDs and the interviews, the researcher established that the participants were in agreement that the messages published in *Nation* newspapers informed their behaviour patterns towards the 2013 elections in Kenya. One interviewee: "*Enyewe mimi nilikuwa na soma stories mingi kwa magazeti ya Nation na ujube kuu ilikuwa ni wito wa kuhimiza amani. Hii ilinifanya kushawishika*

kudumisha amani manake mwaka wa 2007 watu wengi walipigana na kuuana sababu hakukuwa na jube za kuhimiza amani” (For sure I used to read the *Nation* newspapers and the predominant message was calls for peace, this made me advocate for peace because in the 2007 elections, many Kenyans fought and others died because there were no messages reminding Kenyans to stay peaceful and maintain peace). They were of the opinion that the *Nation* newspaper did a good job to advocate for peace given the experiences of the 2007/2008 post election violence. Majority of the respondents were of the view that peace advocacy was the best thing that the media could do. However, the study findings did not quite concur with what some media experts and media scholars had argued especially the fact that the media (both print and electronic) neglected their watchdog role at and concentrated on peace advocacy.

The third objective of the study was to determine the perceptions of the readers on the contribution of these messages to the 2013 elections in Kenya. The results of the findings show that the peace messages contributed to peaceful conduct of Kenyans before, during and after elections. The findings are supporting the literature reviewed that newspapers can use their power as media to set agendas that can shape people’s perceptions and conduct during times when the society is supposed to act in a certain way. For example, one interviewee: *“Mimi kibinafsi nataambua kazi mzuri gazeti ya Nation ilifanya wakati wa uchaguzi mwaka wa 2013. Mimi ni mkaaji wa Nakuru hapa, nimezaliwa pale Kaptembwa na saa hii niko na miaka salasini na nane na niwa watoto watatu. Uchaguzi uliopita ulikuwa na amani sana sio kama mwaka wa 2007 na natumai gazeti la Nation itafanya jinzi ilivyofanya kueneza amani na upendo mwaka wa 2017”*. (Myself I salute the job that the *Nation* newspaper did in their coverage of the 2013 elections. I was born and raised here in Nakuru a place called Kaptembwa. I am married with three kids. My observation was that the 2013 general elections were very peaceful unlike in 2007 because of the reportage of the media on elections and I hope that come 2017 general elections, the *Nation* newspaper will act in the manner it did in the 2013 elections).

5.3 Conclusion

From the analysis and summary of the study, the researcher arrived at the following conclusions:

As per the first objective, which was to describe the peace messages in the headlines, editorials, news stories, opinion pieces and advertisements of the *Nation* newspaper messages in the run up to the 2013 elections in Kenya, the researcher established that the *Nation* newspapers carried peace messages during electioneering periods than any other time in history. The messages were also distributed throughout the major sections of the newspaper such as the headline, the news stories, opinion pages, the editorials and the advertisements. This way, the messages were made effective and accessible to readers of different interests.

With regard to the second objective, which was to establish respondents' reactions to the messages that called for peace in the run up to the 2013 elections in Kenya, the researcher concludes that respondents were of the opinion that the *Nation* newspapers played remarkable job and they expected the media to do no less than they did. The respondents also were of the view that since they trust media, the media in the time under study did not let them down and that it should do as so in future.

As for the third objective, which was to determine the perceptions of the readers on the contribution of these messages to the 2013 elections in Kenya, the researcher concludes that the *Nation* newspapers contributed in one way or the other, to the conduct of Kenyans in the run up to 2013 election. The respondents argued that the messages they received from the *Nation* newspapers helped them to unite and made them value tolerance, calm and peace instead of reactionary and violent approaches to election disputes.

5.4 Recommendations

The researcher recommends various approaches in to newspaper peace reporting in the run up to elections in Kenya. These measures should involve impartiality by journalists

and at the same time the journalists should not abdicate their watchdog roles. The researcher therefore recommends the following:

- i. Journalists should be sensitized on implications of peace reporting especially in the electioneering periods. This is because the media (whether print or electronic) has got immense influence on the outcomes of elections either way.
- ii. Journalists should not abdicate their watchdog role while trying to cover election stories and instead abide by the journalists code of conduct and guidelines on election coverage, know what should be reported and what not to report so that they do not suppress some information.
- iii. Journalists should be able to distinguish between peace journalism from peace advocacy, practice responsible journalism and should not be seen to be promoting certain ideologies but let the readers make independent decisions based on the information provided to them.

REFERENCES

- Altheide, D. L. (1985). *Media Power*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Barnett, S. (2002). 'Will a Crisis in Journalism Provoke a Crisis in Democracy?' *Political Quarterly*, 73, 400–408.
- Bartels, L. (1996). 'Uniformed Votes: Information Effects in Presidential Elections', *American Journal of Political Science*, 40, 194–230.
- Bell, A. (1991). *The Language of News Media*. Blackwell: Oxford.
- Cappella, J. & Jamieson, K. (1997). *Spiral of Cynicism*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Christin, T., Hug, S. & Sciarini, P. (2002). 'Interests and Information in Referendum Voting: an analysis of Swiss Voters', *European Journal of Political Research*, 41, 759–776.
- Demirsoy, A., Dikener, O. & Enderhan, K. (2013). Axes Concept of Democratic Rethinking the Local Media. *Journal of International Scientific Publications: Media and Mass Communication*, 2, 4-13
- De Kantzow, M. (2000) *Targeting Media: Newspapers and Magazines*. Clayton: Blake Education.
- Franklin, B., (1997). *Newszak and the Media*, London: Arnold.
- Hamilton, T. (2004). *All the News That's Fit to Sell: How the Market Transforms Information into News*. Princeton:: Princeton University Press.
- Hansen, A. (1998). *Mass Communication Research Methods*, London: McMillan.
- Harrower, T. (2009). *The Newspaper Designer's Handbook* (6th ed. 2007) excerpt and text search Jones, Alex. *Losing the News: The Future of the News That Feeds Democracy*.
- Harrop, M. & Scammell, M. (1992). *A Tabloid War*. in Butler, D. and Kavanagh, D., *The British General Election of 1992*, London: Macmillan.
- Iarovici, E. & Amel, R. (1989). The Strategy of the Headline. *Semiotica* 77, (4), 441–459.
- Johnson-Laird, P. N. 1983. *Mental Models*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kahneman, & Tversky. (2000). *Choices, Values and Frames*. New York: Cambridge University Press and Sage Foundation.
- Kothari, C. R. (2004). *Research Methodology Methods & Techniques* (Second Edition

ed.). New Delhi: New Age International publisher

Kumar, K. (1987). "Relative Performance of Egyptian and Persian Clovers at different levels of gypsum application in a barren alkali soil." *Indian Journal in Agricultural Science*, 57(3): 157-162

Kriegler and Waki Reports (2009). Summarised version. Revised Edition. Retrieved April 12, 2013 from http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_16094-1522-2-30.pdf

Lichter, S. R., Rothman, S. & Lichter, L. (1990). *The Media Elite. America's New Powerbrokers*. New York: Hastings House.

Lindemann, B. (1990). Cheap Thrills we Live by: Some Notes on the Poetics of Tabloid Headlines. *Journal of Literary Semantics*, 19, (1) 46–59.

Lloyd, J. (2004). *What the Media Do to Our Politics*, London: Constable and Robinson.

Louw, R. (2008). *Media Freedom, Transparency and Governance*. South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA) Occasional Paper, No 11.

Luskin, R., Fishkin, J. & Jowell, R. (2002). Considered Opinions: Deliberative Polling in Britain, *British Journal of Political Science*, 32, 455–487

Maina, W.L. (2006). *Kenya Country Report Context*: London: BBC World Service Trust.
Media focus on Africa (2013). Playing watchdog vs. keeping the peace: the media input on trial. Retrieved May 29, 2013 from <http://www.potentash.com/playing-watchdog-keeping-peace-mediaput-trial/>

Mcombs, M., & Shaw. (1972). The Agenda Setting Function Of Media. *Public Opinion*, 36(2).

Miller, W. (1991). *Media and Voters: The Audience, Content, and Influence of Press and Television at the 1987 General Election*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ndonye, M. M. (2013). *Media And 2013 Political Process In Kenya: Uses, Ups and Downs*. Saarbrücken, Germany: VDM Publisher.

- Ndonye, M M. & Nabea, W. (2013). Media as Opium of Masses: Coverage of the 2013 General Elections in Kenya. *2nd Annual International Interdisciplinary Conference, Catholic University of East Africa, 25th-29th June, 2013*
- Newman, L. W. (2006). *Social Research Methods, Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Boston: Pearson.
- Nir, R. (1993). A Discourse Analysis of News Headlines. *Hebrew Linguistics*, 37, 23–31 (in Hebrew).
- Overbeck, J. R., & Park, B. (2001). “When power does not corrupt: Superior individuation processes among powerful perceivers”. *Journal of personality and psychology*, 81, 549-565.
- Patterson, T. (1993). *Out of Order*. New York: Knopf.
- Seymour-Ure, C. (1996). *The British Press and Broadcasting since 1945*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative Research and evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Sparks, G. C. (2010). *Media Effects Research: A Basic Overview* (3rd Edition) Boston: Wadsworth.
- Tan, & Weaver. (2007). Journalism and Mass Communication. *Agenda-Setting Effects Among the Media, the Public, and Congress*, 12-20.
- Uribe, R., & Gaunter, B. (2007). Are ‘sensational’ news stories more likely to trigger viewers’ emotions than non-sensational news stories? A content analysis of British TV News. *European journal of communication*, 22 (2), 207-228.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. (1988). *News as Discourse*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1996). *Power and the News Media*. London: Routledge

Weber, J. (2006). Strassburg, 1605: The Origins of the Newspaper in Europe. *German History*, 24 (3), 387–412.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE: INTRODUCTORY LETTER

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Evans Erick Otieno Ochieng. I am a Masters student in the Department of Literature, Languages and Linguistics, Egerton University pursuing a degree in Journalism and Mass Communication. I am carrying out a research on “**The implications of *Nation* Newspapers Peace Reporting in the run up to the 2013 Elections in Kenya.**” I humbly request you to provide me with genuine answers for the questions I am going to ask you. The findings from the study will be useful to the media houses and media professionals in their efforts to use newspapers as a medium of peace reporting and other forms of advocacy. I assure you that all the information you will provide will be treated with the utmost confidentiality it deserves and it will be used strictly for purposes of this study. The researcher will be willing to share the results of the study with you.

Thank you for your cooperation.

APPENDIX TWO: PEACE MESSEGES MATRIX

Data Erick

Excerpt No.	Date	Message (Text)	Categories
Excerpt 1	Feb, 25,2013	Joining hands for peace [tens of thousands flock to Uhuru park Nairobi for a moving experience of prayer, repentance and forgiveness]	Headline
Excerpt 2	March 4,2013	Never again!	Headline
Excerpt 3	March4, 2013	PEACE	Editorial
Excerpt 4	March 6,2013	Calls for calm as IEBC faces result delay	Headline
Excerpt 5	April20,2013,	Uhuru, Raila in fresh bid to unite Kenyans	Headline
Excerpt 6	Feb 20,2013	Kenya's partners working to support polls that are free, fair and peaceful	Opinion
Excerpt 7	March1, 2013	Use final rallies to push for peaceful elections	Opinion
Excerpt 8	March4, 2013	Let's send out a firm message: never again	Opinion
Excerpt 9	March4, 2013	We have traded peace for justice and ourselves the two cant coexist	Opinion
Excerpt 10	March4, 2013	Photo message: vote responsibly, keep peace, enjoy life, One love, one people	Opinion.
Excerpt 11	March10,2013	Peace triumphs but Kenya remains a deeply divided nation	Opinion
Excerpt 12	March20,2013	Cool down dangerous war on social media	Opinion
Excerpt 13	March12,2013	The media did a highly professional job under extremely difficult circumstances	Opinion
Excerpt 14	March16,2013	Peace messages being peddled betray a society on the brink of implosion	Opinion

Excerpt 15	April1,2013	National healing must remain top of the agenda	Opinion
Excerpt 16	April 10, 2013	Now walk the talk of unity, Mr president	Opinion, editorial
Excerpt 17	April 20, 2013	Uhuru and Raila must rein in their supporters feuding on social media	Opinion
Excerpt 18	March12,2013	Elders strive to nurture post-poll peace	News
Excerpt 19	Feb 22, 2013	Clerics call end to hate speech on social media	News
Excerpt 20	March25,2013	Uhuru salutes Kenyans for keeping peace	News
Excerpt 21	March30,2013	Leaders appeal for peace ahead of petition ruling	News
Excerpt 22	April10, 2013	Ruto Pledges Unity Following Poll Divisions	News
Excerpt 23	Feb1, 2013	National conference for gubernatorial candidates 2013 Peace Communiqué Partnering with: Deloitte, Family Bank, Kenya vision 2013, PWC, Housing Finance, Transforming Kenya, National Democratic Institute, United Nations Development Partners [UNDP]	Advert.
Excerpt 24	Feb 6, 2013	We all want peaceful elections	Advert.
Excerpt 25	Feb 23, 2013	Historic national repentance: day of peace and reconciliation	Advert.
Excerpt 26	Feb26, 2013	A call for peace by the DN As we approach the 4 th march 2013 elections, it is crucial for us Kenyans to maintain peace during and after the	Advert

		elections period	
Excerpt 27	Feb26, 2013	Kenya's general elections: A call for peace	Advert.
Excerpt 28	March1, 2013	<p><i>Peace pledge!</i></p> <p><i>In every aspect of my life, I will advocate and promote non-violence</i></p> <p><i>I will solve problems, and not attack people</i></p> <p><i>I will always look to find a common ground...even when there could be disagreement...because I recognize that it is our differences in thought and perspective that makes us unique</i></p> <p><i>I will be willing to work towards addressing, and fixing problems through consensus and in a spirit of respect for all involved</i></p> <p><i>I will not support people who promote tribalism, or other divergent views based on religion, gender, culture or background</i></p> <p><i>I will make an effort to achieve peace by peaceful means.</i></p> <p>An advert by Kenya Commercial Bank Group</p>	Advert.
Excerpt 29	March1, 2013	<p>In the year 2007/2008, some 1300 people were killed, 633921 people displaced, property worth billions of shillings destroyed.</p> <p>Never again shall we kill one another, maim, destroy property and displace</p>	Advert.

		<p>fellow Kenyans.</p> <p>Vote peacefully on 4th 2013 and thereafter remain a peaceful united country, Kenya</p>	
Excerpt 30	March 1, 2013	<p><i>Vote wisely, vote for peace</i></p> <p>The advert by NAKUMATT supermarket notifying its customers that it will not open its supermarkets on 4th march</p>	Advert.
Excerpt 31	Feb 20, 2013	<p><i>Uniting colors of Kenya: PEACE, LOVE & UNITY</i></p> <p>Advert by CROWN paints Kenya</p>	Advert.
Excerpt 32	Feb 3, 2013	<p><i>Thank you Kenyans for voting peacefully</i></p> <p>Advert by NACADA</p>	Advert.
Excerpt 33	April 9, 2013	<p><i>We also congratulate all of us Kenyans for peaceful elections</i></p> <p>Ad by KTDC [Kenya tourist development corporations]</p>	Advert.

APPENDIX THREE: FGDS GUIDELINES

The following FGDS questions were posed to the participants after they were shown the cuttings of the peace messages from the newspapers:

1. Have you been reading Nation newspapers and how often?
2. How much trust do you have for the media and its messages? I mean any media be it newspaper, radio or TV?
3. What is your take on the peace messages shown?
4. Do you think the messages were appropriate at that time? If so why?
5. Do you think the media (print media) is well placed in advocating for peace? Why?
6. Did you consider media messages in your possession/contact during and after the elections? If yes, why did you do so?
7. In your opinion, do you think other Kenyans considered/were influenced by the peace messages during and after elections?
8. During the elections campaigns, how was the newspaper handling the reporting of the campaigns? What about the Nation newspapers?
9. What were the dominant /nature of the messages from the media? How about the Nation newspaper in particular?
10. Some people argue that the media should not have advocated for peace! What is your take?

APPENDIX FOUR: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE QUESTIONS

The following questions, which were almost similar to those discussed by the FGDs, were posed to the interviewees:

1. Do you read *Nation* newspapers? If so, how often?
2. Do you trust the media? I mean whether radio, newspaper, TV, or any other. What about their messages?
3. What is your take on the peace messages shown?
4. Do you think the messages were appropriate at that time? If so why?
5. Do you think the media (print media) is well placed in advocating for peace?
6. Did you consider media messages in your possession/contact during and after the elections? If yes why?
7. In your opinion, do you think other Kenyans considered/were influenced by the peace messages during and after elections?
8. During the elections campaigns, how was the newspaper handling the reporting of the campaigns? What about the *Nation* newspaper?
9. What were the dominant /nature of the messages from the media? How about the *Nation* newspaper in particular?
10. Some people argue that the media should not have advocated for peace! What is your take?