

**ETHNIC STEREOTYPING IN THE KENYAN ONLINE STANDARD AND
NATION NEWSPAPERS**

BY

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A RESEARCH THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SOCIAL
SCIENCES, DEPARTMENT OF LITERATURE, LINGUISTICS, FOREIGN
LANGUAGES AND FILM STUDIES IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF DEGREE OF MASTERS OF ARTS IN
LINGUISTICS, MEDIA, AND COMMUNICATION

MOI UNIVERSITY

2022

DECLARATION

Declaration by Candidate

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DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my mother, Emmy Afandah, whose support and prayers for my academic progress are incomparable. Second, I would also like to dedicate it to my late Sister, Harriet Nana.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It would be impossible to name all the people whose contributions led to the completion of this thesis project. However, I would like to acknowledge the sacrifices and tireless efforts of my supervisors, Dr. Simon Nganga and Dr. Lynn Kisémbé. Without their insightful and illuminating comments, this study may never have come to be. I cannot also forget to thank Madam Ondimu for her guidance at the early stages of the study. I am indebted to the entire Department of Linguistics and Foreign Languages, Moi University, led by the indefatigable Dr. Rose Opondo, for their guidance, constructive criticism, and encouragement.

Finally, I humbly thank my God for watching over me, giving me the strength, wisdom, and knowledge to develop this document.

ABSTRACT

The role of media in enhancing peaceful co-existence among communities is widely accepted; however, in Kenya, media has been blamed for propagating ethnic conflict during crises moments by assigning blame to some ethnic groups and innocence to others. The objectives of this study are threefold. First, the study sought to identify discursive strategies used by reporters to assign blame and innocence. Second, the study aimed to explain how the strategies identified are used to assign blame and innocence. Finally, to explain the implications of blame and innocence on the relationships among ethnic groups in Kenya. The study employed a qualitative approach and a descriptive research design. To achieve the set objectives, 40 editorials from the online version of the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers published between the years 2013 and 2015 were purposively sampled (20 from each daily). *The Standard* and *Daily Nation* newspapers were selected because of their high readership numbers. The study period was selected because it was a period when the two terrorist attacks happened in Kenya. Editorials that responded to the Westgate and Mpeketoni attacks and related ethnic affairs from the two newspapers were downloaded, and data was collected using content analysis. Discursive strategies were identified and grouped according to their role in the assignment of blame and that of innocence. Using principles from Critical Discourse Analysis, the study analyzed the identified discursive strategies. The analysis of these strategies was done using Fairclough's three-step method, which is identification, explanation, and interpretation. The findings show that through lexical choices, naming, and over-lexicalization, reporters categorically apportion blame to ethnic groups. Using passive voice and lexical choices, they apportion innocence to other groups. Further, using lexical choices, reporters categorically assign innocence, and using passivization, they non-categorically assign innocence. The tendency to categorically assign blame to one ethnic group and innocence to another suggests that reporters emphasize differences among ethnic groups. The findings imply that if the tone of discussion in online newspaper media platforms is not regulated, it could lead to situations that may ignite and escalate ethnic conflicts. The results of this study will benefit media houses, both print and electronic, as they will help improve the quality of discussions and debates on their platforms. This study recommends that further research should be done on other different types of hate speech bordering on religion, race, and gender.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
ABSTRACT	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS	ix
CHAPTER ONE	1
1.0 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Background to the Study.....	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem.....	6
1.3 Research Objectives.....	7
1.4 Research Questions.....	7
1.5 Assumption of the Study.....	8
1.6 Significance of the Study	8
1.7 Limitation of the Study	9
CHAPTER TWO	10
LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	10
2.0 Introduction.....	10
2.1 Media Discourse	10
2.2 Media Discourse Analysis	11
2.3 Ethnicity and Media Discourse.....	14
2.4 Studies on Media and Ethnicity and Their Relevance to the Study.....	15
2.5 Theoretical Framework.....	19
2.5.1 Critical Discourse Analysis	19
CHAPTER THREE	25
METHODOLOGY	25
3.0 Introduction.....	25
3.1 Research Design.....	25
3.2 Study Population, Sample, and Sampling Procedure.....	27
3.2.1 Study Area.....	27
3.2.2 Study Population	28
3.2.3 Sampling Procedures.....	28
3.2.4 Data Collection methods	31

3.2.5 Data Analysis	31
CHAPTER FOUR.....	37
DATA PRESENTATION ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION	37
4.0 Introduction.....	37
4.1 Lexical Choice	38
4.1.1 Use of Lexical Choices to Assign Blame.....	40
4.2 Modality.....	58
4.2.1 The Use Modal Auxiliaries Verbs.....	61
4.2.2 The Use of Reporting Verbs in Verbal Processes	63
4.2.3 Favorable Reporting Verbs	65
4.2.4 Unfavorable Reporting Verbs	66
4.2.5 The Use of Generic Phrases	70
4.2.6 The use of modal adverbs.....	72
4.2.7 The Use of Negation in Expressing Modality	75
4.2.8 Conclusion.....	77
4.3 Transitivity.....	78
4.3.1 The Use of Active and Passive Voice	81
4.3.2 The Inclusion of an Agent and an Action	84
4.3.3 Conclusion.....	91
4.4 Over-Lexicalization	91
4.4.1 Conclusion.....	94
4.5 Use of Pronouns.....	95
4.6 Quotation Pattern	99
4.7 Repetition: Alliteration, Rhyme, Parallelism.....	105
4.8 Hyperbole.....	108
4.9 Metaphor, Comparison, and Metonymia	111
4.10 The Implication of the Language Used in Media in the Construction of Ethnic Stereotypes and its Impact on Nationhood	112
4.11 Fostering Peace	116
4.12 The Role of Language in the Creation and Reinforcement of Ethnic Stereotypes	121
CHAPTER FIVE	133
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS	133
5.1 Summary of Findings.....	133

5.2 Conclusion	136
REFERENCES	140
APPENDICES	146

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

- Circulation** - Audience size/number of readers of a publication. In our study, it is the newspaper readership size
- Culture** - The set of shared attitudes, values, goals, and practices that characterizes an institution or organization, which in this study refers to the individual media house writing practices
- Cyberspace** - The notional environment in which communication over computer networks occurs
- Ethnicity** - The fact or state of belonging to a social group that has a common national or cultural tradition.
- Genre** - The conventional text type that is associated with a specific communicative function, for example, news texts in a newspaper
- Journalese** - A style of writing held to be characteristic of newspapers.
- Media Discourse** -Media discourse is the interactions that happen in the broadcast platform
- Pragmatics** - The general study of how context influences the way we interpret sentences
- Print media** - Newspapers, magazines, and books.
- Rhetoric** - The art of persuasive discourse; the discourse here refers to either spoken or written communication.
- Text** - A stretch of language recorded for analysis and description.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

This chapter looks at the background issues of the study regarding ethnicity and stereotyping that have been identified as fundamental to this study. It gives the historical view and perspective of the media in Kenya. The realities of ethnic representation of communities, the statement problem, the study objectives, and the limitations of the study are specified, and a foundation for their discussion is laid.

1.1 Background to the Study

This study focuses on newspaper reporting during periods of tension like terrorist attacks, inter-community disputes such as land issues, and electioneering periods to show how using linguistic features, media apportion blame or innocence.

Ethnic identity is defined as the ascriptive characteristics unique to a group which include skin color, religion, language, and culture, and which constitutes the primary indicator of a group's origin (Lyon, 2007).

There has been a continuous threat of violence on the harmonious and peaceful coexistence of people worldwide. The conflicts have resulted in human rights abuse, displacement, impoverishment, and death (Luehrs, 2010). A key component to the cause of violent conflicts is the spread of information. The peaceful coexistence of community members is influenced by information and how it spreads. Oenbring (2011) argues that linguistic practices constrain the way people think about their neighbors and the world. The use of conventional beliefs and language constructs dictates the nature of intra-societal and inter-societal relationships. Information is promulgated to various sources through different media of communication. Therefore, special attention should be given to the communication medium regarding the

analysis of methods through which the information impacts conflicts occurring in societies.

The dynamics of communication among human beings have experienced rapid changes. New technologies, new domains, and new global cultures have resulted in a new realm in the procedures of social communication. The new modes of communication have reinvigorated methods that give rise to conflicts. At the same time, the discourse in new media holds a wide variety of technologies. The methods that are used the interaction between individuals on the new forms of media have taken a different new path in which information, its spread, and its understanding have shifted to a new scope.

Consequently, it is essential to conduct discourse analysis to categorize, critique, and analyze the vital properties of modern media. A prominent feature that online newspapers have that is essential for this study, as opposed to hardcopy papers, is that most readers easily access them. Newspaper in hard copy requires to be physically purchased and is, therefore, limiting in time and space. This thesis sought to analyze how media discourse promotes ethnicity in Kenya through various new media forms.

How people interact is influenced by the media and its discourse. The media shapes how people in society think and also ignite debates on vital issues affecting various sections of the community (Hall, 2005). There are content providers and content consumers in media. This creates a unique relationship, where the authors of information can either have a positive or negative impact on the people who read the news. Additionally, the participants can also be influenced by the numerous exchanges of ideas in the media. The media is a crucial tool that shapes public discourse and impacts the attitudes of members of the public towards certain practices

and beliefs. The way the media presents individual opinions may lead to ethnicity because it influences the public perception of specific communities (Schiffrin *et al.*, 2008).

The media has played a role in inciting ethnic animosity in countries like Rwanda, Cambodia, and the former nations of Yugoslavia. Hughes & Pupavac (2005) wrote down instances where the discourse in media was influential in the pathologization of members of the society who were victims of ethnic conflicts in Yugoslavia and Cambodia. The opposing factions in Cambodia showed their preferential positions as victims. The Serbian press in Yugoslavia depicted the ethnic Serbs as a vulnerable group at the risk of attack in Bosnia. The media distorted the circumstances in Sarajevo, where the Croats and Muslims were being attacked by the ethnic Serbs living in Bosnia. This misrepresentation whipped commiseration from the people of Serbia, which empowered the regime of Serbia to gain the public's support. The general public, more so the youth, joined the Serbian military to help their people who had been portrayed by the media discourse as the people facing persecution (Hughes & Pupavac, 2005).

The use of the press and its impact on the Kenyan public discourse about various issues in the country has been recorded s by numerous authors. For instance, Oucho (2002) contends that the British initiated a system in Kenya similar to the apartheid regime in South Africa, which divided the nation along ethnic lines. The state has, since its independence, experienced recurring ethnicity, and politicians have utilized the current state of affairs to their advantage. Further, different media owners have propagated ethnic divisions among different communities toward their advantage to increase their sales volumes.

The use of online media platforms has exacerbated the condition because it reaches a broader audience (Mäkinen & Kuira, 2008). Users have, for instance, used cyberspace to promulgate hatred on politicians with differing ideologies from tribes from which they are opposed. Numerous users have been apprehended and charged with hate speech in law courts. Several cases in which perpetrators are charged with hate speech, however, may not be interpreted to encourage social dissonance (Mäkinen & Kuira 2008) directly.

This study aimed at examining the means of discussions in online newspapers that can result in instances that increase ethnic tensions in Kenya. The study explored a variety of discourses on Kenyan newspaper editorials that appear in online versions and ascertain their relationship with the avoidance of negative ethnicity in the nation. This study further conducts a critical discourse analysis of attributive words that are used by certain ethnic groups and also discusses the issues that affect ethnic coexistence.

Kenya has undergone various transformations in many sectors that have influenced interactions in society. The new era in the field of politics introduced in the nation in the 1990s and the new constitution that was promulgated in the year 2010 has caused changes in certain aspects of life. There has been an expansion in the freedom of speech, the communication platforms have become more significant, and the audiences have also grown bigger. These changes have influenced how the media discourses impact all aspects of life. A majority of Kenyan citizens depend on new media, specifically online newspapers, which contain important information that can assist in forming their opinions. Various studies have been conducted investigating the role of the media in shaping conflicts.

After the post-election skirmishes in 2007 in Kenya, where neighboring communities were involved in skirmishes that resulted in the death of over a thousand people, studies were conducted to evaluate the media's role in propagating ethnicity. Ismail & Deane (2008) researched with the purpose of evaluating the role played by vernacular radio stations in the clashes. The research assessed 208 vernacular radio stations and concluded that the media made significant contributions to Kenya's 2007/2008 post-election violence. The study demonstrated that journalists and broadcasters faced commercial and political constraints that contrasted their journalistic independence and integrity. The study found that some local language radio stations incited hatred and fear at the peak of the skirmishes. Additionally, talk shows created opportunities for the promulgation of hate speech, which was aggravated by the lack of training in conflict reporting among talk show hosts. However, the study ascertained that some of the local language radio stations tried reducing the tensions after the violence.

Oucho (2002) researched the coverage of ethnicity by the Kenyan media. The study determined that the media was biased in reporting events to suit specific official narratives among all ethnicities. In this regard, although the media may not have contributed to perpetuating the violence, it assisted in propagating psychological warfare among the warring ethnic communities. The study focused on hardcopy newspapers and radio stations and did not center on web technology.

The impact that online newspaper discourse posts on ethnicity in the nation has not been determined. It is an attractive study area despite being unexplored. This study aimed to determine how the discourse in online newspaper media can propagate ethnicity in Kenya. This present study conducted a content and discourse analysis that

focused on the methods through which it may escalate and increase ethnic relations in the nation.

The political situation in the nation and the communication in online platforms tools are emerging areas of study. Online communication is now the tool that propagates propaganda in the Kenyan political sphere. The propaganda enables politicians and other stakeholders to achieve sectarian and political benefits. One way of evading this circumstance is getting techniques that can be employed in manipulating media discourse. A manipulated media discourse can assist in minimizing negative ethnicity. This can only be realized through objective research that can connect ethnicity and discourse used in the media. The present study will assist in providing the stakeholders with adequate content on the use of online media and its impact on ethnic hostility.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Kenya has different speech communities that speak different languages. English and Kiswahili are the official languages used in Kenya. The purpose of the language policy in Kenya is to unite Kenyans from all parts of the country and enhance nationhood while promoting patriotism, a central mission of the state that promotes nationhood. It is expected, therefore, that all sectors, including media, align their mission to this aim.

It is generally expected that media in any country should be at the forefront in promoting nationhood through its reporting. This is because media is one of the important avenues through which nationhood is enhanced; however, especially in Kenya, during crises, such as terrorist attacks, ethnic clashes, and incidences of corruption, it has been observed that in terms of language use, media seems to

apportion blame, innocence, and guilt or culpability to particular groups, thereby destabilizing nationhood. This study aimed to investigate how language is used in media during crisis moments in terms of apportioning blame and guilt of culpability to specific groups. With the use of theoretical and methodological principles from critical discourse analysis, the research sought to show how, with the use of language, reporters create categories that can be considered a threat to nationhood. The findings of this study will contribute to the debate on the role of media and the effect of language use in online media.

1.3 Research Objectives

- i. To describe linguistics features news, reporters use in apportioning blame or innocence when reporting online crises.
- ii. To investigate how news reporters use linguistic features to apportion blame or innocence when reporting on crises online.
- iii. To assess the implications of the use of linguistic resources by news reporters in apportioning blame or innocence on the relationship between media and the communities involved.

1.4 Research Questions

- i. What are the linguistic features used by news reporters in apportioning blame or innocence when reporting in online newspapers?
- ii. How do reporters use linguistic features in apportioning blame or innocence when reporting the crisis in online newspapers?
- iii. What is the implication of the language used in apportioning responsibility, blame, or innocence on communities in the news on nationhood?

1.5 Assumption of the Study

The major assumption of this study is that ethnic tension in Kenya may be fueled by discourse arising from the interactions with online newspapers. This study presupposes that ethnicity may be escalated through online interactions based on published in online newspapers. The study also presumes that these online newspapers in Kenya contain significant content that touches on the ethnicity of those being discussed, promoting discussion along ethnic lines.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The results obtained from this study will be pertinent in many areas of life. Editorial managers in crucial media outlets stand to benefit through the findings of this study, whose recommendations may be useful in improving the quality of conversations arising from online discussions based on different articles they publish. Further, the web platforms may benefit from the study results by enhancing understanding of how ethnicity may be encouraged from the discussions by their target audiences. The study shall contribute considerable insights on the relationship between media, ethnicity, and media discourses, thus pointing towards the need for strategies of managing the tones of online discussions that may lead to negative ethnicity. The findings will be helpful in further research.

The study will contribute to the existing body of knowledge on ethnicity in the discourses in media. Besides, the government and non-governmental organizations can also draw understanding from the study results and assist the media with strategies on regulating discussions bordering on ethnicity in Kenya and how to engage in discourses that lead to peaceful coexistence among people.

1.7 Limitation of the Study

The drawback of this study is that this area of online newspapers has not been covered much in Kenya in terms of research. Most of the research that have been carried out has extensively dwelt on print published newspapers. New media use by newspapers is a current phenomenon that is slowly being adopted in various spheres in the news industry. The case study methods limit the overview of the results. This study is also limited because it only deals with two major online newspapers. There may be the likelihood that the interactions in discourse found in *The Standard* and *Daily Nation* newspapers might not be as those found in other online newspapers in Kenya.

The other limitation of this study is the time between January 2013 and December 2014. This study, therefore, will be evaluating the events in retrospect. While it might be true that this discussion for the other previous years in the online newspapers, it is essential to appreciate that might not be the case for these years. Therefore, even though this study might come to a conclusion supporting the fact that discourse in these online platforms may lead to an escalation of negative ethnicity that fuels ethnic animosity, this might not be the same all the time. Changes that occur over time in the political scene of the country can result in changes in the way people engage in these online newspaper platforms.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

In this particular section, the researcher discusses prior studies on media discourse and race. The researcher first discusses the explanations and definitions of media discourse concepts. These are discourse analysis and conversational contexts in discourse, social, and political power contexts. Second, the researcher examines media discourse and ethnographic studies. The theoretical framework utilized to handle this issue is then finally discussed. The approach used is a derivative from the arguments developed by Van Dijk and Normans Fairclough, showing the relationship between exercising social power and the use of language (Gillespie & Toyne, 2006).

2.1 Media Discourse

Coverage by the media is the interaction that occurs through broadcasting (O'Keefe, 2006). It can be spoken or written and is intended for the listener, reader, or viewer not present. In the past, the discourse did not have immediate responses from its producers. Written speech tends to be oriented towards the reader's audience. While spoken speech is oriented towards the listening or viewing audience, media speech should neither be temporary nor spontaneous. Media speech is never private or recorded again.

It is vital to consider the primary characteristics during the interpretation of media speech, as suggested by O'Keefe (2006). Further, it is crucial to evaluate methods in which media discourse is established on a literal and theoretical level. Discourse analysis is a vital tool for the comprehension of media discourse and the role it plays

in society (O'Keefe *et al.*, 2007). Media talk is usually on the record and because of the availability of television programs, radio stations, and newspapers.

Various scholars have approached the media discourse topic from contrasting perspectives. Tablot (2007), for instance, notes that media discourse can be comprehended as methods in which the media develops specific issues and develops public debates. Practically, the media could be used to develop various discourses as essential work. The media must disseminate information with particular binoculars or slants to fit into its realm. Discourse can be comprehended through different methods. One method is to view discourse as a method of communication among individuals and groups. Speech at the deepest level can be viewed as a system or symbol of ideas and beliefs that ascertain how individuals understand and perceive the world.

2.2 Media Discourse Analysis

John Fiske defines discourse as a system of representation or language that has been developed socially (Butler, 2012). The definition serves the interests and goals of various societal sections. Language and discourse, as Fiske ascertains, are not limited to words, grammar, or spoken language. However, it includes systems that develop other meanings, including televisions, newspapers, photography, and cinemas. Discourses can be viewed as methods of representation of certain world aspects. These include beliefs, feelings, psychological ideas or processes, relationships, processes, and the social world.

Moreover, (Buttler, 2012) suggested that the discourse had ideological impacts. Ideas are worldly elements that assist in developing, maintaining, and changing social power relations. As per the definitions, discourse assists in shaping ideologies and acknowledges that ideologies modify social power relations. Evaluation of media

speech assists us in comprehending how language use influences the behavior of people and their actions when interacting with other members of society. This is accomplished by critically evaluating the language newspapers use with their ability to instigate violence.

Discourse and language cannot be separated. During the assessment of discourse, language functions must be evaluated. Johnstone (2008) suggests that language plays a vital role in shaping the world where people live. For instance, the paraphrasing of information mirrors cultural psychologies and the worldview embedded in them. The discourse is composed of various architectural traditions. Therefore, language refers to social relations, including relativity, power, and social distance among communities (Bhatia, 2019).

Discourse evaluations are used to comprehend the news content in various media better. Understanding the definition and the functions of discourse assessment is crucial. Lam (2016) handles the issue from two angles. Discourse evaluation is defined using two main frames of analysis. The first definition views discourse as social action and interaction between human agents. It can further be handled as a reality construct that creates a knowledge system that influences people's relationships and social learning. Therefore, discourse analysis considers the relationship between the broader sociopolitical framework and the media content through the two approaches. This is a quantitative approach to the analysis of content. Media can craft the social and political speech of a nation. The definition is vital for comprehending the methods in which media discourse results in societal conflicts.

As much as discourse relates to sociopolitical forces, influential organizations use media to shape political and social practices. Certain writers such as Wodak & Meyer

(2009) acknowledge these ideas and argue that critical discourse evaluation can only be embedded in the social structure in which discourse occurs. Language can also be used to mystify social events. Discourse analysis is crucial for the explanation of social events that are mysterious. Therefore, assessing discourse can enable one to unravel how language use results in particular political and social events.

Media communication analysis must acknowledge the complexity of the media language in socio-economic contexts. Bednarek (2016) summarizes the focus on methodological decisions by analysts. The author suggests that the media language analysis should be based on three fields: outlets, outputs, and styles. Genres concentrate on the content type in the media, the outputs focus on the actual newscast and the period that has been covered, and outlets focus on the type of media used. When one assesses the discourse, the interests' style should be prioritized. This assists the researcher in defining the problem boundary and focusing on the course during their evaluation.

Newspapers form a dominant part of the media through which the interactions are centered. Speech can be examined in a conversational context. The setting of newspaper conversations embodies various features that must be understood in totality (Bednarek, 2016). The first feature is the understanding that discourse is a complex process of writing the news and has multiple sources. Therefore, there exist several types of news articles done by subordinators, news reporters, and editors. It is, therefore, impossible to regard a story as a journalist's solo production and first-hand.

The second feature of the conversational context is that mass media has a fragmented audience and is personified (Fowler, 2013). It is challenging to receive direct responses from audiences despite call-ins, letters to the editor, and media surveys.

There is a stereotype in the news used in the media. The mass media personality results in stereotypes of both the reader and the speaker. Finally, the news is embedded in the debate as a conversational context characteristic of mass media. In the text developed by the newsman, there are different speech events.

2.3 Ethnicity and Media Discourse

Ethnicity can be handled from several different angles based on the current circumstance. The ethnic dispute is a fortified rebellion between ethnic groups (Geralp, 2006). Ethnicity is a component of politics. The most familiar form of armed conflict around the globe is warring ethnic groups. The race is, however, not similar to civil wars because a particular ethnic group or a single county fights among itself during civil wars. The ethnic conflict theory elements explain the term's definition. Louis Kozar explains that the theory of conflict is about achieving specific goals while simultaneously eliminating, injuring, and neutralizing opponents (Horowitz, 2018). Therefore, a conflict is a dispute for unfavorable methods to accomplish a goal and a fight for mutually exclusive ends. Popular terms, including confrontation, ambition, strife, conflict, and disadvantage, are used to comprehend the ethnicity concept.

Causes of ethnicity may vary. The CQ researcher (2010) suggested that ethnic diversity results in violent conflicts. The argument is developed from the need for the nationalism of the ethnic group and their desire to have their state, which results in violent ethnicity—stability and peace in the European continent signify the success of ethno-nationalist projects on the region.

Different means are used in how ethnicity is represented in media discourse. Whereas certain speeches have been praised for revealing the plight of ethnic victims, some

have negatively impacted the cohesive societal life. Media talk influences racial relations among communities that are multiracial. Media discourse is meant for the viewer, current reader, or listener, whether through written, spoken, or broadcast platforms. Therefore, the media is concerned with race and discourse (Molina, 2006). The controversial structure is the usual written or spoken communication that creates media discourses.

It is essential to assess the relationship between media discourse and ethnicity while focusing on racial examples in the contemporary world. Race wars are some of the most frequent conflicts in the world. Such disputes have occurred in Iraq, Somalia, Nicaragua, Turkey, El Salvador, and Chechnya. Some nations are more prone to such disputes. One of the techniques to mitigate or eliminate ethnicity is to research what causes the conflicts. Several theories are used to explain the causes of ethnicity in the world. The disputes have attracted attention during the end of the First World War; theoretical underpinnings differentiate between the distinct methods used to research causes of ethnicity where media talk can be assessed (Nguyen, 2010).

2.4 Studies on Media and Ethnicity and Their Relevance to the Study

Numerous researches examine the relationship between ethnicity and media discourse in societies, for instance, the study by Heijer (2004). This study assessed the influence of reporting by media on the perceptions of the readers on the predicaments of victims in former disputes around the globe. This research suggests an increasing focus on victims of clashes, civil wars, and genocides. Researchers acknowledge that viewers are unmoved by how the media presents the pains of past disputes. The findings indicate that media conversation had a two-pronged effect on worldwide compassion for victims of past disputes. The male audience has less compassion for victims

compared to females, and the study also indicated that there are different forms of compassion.

The study by Hoijer, (2004) is vital to this theory as it reveals that media talk influences the audience's reaction. The results indicated connections between speech and audience ideologies in the media regarding past conflicts. Although the study results were inevitable, they did not handle different aspects of ethnicity and media speech. For instance, research studies have not done context assessment to comprehend the methods in which the choice of word influences audiences. Alternatively, this thesis evaluates the punctuation, wording, and phrases used and describes their potential to cause race among communities.

Racial conflict and divisions are caused by negative racial ties. Research conducted by Van Dijk (2001) suggests that neo-racism and media discourse has revealed how the media shows news on the impact of ethnicity on racial relations among nations with different ethnic groups. The research demonstrated that systems of racial inequality are propagated by media discourses in western countries. The media is used to downgrade other races negatively systematically. This results in negative stereotypes, biases, ideologies, and psychological nodes about others, which indirectly leads to the reproduction and racial laws in the nations.

The research findings conducted by Van Dijk are essential to this research and form a basis for explaining ethnicity and media discourse in Kenya. Although research studies are crucial in comprehending the relationship between media discourse and ethnicity, they do not address the issue of ethnicity and online newspapers in Kenya. The study concentrates on racism and does not directly translate to ethnicity. This

study assists in revealing the ethnicity issue and how the media discourse has shaped it.

Ethnic and racial profiling contributes to ethnicity and race in diverse communities. Prior research studies have demonstrated that newspapers could be used to promulgate hatred towards ethnic and racial minorities. A study by Peltonen (2010) investigated how gypsies are presented in Romania by newspaper internet forums. Three newspapers were assessed, and the reader's comments and Roma stories were analyzed. The study's findings indicate that certain internet users utilized the platform to protest injustices that Roma people underwent in Romania. Numerous commentators argued that the Romans should stop using their names. After all, it was synonymous with Romania because it made them humiliated and ashamed when visiting nations that could not differentiate between Romanians and Roma. The study also determined that the internet form was used as a discussion platform to discuss how to solve the Roma problem, and precise solutions were rude and extreme. The internet can be used to propagate violent Roma assassinations or their expulsion to India, which is where they originated a millennium ago. In all the three newspapers, however, there were no comments on the expulsion and abolition of the Roma. The author suggested that this was because of the stringent censorship applied by the newspapers.

The trouble of the Romas in Europe extends to various nations, including France, Italy, and Slovenia, and other researchers have been carried out to investigate discrimination among ethnicities. Erzavek (2001) investigated Roma discrimination and media representation in Slovenia. Studies determined that there is minimal difference in the discourse on the Romas in news outlets. The headlines all develop a

closed commentary on the situation of the Romas. The rest of the news reinforced and legitimized the commentary. The information abuse has been used to legitimize Romas' abuse.

The study on Roma profiling is vital to my research since the analysis and methods used by researchers are very significant. Published research studies on Romas and the present study have similarities in how the issue is handled. The problem of the Romas has been evaluated using inline newspaper articles. This study also uses editorials in online newspapers to evaluate how media talk influences ethnicity in Kenya. However, it is essential to note differences in the study on Roma profiling and this research. This research concentrates on ethnicity and media discourse on almost all tribes in Kenya. The Romas study, on the other hand, focuses only on a single minority group.

The media demonstrations discussed by the Kosovo dispute and numerous scholars are closely related to the problems of the Romas in Slovenia and Romania. Berinsky & Kinder (2006) evaluated ethnic issues in the dispute of Kosovo using media frames. Studies have demonstrated that creating news on conflicts influences what people recall and how they view the actions that governments should take. This study informs my research audience on the content and format of media presentations. However, the study is different from my theory as it discusses the general opinion of the public on the international dispute, while this research focuses on ethnicity across the nation.

2.5 Theoretical Framework

2.5.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

The discussion on how discourse results in ethnic stereotyping can be evaluated using critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Qian, 2010) for essential social research on multiple texts. Baker (2006) suggests that texts in newspapers can be evaluated through this framework. Researchers including (Baker *et al.*, 2008; Teo, 2000; KhosraviNik, 2010) have used critical discourse analysis in analyzing the textual information in newspapers. The framework was begun by Van Dijk in 1988 and Fairclough in 1992. The theory indicates that discourse analysis can be regarded as both non-critical and critical.

Regarding the proposition, critical is recognizing that language use and social practice are mostly bound with effects and causes that we may not know under standard circumstances. The correlation between power and language use is not always understandable to people (Fairclough, 1995). The framework of critical discourse analysis entails describing discursive practices and the methods of discourse construction regarding the relationships between ideologies and power. An analytical technique also involves the impact discourse has on systems of belief and knowledge, social relationships, and social identities (Fairclough 1992). Most critical discourse analysts refer to the classical Marxist theory because language analysis in conflict is intertwined with notions of ideology and power. This research has chosen this approach because news activities reflect media discourse and the capitalist class position, and other holders of power.

Fairclough (1956) indicates that discourse practice is the process of producing and consuming text. These entail questions surrounding the situations of text production

(who wrote the text, why they wrote, what editorial policies did they make, was there censoring of any features of the text) and consumption (who were the actual and intended audience of the text, how did they respond, what were the circumstances under which they consumed the text). Lastly, socio-cultural goings-on and socio-cultural practices entail the communicative event. Fairclough demonstrates that this framework considers the broader context of the relationship of a text to the society in which it is produced. Because the research is evaluating two Kenyan online newspaper editorials, this framework is an exciting strategy to be considered.

CDA is a point of view taken by a researcher toward their subjects, which therefore means that media discourse is subjective. It has often been noted that media is not as unbiased as it is supposed to, appears, or claims to be. Ideologies are essential in constituting the specifications and attitudes of different societal elements and propagating the interests and goals of that element (Van Dijk 2003). CDA framework also uses social theory. Blommaert & Bulcaen (2000) state that CDA perceives discourse as a social phenomenon. Therefore, the framework tries to improve the situation of discourse social-theoretical foundations and try out discourse. CDA takes an initial point from social theory. This is a theory of power, and ideology takes center stage here.

Critical Discourse Analysis adopts methods utilized in stylistics to comprehend how readers are influenced by texts. While stylistics uses devices, including transitivity and modality, to evaluate how specific textual effects are created by fiction writers, CDA utilizes this and other different tools to analyze texts written by nonfictional writers and how they impact the readers. CDA analysts regard various features of a particular text that entails conventional linguistic analysis aspects, including the

grammar of sentences and other minor units, semantics, and vocabulary, and the writing structure and sound structure (Fairclough, 1995).

The texts to be used for analysis are got from several multiple contexts; though, a majority of analysts in discourse concentrate on political texts that are biased. This shows that newspaper analysis is the foundation of CDA, founded on the idea that language is essential in shaping people's perceptions of the world, and produces of text take advantage of this to influence how readers perceive the world. From the CDA theoretical framework explanation, it is evident that the topic being researched in this study can properly use the CDA. Power and ideology are tangled. Ethnicity's definition includes the power's fight to control resources, frequently utilizing incompatible means to neutralize opposing entities. For this study, CDA can be utilized to determine the connection between new media propagated ideas and the power from those ideologies. Many studies have been conducted using the CDA theoretical framework. Authors have developed the merits of using CDA as a theoretical framework. For instance, Baker and others (2013) list multiple advantages of utilizing CDA as a theoretical framework. The first benefit is the more necessary amount of data evaluated using the framework enables findings to be more reliable and more conclusive than from a few examples. For example, newspapers usually write about given topics by choosing one theme and method from a broader variety of those available. In this regard, analysts can develop a pattern that newspapers use to disseminate information and news to the public. If the CDA framework is utilized, analysts can witness privileged choices. The study will provide evidence for mainstream, widespread and entrenched techniques of thought. The framework is also beneficial due to tools such as personal computers that augment the evaluation of vast amounts of electronic data.

The utilization of Fairclough's CDA theoretical framework has been demonstrated in the research conducted by Iqbal et al. (2014). The authors examined in their study words that contained the "Muslim" word in a *Time* magazine corpus. The research concentrated on selecting these words that the magazine used for people from the Muslim community. The writers stated in the publication that CDA surveys the societal features that evaluate power, ideology, and language interactions in several contexts. The utilization of Fairclough's three-dimensional model was essential in demonstrating the doctrine of Americans about people of the Islam religion. Vocabulary use was evaluated using the textual dimension analysis. The research results revealed different approaches of Americans to the Muslim community. It demonstrated that other writers utilized certain attributive words to demonstrate the Muslim image through different words.

In conclusion, the research by Iqbal determined that certain attributive words were used negatively towards Muslims to promulgate the negative concept of the community to the whole world. The discourses established by the Media were negative to society because they negative attributes. The publication, in addition, demonstrated the biased thoughts about the Muslim community and the panic that people had against them. The media utilized attributive words that were evaluative despite not examining and analyzing Muslims.

CDA has additionally been utilized by different entities to evaluate the societal attitude towards migrants, asylum seekers, immigrants, and refugees. Baker et al. (2008) used corpus linguistics to analyze the racism discourse in British newspapers critically. The authors evaluated a 140-million-word amount of news articles in Britain that described migrants, refugees, asylum seekers, and immigrants. A CDA

based on corpus was therefore utilized to demonstrate the racism level shown by the media in Britain, not in favor of people perceived as foreigners in the nation.

The utilization of an approach based on the corpus to evaluate the discourses has broadly been used in both written and spoken texts. The technique entails investigating collocation, concordance, word frequency, and usage has its merits. The first benefit is that it is experimental. It evaluates the exact model used in the investigation of ordinary texts. Also, the use of the techniques uses an ethical and a huge compilation of texts upon which the analysis is based. These ways utilize both quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis. The essential thing to note is the practical understanding of language utilization under a corpus-based approach (Wang, 2005).

Research conducted by Teo (2000) utilized critical discourse analysis to comprehend how newspaper coverage contributed to racism in Australia. The study evaluated the ideological creation of Australia's ethnic status, considering the structure of reporting in newspapers. The study concentrated on the criminal activities reporting of the criminal acts of the Vietnamese gang in Australia. The study indicated the systematicity construction of ideologies that are racist by white people against members of other racial groups.

Research has also been conducted in newspapers in British utilizing critical discourse analysis to examine how the media constructs refugees and asylum seekers (Baker et al., 2008). This study concentrated on 140-million-word news articles about immigrant refugees, migrants, and asylum seekers. The research determined processes, including collocation and concordance, and how they were utilized to represent the groups of people. However, the study only paid attention to the vitality

of combining corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis in evaluating news texts. KhosraviNik (2010) reported similar research on newspapers in Britain using critical discourse analysis. The author researched the discursive strategies of different newspapers in Britain to represent refugees, immigrants, and asylum seekers. The author utilized quantitative and qualitative approaches to evaluate the representation of the people. The study concluded that all the studies newspapers used similar approaches to represent immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers.

The framework and strategies used in the analysis of newspapers are suitable as they will assist in comprehending the discourse about specific topics. However, it is vital to remember that although this framework will be used, it will not determine the relationship between media discourse with ethnicity in the corresponding communities. This thesis, therefore, seeks to bridge the gap by utilizing critical discourse analysis to determine the relationship between ethnicities and the online newspapers discourse

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

The chapter discusses methods used to collect desired information to meet the aims of this research. The chapter comprises the target population, the sampling design, the methods of data collection, and analysis tools.

3.1 Research Design

A research design is a plan for data collection, measurement, and analysis. This study used a descriptive design, which is a study that makes use of already available data. It is mostly used in establishing the existence of phenomena by explaining them (Seliger and Shohamy, 1989). The design answers where, how, and when. It is employed in social science research, thus making it relevant to this study. A selected sample of news reports drawn from two major Kenyan English language dailies were analyzed.

Seliger and Shohamy (1989) note that descriptive research gives descriptions of phenomena that happen naturally without experimental manipulation or an artificially contrived treatment. Our study, in which words and phrases were elicited as data, provided a good instance.

The descriptive design is guided by the nature of the research questions to be answered. Because the questions are formulated in advance, the research only focuses on some aspects of the possible data available in the language described.

A descriptive design thrives on presenting data from the viewpoint of research items so that the rational biases of the researcher do not distort the collection, interpretation, and presentation of data (Seliger, 2017). This research design is suitable for this study

because it allows a researcher to describe the use of language in wording and other language fields like linguistic resources used in the two dailies.

Analysis in this design comprises examining various materials from extensive sources that relay information. This entails analyzing visual images and written content. The documents to be analyzed will include public records, artifacts, private papers, motion pictures, sound recordings, biographies, and photographs. Qualitative context analysis that examines documents' contents through qualitative measures of frequency of elements that appear in a text will also be employed. Here, the significance of ideas and meanings in the documents being analyzed will be measured by the frequency of occurrence of an item and/or the number of contexts it appears (Widdowson, 2008).

In the context analysis, precise steps are employed. First, the type of data required for analysis is determined by a researcher (Jenner & Titscher, 2000). In this thesis, the collected data that deals with ethnicity within the Kenyan society is analyzed. The definition of the data will, then, be decided. Third, the population that will provide the data will be chosen. In this study, *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers, the two major online outlets for news in Kenya, will be the population of interest. The fourth step is to determine the context in which the data is being examined. The defined context of significance in this study is the relationship between discourse in media and ethnicity. The penultimate step is doing a context analysis to establish the limits that govern the study. Therefore, the articles used in this study generated interactions and discussions related to how different ethnicities relate in Kenya. This document and content analysis has advantages and disadvantages. Advantages include the researcher getting all-inclusive and historical information; during data collection, the researcher does not interfere with other people's programs since the information needed is already available; the design is less costly and may be used for validation.

Conversely, the negative aspect of this type of design is that it utilizes less time, and the researcher is limited to already available data. Data may be coded inefficiently as some passages may be missing when analyzing data. This would result in inapt inferences in cases where a considerable amount of passages in articles needed for analysis are missing. The consequences of this would involve stopping the content analysis. Additionally, this design may not describe the insights and thoughts of the participant (Wodak & Meyer, 2009).

Content analysis is significant to my thesis as it helps in a comprehensive investigation of how the discourse in the two aforementioned online newspapers affects ethnicity in Kenya. This method is ideal as retrieval of content from print and electronic media will aid in the evaluation of the media discourse and ethnicity.

3.2 Study Population, Sample, and Sampling Procedure

3.2.1 Study Area

The study area was the online print media. *The Standard* and the *Daily Nation* newspapers formed the basis for data collection and analysis. Print media was chosen because there is considerable evidence that newspapers, in particular, regularly serve to guide popular beliefs and attitudes. Newspapers act as agents of public education (Baillie, 1996). Within the two newspapers, the study focused on news articles appearing in the editorial sections. The researcher looked at the feedback that the audience give on the online Newspapers platforms in the comment section of the editorials, these comments were important because they helped in assessing how the audience react to stories on ethnic affairs and crises, the feedback from comments section was not used in the research, however, it were very significant in informing the choice of articles for analysis.

3.2.2 Study Population

This study used data from online copies of two newspapers: *The Standard* newspaper and the *Daily Nation* newspaper; between January 2013 and December 2014, 40 editorials were analyzed, 20 from the *Daily Nation*, 20 from *The Standard*. The number was decided because the analysis considered only editorials that discussed matters that touched on ethnic groups.

3.2.3 Sampling Procedures

This study used purposive sampling to gather data. Purposive sampling involved looking out for the articles from the editorials that had required characteristics and information to be studied. For example, the two newspapers were chosen purposefully because of their established nature, evidence for their large audience, and location (Okigbo, 1994; Obonyo, 2007; Bowen, 2010).

The benefit of using purposive sampling is that the subjects can easily be accessed. In this study, samples were drawn from news articles from editorials in the two newspapers. A parameter of the purposive sampling was that the articles had to dwell on issues that are considered ethnically motivated. The quest for these online stories is viable because there are specific words that directly relate to the subject's understory; these stories are related to very specific words in relation to ethnic hatred and tribalism. The words of importance to this study include “ethnic,” “conflicts,” and ethnicity,” “ethnic politics”.

The sampling procedure entailed three steps, as postulated by Newbold *et al.* (2002). It involved first the selection of media genre and form, then selecting the period that formed the parameters of the study, and lastly, sampling relevant content and information from the selected newspaper copies.

In this study, *Daily Nation* and *Standard* newspapers were selected for analysis purposes, and the genre of the articles analyzed was the editorial news articles. Editorial articles are written by newspaper editors or the editorial boards and are mostly subjective because they show and reflect the newspaper's official stance on an issue. The articles also express the editor's opinions on topical issues..

The months of January 2013 to December 2014 are the period for the analysis. Editorials were chosen because they are considered informative. This enabled the researcher to make reliable generalizations about the print media discourse, especially regarding linguistic features in handling topical issues under investigation. The researcher also examined how, using language, the two dailies apportion blame or innocence while reporting on issues that touch on ethnicity in Kenya.

The *Daily Nation* newspaper belongs to the Nation Media Group. This newspaper has been in operation in Kenya for over 62 years. It prides itself with the highest numbers of readership and audience in Kenya, currently estimated at 53 %. (Nyongesa, 2005), this newspaper also trades shares in large numbers on the Nairobi Stock Exchange. Debate on discourses in the news and issues about ethnic identities in Kenya has been considered to be vital in fanning ethnicity

The Standard newspaper was established in 1902; this makes it the oldest in Kenya, and it is at present with a share in the market estimated at 30%. The newspaper belongs to the Standard Media Group and trades on the Nairobi Stock Exchange market. (Nyongesa, 2005), this study carried out a comparative investigation of news properties in editorials in *The Standard* newspaper, online versions. The study concentrated on different editorials that handled or reported news on ethnic matters in Kenya.

Based on the largest and second-largest audience size, editorials from the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard*, respectively, were examined. For text analysis, Lovejoy (1991) and Bazerman (1981) state that three academic articles are enough for analysis. This is because text analysis requires more sufficient particulars of every linguistic feature showing how each leads to development towards the whole text. However, the present research analyzed linguistic features from 40 news articles, 20 from each of the two major publishers, that is, from 'The Nation Media Group' and 'The Standard Group.' This is because the data expected from the selected articles were not only available but also sufficient for generalization (Mugenda and Mugenda, 2003). This enabled the researcher to make reliable generalizations about the Kenyan newspaper discourse, mainly how the two dailies manifest linguistic features that handle the same topical issue of ethnic relations in Kenya. Such a sample of news items is taken to be a fair representation of the major print media that is broadly the object of our study.

This research handled various articles that discuss issues on ethnicity to assess how they might affect the flaring up of negative ethnicity in Kenya. Time boundaries are used in this study.

The study focused on editorials written between January 2013 and December 2014. This selected period for the analysis was ideal because it involved a time when Kenya went through a difficult time that shook the nation and threatened the peace that Kenya enjoys. Against the backdrop of the 2007/2008 post-election violence in Kenya, the country's new constitution was promulgated in 2010 in the hope that it would help solve some of the problems bedeviling Kenya. Despite this, the 2013 General Elections were held under the new constitution with lots of tension. This was an ideal period to see how these two major newspapers reported this event. This

period also recorded some ugly terrorist attacks, the Mpeketoni attack, the bombing of Masjid mosque, and the Garissa University terror attack that claimed 148 innocent lives. This period, therefore, provided sufficient information for analysis on how the discussions in the online newspaper platforms contributed to ethnic stereotyping in the nation.

3.2.4 Data Collection methods

Primary data was obtained by reading through the sampled news articles from editorials to identify the information required for the study that later on provided the data that was analyzed.

The coding sheet was used to reduce the newspaper content into smaller categories according to the research objectives. The categories were relevant in identifying the different linguistics features used by the newspapers in apportioning blame or responsibility when reporting.

3.2.5 Data Analysis

Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) observe that the data collected must be systematically ordered to facilitate analysis. It is a result of such analysis that a researcher is well equipped to make meaning of the data.

The three study objectives informed the data analysis processes:

- i. To describe linguistic features used by news reporters in apportioning responsibility when reporting on crises online.
- ii. To investigate how news reporters use linguistic features to apportion responsibility when reporting on crises online.

- iii. To assess the implications of using linguistic features by news reporters in apportioning responsibility on the relationship between media and the communities involved.

Data was analyzed at the level of content. Discursive structures were identified in line with Objective 1 and logged under those used to apportion blame and those used to apportion innocence. Under each of the thematic areas, examples were placed under linguistic features that feature in them. Examples of such linguistic features include:

- i. Lexical choices,
- ii. The inclusion of an agent and an action,
- iii. The use of quotation patterns
- iv. Over-lexicalization
- v. Hyperbole
- vi. Use of pronouns

The identified discursive structures were further analyzed to determine the relationship between the form and function in which they occurred and how and why the news reporters used these features. Using data from the articles, the discursive structures were checked to determine whether the meaning in them matches the purpose elsewhere within the discourse.

Discursive structures were then explained following Furlough's ideas. Fairclough (1993) argues that Critical Discourse Analysis is a type of analysis of discourse that gives birth to peculiar associations among many several social and ethnic groups. He focuses on text and chronological events and relates them with a broader socio-cultural viewpoint of the discourse of people, which shows uneven and ideology-created power relations. He navigates on how power is exercised in society through the hegemonic approach and ideological text of the privileged. Fairclough (1992)

explains stages for the analysis of discourse; these stages are three; during the first stage, CDA looks at the personal knowledge and experiences of the speaker by maintaining his view and his beliefs. Secondly, it examines how social relations affect the discourse.

The researcher, based on these articles, is guided by a checklist entailing lexical, rhetorical, and syntactic items to identify the linguistic features for each of the selected articles. On explaining how news reporters use these linguistic features in apportioning responsibility when reporting news online, the researcher looked at how each feature was used, how the authors of that feature constructed it and the relationship it has with other features, and how uniquely it was used to apportion blame or blamelessness as far as ethnic stereotyping is concerned.

The focus was on lexical choices, phrases, and how these phrases are constructed, and the aim they are intended to achieve was also constructed. Taking the case of an attributive phrase, this is an adjective, or a modifier comes before a word and modifies it while expressing the attribute. An example of an attributive term used in a phrase is “the tired chief.” The phrase is attributive. If used as “this chief is tired,” then it cannot be said to be attributive (Hildebrandt, 2004).

For the third objective, on assessing the implications of these linguistic resources, the researcher analyzed the use of these features and how it is perceived or their role in nationhood. Generalizations, conclusions, implications, and recommendations were made based on the study's findings.

For the analysis, the articles were collected, rewritten, and italicized to distinguish them from the discussions. The articles were also numbered, and the authors of the

same articles written alongside the articles, the dates the articles were published are also given, for example:

Article 1.

In Kenya, critics posit that the Odinga dynasty has used rigging claims to remain relevant and stem revolt particularly in Luo Nyanza politics after a series of electoral losses in 1992, 1997, 2007, and 2013. As citizens, Mr. Odinga and other Kenyan leaders have both a moral and legal responsibility to supply evidence to back their claims of planned electoral fraud – preferably channeled through the institutions established by our constitution. Populist rigging claims are a potential tinderbox and should not be entertained as we head to 2017 (Daily Nation January 10, 2014).

Discussions, Data Analysis and Presentation

The basis of identification of the linguistic features for Objective 1 originates from the literature review for studies that have been done in this field. Most studies point to certain similar features that are used in apportioning blame using language in different contexts.

Van Dijk (1998), in the CDA theory to analyze reproduction of ethnic prejudices through ideology in the press, found out that lexical choices, the inclusion of an agent and action, over lexicalization and the use of metaphorical language, the use of figurative language the involves verbs, quotation patterns, and nominalizations were some of the Linguistic features that were used in the press to construct ethnic prejudices.

FairClough (1992) developed a three-dimensional model as the theoretical framework for critical analysis found out that lexical choices, verbs, and personal pronouns, over lexicalization, the use of action and an agent and figurative language were employed as linguistic features for apportioning blame or innocence in newspaper reporting.

Finally, Brooks (1995), in his analysis of news story headlines about Africa in the British newspapers to show how news discourse in Africa rises to a racist representation of Africa, found out that lexical choices, the use of action and an agent, the use of nominalizations, the use of verbs, and figurative language were some of the features that were used in the press to create a racist representation of Africa

Generally, similar features identified are lexical choices, the use of personal pronouns, use of an agent and action, use of verbs, nominalization, the use of figurative languages, and the use of quotation patterns. The basis of identification of these features is provided by these scholars. For example, in analyzing a text for lexical choices, Fairclough (1989) notes that wording for a text depends on and creates a shared relationship among the participants, especially because of the meanings the words create in different situations.

Fowler (1979) observes that the possibilities for language use indicate the different evaluations made by the writer of their association to the person being referred to depending mainly on the setting and the procedure of the contexts and situation.

When examining voice, the focus should be on quotation patterns and the inclusion of an agent and an action. These are significant reporting elements: they disclose who has access to the media, what is thought to define a story, which has credibility, and how to evaluate and judge sources (van Dijk 1993; Teo 2000).

The knowledge on how writers construct their messages in the press, therefore, helps identify the features. Writers use language uniquely in different contexts, in the context of crisis than in apportioning blame or innocence when reporting on matters that are considered a crisis and touching on ethnic stereotyping. These features will be discussed individually on how they are used to apportion blame or innocence in the

Kenyan media discourse. The linguistic features are discussed individually on how they are used to apportion blame or innocence. The study begins with lexical choices.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the results of the data collected on the online news items on the crisis that touches on ethnic issues in Kenya. News articles are retrieved from *The Standard* and the *Daily Nation* newspapers. The analysis looks at the way these newspapers report on crisis cases by writers in focusing on the possible presence of apportioning blame or innocence through language use. The analysis intends to map the different instances that may express how, using language, news writers apportion blame or innocence to ethnic groups when reporting. In other words, it is mainly focused on the choice of these linguistic strategies as derived from the literature review.

The three objectives of the study that informs analysis are:

- i. To describe linguistic features used by news reporters in apportioning responsibility/ when reporting on crises online.
- ii. To investigate how news reporters use the linguistic features to apportion responsibility and when reporting on crises online.
- iii. To assess the implications of the use of linguistic features by news reporters in apportioning responsibility on the relationship between media and the communities involved.

Data was analyzed at the level of content. Discursive structures were identified in line with Objective 1 and logged under those that are used to apportion blame and those that are used to apportion innocence. Under the thematic areas, examples were placed under the linguistic features that are dominant in them.

The identified discursive structures were further analyzed to determine the relationship between the form and function in which they occur and how and why the news reporters use these features; the discursive structures were checked to determine whether the meaning matches the intentions elsewhere within the discourse. Fairclough (1993) argues that CDA is an analysis of discourse that brings up anomalous relationships among different ethnic and social groups.

The data used for objective one is articles published in *The Standard* and *Daily Nation* newspapers and are believed to have news reflecting on crisis and ethnic stereotyping in Kenya.

4.1 Lexical Choice

The lexical choice is, from time to time, defined as diction, the decisions about language that a writer employs during the writing of a piece of work. To study a writer's diction is to check his choice of words, and in studying his choice of words, you need to consider two questions:

- 1) Why has the writer chosen these words on this occasion?
- 2) What is the effect of these words, either separately or how they function together?

These questions are closely interrelated. Often a writer chooses certain words to get the reader to make meaning or respond in a particular way. The choices made will inevitably be influenced by the relationship between the reader and the writer. These choices depend on the formality or informality of the article, the writer's intentions, and the effect that the piece is intended to have on the reader (van Dijk, 1988).

Literature reveals that abstract or concrete nouns can be chosen based on the subject matter of the article, and modifiers can also be used to supplement descriptions of people, events, or places, to create an atmosphere, arouse emotions, or express opinions and judgments. Verbs will be selected to express actions of various kinds, as well as add to the message that the writer wishes to convey to the reader (Tuchmann, 1972).

In choosing the lexical item to use, a word's connotations or the associations that are suggested by a word is also considered. Words carry many connotations that might bring suggested meanings somewhat different from the dictionary definition of that word. Connotations are acquired by words depending on how they have been used. There are occasions when writers select words with the most accurate meaning or denotation without complicating connotations. This depends on the effects that the writer desires to achieve - words are chosen to meet the purpose and audience. Sometimes a writer can choose words that are predominantly colloquial or particularly formal, depending on the context.

At the border of surface structure forms and underlying meanings, language studies frequently center on a lexical style based on the context-dependent use of words (Edelman, 1977). More than sounds, syntax, and graphics, such differences in the choice of words may indicate immense underlying complexes of contextual importance. The example of terrorist description versus freedom fighters is a case in point. In the verbal description of the properties and actions of ethnic majority versus ethnic minority groups, we get the major surface manifestations of underlying mental models of ethnic events and ethnic prejudices. While in today's public discourse about ethnic affairs, blatant abuse of ethnic considerations has become marginalized, signaling negative associations may occur rather subtly. The changes during the past

few years in the descriptions and names of various ethnic groups (e.g., the foreigners) show how directly lexical style may follow changing attitudes. This is even more the case for the large register of words of ethnic abuse of minority ethnic groups. Words manifest the underlying semantic concepts used in the definition of the situation. In *The Standard* and *Daily Nation* online newspapers, the phenomenon of lexicalization of semantic content is highly present. However, this is often never unbiased: the choice of one word rather than another to express more or less the same meaning, or to denote the same referent, may signal the opinions, emotions, or social position of a speaker's choice of words in newspapers. These choices are common, especially in editorials where they play a significant role: communicating the meaning of the situation while indicating the political and social opinions of the newspaper about the situations and events. This means then that words used by writers not only worldwide define or sum up an event; they also assess and evaluate it. Hence, the linguistic style of news articles has ideological conclusions that can be made.

4.1.1 Use of Lexical Choices to Assign Blame

Lexical choices are content and non-content words; this study uses the latter. The choice of words is very important when analyzing how language is used in apportioning blame or innocence when reporting crises online. Using one word instead of the other can play an essential role in either changing the tone of the utterance or creating a wholly different connotation for the reader. Therefore lexical choice has a specific effect on the notion that the reader will receive from the news article. A good example is in the article below;

Today, let us revisit the issue that is the hottest topic of national dialogue today: security swoops targeting foreigners.

We begin with the premise that Somalia is the nursery of Al Shabaab's terror against Kenyans. This implies chances are high the terrorist nearest you is likely to be a Somali, but from Somalia. The

question then would be, how do you distinguish who is Somali from Somalia? The average Kenyan would then tell you they look alike, speak the same tongue, have curly hair, fair skin and most likely are in Somali flowing garb (The Standard, 18th April 2014).

In this article, the writer uses the word “nursery” to point out that Somali is the breeding ground for Alshabaab; a ‘nursery’ is a noun that refers to a special room in a house for special use by children, it can also refer to a place where young plants and trees are grown for sale, it would appear that the main focus of the writer is to imply that Somalia is where terrorism is bred. The Alshabaab in question are of Somali origin, and the word nursery is picked to relate to the rising and growing activities of terrorism by the Alshabaab. Where they originate, the writer also uses the word “foreigners” to refer to the Somalis. In this case, the writer implies that they are not of our nation, therefore, indicating that these security operations are targeting those that are not Kenyans. The writer even alludes that the chances are that a terrorist near you is Somali. This is a generalization that is intended to link being Somali to terrorism.

In the present political and media discourse about refugees in Kenya, as discussed, the word “foreigners” is regularly used by news reporters instead (applicants for asylum, asylum seekers), which, however, is like many other negative words in the Kenyan newspaper discourse that links those who seek asylum in Kenya as perpetrators of evil and criminal acts. The use of this word “foreigner” is deliberate and, in many cases, is used to link those who are not considered as Kenyan to crimes that are committed by individuals who are not of Kenyan descent; another example below illustrates this.

Let us not forget the recent terror attack on Westgate Mall was planned in a refugee camp. They need to go back to the camps and we have informed the United Nations High Commission for Refugees

Some of the Somali terrorists who staged the attack on Westgate Mall on September 21 killing more than 67 and injuring 200, also lived in Eastleigh. The suspects were interrogated at various police

stations, and police said the move is part of larger efforts to contain terror activities in the city (The Standard November 11th 2013).

In this article, the choice of specific words associates the Somali ethnic group to the Alshabaab terror group; the writer indicates that the men arrested were from a refugee camp. The choice of words is categorical to remind the readers that the Westgate terror attack was planned in a refugee camp, implying that these attacks were done or aided by refugees; the writer then reveals the identity of the suspects as Somali terrorists. The mention of the identity and linking them to terrorism seems to generalize the activities of terrorism to people of the Somali ethnic group.

The Standard newspaper on 10th June 2018 reported a rape case against a Kenyan lady by a white man, the title of the article was “Foreign Evil,” the article read;

A 15-year-old young girl is reported to have been defiled at their residence in Nairobi; the perpetrator was identified as of Amharic origin, this foreign evil must be condemned, and the perpetrator brought to book (The Standard, 10 June 2014).

In the article, the choice of the word “foreign” seems to apportion and heap the blame for the evil committed to a specific group of people: foreigners. That the crime was committed by a foreigner and not one of us, and that informs the choice of the word foreign evil, in this case, the writer seems to target a specific group of people, who are not of the writer’s origin; otherwise, the writer would have just termed it as evil.

In an article in *The Standard* on 25th Sept 2014, Benard Sanga, the writer, talks about elections at the coast in detail. In referring to those who are not original inhabitants of the area, the writer uses the words “immigrants” and “outsiders” to refer to them; the term ‘immigrant’ is a noun that refers to a person who leaves their country and comes to live in a foreign country. In this case, those not originally from Coast are referred to as “immigrants.” The writer refers to the late Kiliku, who is an ethnic Kamba, and

who won the Chagamwe constituency seat, as an “outsider” alongside Basil, a Kenyan Greek. The word ‘outsider’ means a person, who does not belong to a particular organization or profession, and in this context, discourse implies that the two whose ethnic identities are mentioned do not belong to this area; this generally suggests that the Kamba, the Greeks, and other communities, who are not originally settlers of this area strangers. Below is an excerpt from the article.

A good number of people considered immigrants to the region have contested political seats and won. The wave could sweep away more locals in the next elections if the trend is maintained.

One of the most significant outcomes of the 2013 polls in the region were in Nyali and Lamu West constituencies where the so-called “immigrant candidates” won the parliamentary seats.

But this was not the first time an “outsider” won an elective at the Coast. The late Kennedy Kiliku, an ethnic Kamba, won the Chagamwe constituency seat in 1983 and represented in 1997 while Basil Criticos, a Kenyan Greek, was elected twice to represent the Taveta constituency in the early 1990s.

But the wins by Hezron Awiti Bolo, an ethnic Luo, and Julius Ndegwa, a Kikuyu from Muranga, was significant for their audacity and significance (The Standard, 25th Sept 2014).

The use of language by word choice creates categories among ethnic groups in Kenya.

The choices writers make have a high impact on the readers and the way they see things. The use of certain specific words creates and reinforces the ethnic stereotype.

In *The Standard* and *Daily Nation* newspapers, this strategy is evident as this study

found out, this can be seen in the article below:

The fact is Kenya is divided into two nations. The Luo state and the Kikuyu state with three other big tribes oscillating their support depending on what their fat tribal warlord orders. (The Turkana, Pokot, Rendile, and other forgotten tribes wouldn't care less.) Of course, there is no love lost between these two nation-states that constitute Kenya. Thus, you have all manner of drivel hurled at Raila Odinga from the Kikuyu nation for the most insane of things. But on the other hand, there is nothing that President Uhuru would do that would meet the favour of the Luo Nation (The Standard, 6th Jan 2014).

In this article, the word “fact” is a strong categorical assertion used to show that what the writer is saying is proven beyond doubt. The writer notes that there are two nations in Kenya: the Luo nation, which belongs to the Luos, and the Kikuyu nation, which belongs to the Kikuyu community. In the real sense, Kenya is one state with many ethnic communities. The assertion that there are the two states is categorical to imply that the two are the most dominant: that the two can stand on their own. It also means that all the other tribes are subordinate to the two. The writer mentions the three other prominent tribes not by names: these he says that they cannot make decisions on their own but rely on tribal warlords. Instead of mentioning that they have leaders, the writer calls them “warlords.” ‘Warlords’ is a noun that refers to a person who is a military commander and particularly an aggressive regional commander with individual autonomy. In this context, the writer uses this word to show that they are communities in constant war. The writer indicates that the Turkana, Pokot, Rendile, and other forgotten tribes are careless; the writer terms all other tribes as forgotten, meaning that they have been left out, forgotten, shows a lack of relevance, and are not part of national discussions. The writer of this article, through the lexical choices, creates categories among ethnic groups in Kenya.

The analysis of the selected articles demonstrates that news reports involving ethnic groups and events center mainly on a deliberate choice of words when reporting crises. While the news reports of groups that are considered innocent tend to use neutral words and sentences, it is noted that the reporting on those who are deemed guilty tends to consist of an implicit form of negativity and condemnation, and, as a result of this contains an experiential value, revealing how the journalist interprets the felony.

During the times of unrest in Kenya, the most frequent words used by the two newspapers are riots, mobs, attacks, and police. This social unrest is associated with a particular ethnic group that is considered chaotic; the words used to report this event seem to be reinforcing this stereotype while apportioning blame to this ethnic group through language use. The lexical style tends to be dramatic and negative in defining that situation. For example, in the article published by the standard on the 14th of September 2014, the events are dramatized and painted negatively. Here is the article.

Nyanza has witnessed several chaotic scenes targeted at leaders in the recent past. Last weekend youths blocked former Prime Minister Raila Odinga's wife Ida in Siaya, demanding money. She had visited to attend the burial of former Bondo MP Hezekiah Ougo. Last month, rowdy youths stormed Kisumu Governor Jack Ranguma's office and disrupted the inaugural County Development Board (CDB) meeting that was to be presided over by Kisumu Senator Anyang' Nyong'o (The Standard, 14th April 2014).

In the article, the use of the words “chaotic scenes,” “rowdy,” and “rocky,” which means the violent impact is to define the situation negatively; the words paint a grim picture of the situation. They tend to associate this behavior with people from Nyanza; the writer links this event to recent happenings and tends to suggest that it is normal in this region. In the same article, the writer alleges that the youths, who he terms as rowdy, were pro- ODM, which is a party dominant in the region; their activities are covered using words that tend and apportion blame to specific entities and letter associates them to the Nyanza region.

The s register of impunity and violence is adequately represented in the news articles. Murder, death attack, terror, shooting, violence, shot, and related words can be seen in many other articles in these two newspapers. While they are predictable in the reporting of situations of instability, it should be observed that they also mostly emerge in reports about other situations. When they appear, they are accompanied by

the concepts of resist, ‘riot’ and ‘violence’; they virtually describe the negative ethnic events as much of newspapers look at it. The following is another example in an article that reveals the above assertion

Rowdy youths lit bonfires on significant highways of Kisumu town on Monday in what they claimed was a show of solidarity with fellow Cord supporters gathered at Uhuru Park. The tension was high in the lakeside town with several shops remaining closed for fear of being raided. Only banks and major supermarkets were open, although they were cautious of possible raids from the mob (Daily Nation July 7, 2014).

Actors in the above events in the article are described with terms such as “mob” and “rowdy.” This makes the reader identify them irrationally and as a lack of control. In some instances, it is referred to as a “rampage” the use of such words combined with terms such as rowdy and demonstrators in explanation of the events then leads to the creation of a negative image of the people. The classification of the actors as from the lakeside region is a deliberate attempt to link these acts to the region.

The descriptions of events, situations, and people, while closely connecting them to their ethnic identities, speak a lot on their ethnic orientations; in the standard on 16th July 2014 Article by Murimi Mwangi, this is evident.

The thought that they were guarding the village against a deadly, murderous gang did not cross the vigilantes’ minds as they rushed to the scene to put out the fire. As they got there, they were surrounded by Mungiki sect members who called out the same “Bantu” code name to identify members of the vigilante group and grisly killed them.

At the end of the horror, the Mungiki adherents had slaughtered 18 men before proceeding to Kiaruhuu village, where they gruesomely killed another seven; this group that is bred in central Kenya needs to be contained (The Standard, July 2014).

The writer uses words like “deadly”, “murderous” to describe the activities of the Mungiki, whom the writer describes as “a gang.” As earlier discussed, the word gang is used instead of a group; gang refers to an organized group of criminals up for no

good. The gang further is described by the word “deadly,” which is an adjective that implies something that can cause death. The word murderous also means that the group is capable of causing murder. In this context, the writer uses these words to describe their activities as a dangerous group. The writer also describes the group as a sect which means that the Mungiki are nonconformist to the church teachings. In describing their activities, the writer not only says they killed people but uses the adjective grisly to describe the killing, painting a picture of the horrific and disgusting manner in which the Mungiki killed people. The writer then describes the whole event as horror. Horror is a noun that implies an intense feeling of shock. In this, regards the writer uses this word to show how shocking and horrifying their activities were. The writer mentions the region from where this group hails, which is seen as associating the Mungiki group to their ethnic group.

This study revealed that sometimes events that may not even be chaotic and violent in the real sense are described figuratively with ‘aggressive’ terms, such as tackle, attack, and clash. When reporting on the crisis, writers usually appear violent and aggressive in their writing. Even regular normal relationships that are social and political with lesser conflicts are mostly reported with phrases from registers of the hostility and violence or descriptions that are considered military. It is not known if this is also the situation for the reporting of other vital contentious issues. Still, these terms in articles on ethnic relations establish an association between ethnic associations and grave problems, notwithstanding violence. A typical example of the above is in the article below by Benard Sanga in the Standard 1st November 2014.

He also said that Keiyo North MP Elijah Sumbeiywo told the youth to emulate Mr. Sang, saying he died fighting for the Kalenjin.

One person was hacked to death and four others seriously injured in fresh attacks between two communities in Bora Moyo village of Kipini area in Tana River County Residents said that over 20 men

from Garjel community, who were searching for their lost herds of goats, raided the village on Saturday evening after they smelt cooked meat, claiming it was of their lost animals

Tana Delta region has remained the epicenter of conflicts because it is essentially crucial to the survival of the fighting communities, especially during the dry seasons (The Standard, 03 November 2014).

Apart from using an aggressive notion as hacked and raided, the writer classifies this region as an epicenter of conflicts. The word ‘epicenter’ is a noun that refers to a central point of something which is typically difficult or an unpleasant situation. In this context, the writer uses the word to inform the reader that the Tana Delta region is the central point of the conflicts. This word makes the situation as unfavorable as possible; the writer then refers to the communities in dispute as fighting communities; this shows that they are always in violent confrontations.

Writers use very negative or rather derogatory lexical choices to report on ethnic communities that are considered violent, especially in reporting matters of conflicts and attacks. Such use of language tends to implicate the affected ethnic groups of the attacks. The reporting links the events to the ethnic groups. This can be seen in the article below:

One person was hacked to death and four others seriously injured in fresh attacks between two communities in Bora Moyo village of Kipini area in Tana River County Residents said that over 20 men from the Garjel community, who were searching for their lost herds of goats, raided the village on Saturday evening after they smelt cooked meat, claiming it was of their lost animals

Tana Delta region has remained the epicenter of conflicts because it is essentially crucial to the survival of the fighting communities, especially during the dry seasons. (The Standard, 01, November 2014)

This study also notes that word choice describes the same situation in different ethnic communities. In many instances, the writers use hooliganism, which means violent

and rowdy behavior typically in a gang, to describe events in certain regions. The writers, in doing so, allege that this behavior has been imported as a preserve to some areas. When the same events happen somewhere else, it is regarded by relatively neutral terms like ‘political turmoil.’

If there is the consideration of variations in the linguistic style being taken as a role of underlying attitudes and opinions, it is expected that there are many other ways to convey negative or positive feelings that we harbor about people and their ethnic groups, not forgetting ethnic events. Whereas the open-minded press typically avoids pessimistic terms in its use, the other alternative media is less reserved. During the analysis done on editorials in *The Standard* and *Daily Nation* newspapers, the study already looked at terms used to denote negatively mostly certain ethnic groups. In the study, these uses can be observed in the editorials, where they either suggest actors or their compositions, events, and the actions of the actors.

In this study, young people engaging in the disturbances in urban areas in specific regions are mainly described using the terms such as “thugs,” “hooligans,” gangs, “mobs,” or other correlated terms, and rarely with not such negative terms like “demonstrators.” The most commonly used word is “rioter, which is accompanied often by negative adjectives such as “crazed” or “raging” or in conjunction with negative nouns like “bloodlust.” A riot is always referred to as an “orgy of destruction and looting” that emphasizes both the irrational and criminal nature of the riots. The use of such words is categorical and serves to blame the groups involved strongly.

By associating the act of aggression with the specific ethnic community in an editorial in the *Daily Nation*, the author uses the word “Satan Strategy,” “Vote Rigging,” “Luo Nyanza,” and “Revolt” to give details why the campaign strategies employed by

Raila Odinga, are uncivilized and inappropriate. It is prudent to note that Raila Odinga is from the Luo ethnic group, which is perceived to be a Luo Nyanza politics here are said to be associated with chaos, populism, and riots.

The following excerpt from the article supports the fact that this article is written to associate the Luo ethnic group with violence;

In Kenya, critics posit that the Odinga dynasty has used rigging claims to remain relevant and stem revolt, particularly in Luo Nyanza politics after a series of electoral losses in 1992, 1997, 2007, and 2013” (Daily Nation, January 10, 2014).

This is a deliberate attempt by the writer to convince the reader that Luo Nyanza is liable for revolts in the last general elections. This is stereotyping of ethnic identity. The Luos have been attracted to ostentatious, nonetheless lazy lifestyles.

The use of such words is one of the ways blame is apportioned using language when reporting. In this instance, the writer is trying to strengthen the notion that Luo people are naturally notorious, brutal and are to be blamed for the chaos instability in Kenya. This use of language condemns the ethnic group and downgrades it to an entity of malice and hatred by other communities.

Studies carried out by Bar-Tal & Teichman (2005) support the above. In these studies, children in Palestine and Israel were fed with stereotypes about the “other” ethnic group using lexical choices. This, in the end, created stereotypes and hatred for them. At the same time, they grew up to hate each other based on the choices of words used by writers to develop these stereotypes. In another example illustrated below, choices of words used were found to increase hatred towards specific groups of people mentioned in the articles.

It is believed that foreigners may be among the 129 suspects in detention following reports that some entered Kenya from Uganda and Tanzania through Busia last week.

The suspects include three women, Christian converts to Islam, and 21 male youths under 18 years.

Officials say 129 suspects are detained at Shimo la Tewa, although Haki Africa, a human rights group, alleges that minors have secretly been moved to the Port Police station.

The list includes man police believe was in charge of logistics for the ill-fated convention that ended in blood and tears.

On Wednesday, youths returning from the burial of a victim of Sunday's mosque violence attacked police on patrol and descended on motorists in Mombasa's downtown.

A resident was hit on the head with a rock and injured in the violence around Musa mosque.

Local leaders denounced the rioters claiming they were not local Muslims (The Standard, February 06, 2014).

This article was on the Killings in Mosoud mosque mall attack that claimed four lives, it shuttered the Mombasa, and everyone condemned the attack. In this article, the word “foreign” is chosen deliberately to link foreign people to the atrocity being referred to. On the other hand, the expression “economic refugees” has had a wide currency of denoting those who, according to the government true or bona fide political refugees. A seemingly respectable bureaucratic term hides a negative political judgment: They are just fake refugees (van Dijk, 1988). Whereas those allegedly engaging in crime, riots, and drug trafficking may normally be described by negative terms by the standard and daily nation newspaper, this study found out that there are some limits to the unconcealed forms of lexical derogation in newspaper discourse.

In specific ethnic communities, it is noted that descriptions are what can be described as highly negative words such as leftist, described as very negative words taken from the registers of animals, mental illness, or oppression. When describing crises online, the news writers seem to link these behaviors to those communities directly.

“A noisy mob of demonstrators from Kibera stormed the meeting in ODM t-shirts, just as it has been the case whenever youths have rioted in many parts of the country, especially in Nyanza, the city was invaded and; a lot of property was destroyed (Daily Nation, 20 May 2014). This was during the ODM Protests against the jubilee government; this is a crisis because, during that time, a lot of property was destroyed. The city was at a standstill, the business closed, and all traders kept away because of the perceived danger. In this article, the writer uniquely chooses words that reflect the mental picture he wants the readers to have when reading this article; the writer portrays those in ODM t-shirts as a mob, people after no good. The choice of words in this article serves to associate the protests and the unfortunate events to ODM supporters. Further, the writer compares these events to similar events in the whole country, special emphasis is put on the Nyanza region, and this is to mean that this behavior is synonymous with what happens in Nyanza.

Writers use description in discourse to divide the communities in terms of might while creating categories, and this is evident in the article below:

“A small and weak pastoralist community is being systematically overrun by powerful neighbors who have set their insatiable appetite and wandering eyes on their grazing land” (Daily Nation, March 30, 2014).

The writer uses the adjectives small and weak to describe a community about its neighbors; the word small might refer to being insignificant, weak is an adjective that translates to lack of power to do something, that this community is not only small but weak. In this context, the writer uses this word compared to two communities. The words were chosen by the writer clearly show the differences in terms of might when comparing the ethnic groups in question. The word overrun shows how the community in question is inferior to the other communities. Here discourse itself categorizes the groups into two, the small and weak against the powerful. Through

words used to describe the communities, one can tell that discourse through lexical choice apportions blame to one community. The terms used here attribute diverse traits to two groups of ethnic identities. First, the author portrays the Maasai ethnic group to be under threat. The usage of the phrases “small,” “weak,” and “overrun” creates a picture of a group of people who are helpless and under harassment; the word weak means the lack of power to do something or instead of having little energy. Small, on the other hand, means size that is less than normal; in this case, all this is meant to describe a community.

This choice of words by the writer creates the feeling of intimidation, which evokes emotional sympathies among the members of the community perceived to be under threat. On the other hand, the author uses words that describe the other neighbors to the community with words such as “powerful,” “insatiable appetite,” and “wandering eyes.” These are deliberately chosen words aimed at showing the might of the other community over the other community.

The author uses specific words to show the significance of the menace of the loss of land that the Maasai community is currently facing. Words linked with the issues of insecurities and conflicts such as “overrun,” “annihilate,” “disenfranchised,” and “marginalize” are used to bring to light the threat that the Maasai community is encountering in the wake of their violent and intimidating neighbors.

This type of approach is bound to put the Maasai on suspicion, fearing the losses they are bound to encounter should the said consequences in the article manifest.

Although surface structures are more noticeable in the discourse, language users are mostly oriented towards meaning. Considering the implications that words, sentences, and the whole texts carry, surface structures can also take on various relations. The

different meanings of words have previously been described above. The same is true for syntactic expression of variable roles (agents, patients) of participants therefore discussed in sentences. In complex semantic structures of whole texts and sentences, however, there are other ways to express or signal a speaker's point of view, relative structures, and even underlying opinions. Of this immense number of semantic features of discourse, this study examines only a few, mainly for issues related to ethnic stereotyping or negative ethnicity.

Through the two online newspapers, events are frequently described from a specific point of view. This may be the point of view from which events are seen, or, more generally, the social or political position of the speaker. Ethnic riots are often described in the media from the point of view of the police or from that of officials or other professional experts. This is primarily true by the use of camera positions in news films (Wilson & Gutiérrez, 1985). Diverse views can be expressed or indirectly indicated in several ways, for example, by choice of specific verbs and more generally in lexical items, sentence structure, and the larger meaning of propositions. Therefore, from victims or that of an anti-discrimination organization, it might be true that some ethnic communities are held answerable for the mistakes of an individual who belongs to that ethnic group. In contrast, the press can represent this claim as minorities are allegedly discriminated against, or the majority claimed.

In the same way, acts of crisis regarding ethnicity are somewhat differently described by victims and perpetrators, more generally from the perspective of majority group members or that of an ethnic group. As soon as descriptions of ethnic events imply negative properties of the majority and especially, for example, the Somalis, in this instance, may be viewed as terrorists by other communities or ethnic groups, and such a contentious interpretation is more often than not marked with quotation marks or

expressions of doubt or distances. In other words, what is knowledge of minorities based on experience and socio-culturally transmitted expertise about?

Ethnic relations may be regarded only as opinions from the majority ethnic point of view (Essed, 1991). In the same way, *The Standard* and *Daily Nation* newspapers may depict terrorism as branding someone as a racist, a phrase that is not used in self-description: One does not admit that I branded him a terrorist. Through these articles, writers use language to generalize and brand an ethnic community, the traits of an individual based on some characteristics. The article below illustrates the above.

First, Kikuyus did not fight for independence for the good of all Kenyans but to dominate and exploit other communities. Secondly, Kikuyus are greedier and love money more than other people in other communities. Thirdly, like Jews, Kikuyus are incorrigible from their hate of others, and the only solution to their problem is the Final Solution of genocide. Fourthly, Kikuyus can never accept and vote for leadership from another community. Fifthly, politically, Kikuyus are not compatriots. They are the enemies – adui” (Daily Nation, February 21, 2014).

In this article, the choice of words can be said to be promoting ethnic stereotypes; the words, greedier, incorrigible put a mental picture that paints Kikuyu people in a bad light. The Swahili word *adui*, which means enemy, may imply that Kikuyu people the article talks about are the real enemies of other ethnic groups. This assertion can put them at loggerheads with other ethnic groups. The writer of this article uses these words to reinforce and promote a stereotype against a community. It is through such words that ethnic hatred is brewed. The word *adui* means an enemy that serves to unify other communities against Kikuyu. The choice of words in the article is also inciting; words are chosen to achieve the aim of alienating the Kikuyu ethnic group from other groups.

The use of Linguistic features in apportioning blame can also be observed in articles when reporting on conflicts between communities, like in the article below

“The recurring violence is believed to emanate from the difference between farmers from the Mijikenda community and pastoralists of the Orma from the delta.” (The Standard, August 7, 2014)

This article uses the verb believed to show beyond doubt the writer is attributing violence that is occurring as a result of the misunderstanding between the Mijikenda and the Orma People. The writer also uses the word recurring to mean something that happens frequently. This is to mention that it happens often; the use of the verb believed shows certainty. At the same time, emanate shows; the writer here apportions the responsibility for the cause of the violence to the Mijikenda and Orma. The language used shows discord between the two communities; the language links this discord to their differences, supporting the stereotype that the Mijikenda and Orma people are always into constant fights.

In the article by Tony Malesi on why Kenyan Men fear marrying Kikuyu women, the writer, through language, tries to give reasons as a justification to this claim. Below is a sample of the article: **Tony Malesi. Why Kenyan men fear marrying Kikuyu**

Women

They have been accused of all manner of things; they not only ‘sit’ on their husbands, but also beat them up; they kill their men when bored with them to enjoy their property; they walk out of marriages old enough to produce grandchildren, and wags never tire of poking fun at their culinary skills. But why exactly are Kikuyu women so heavily stereotyped? Well, it is believed that more than females from any other community in Kenya, this lot conforms to the Western notion of ‘liberated’ women. (The Standard, 28th August 2014)

In the article, the writer uses the word accused, which means someone guilty of a felony. He uses the word kill to show how dangerous they can be; by using Kikuyu women, the writer generalizes this behavior to all Kikuyu women while it might not be the case. The writer, in his assertion on why Kenyan Men fear marrying Kikuyu

Women, implies that all Kenyan men fear to marry Kikuyu women. In giving reasons why Kenyan men fear to marry Kikuyu ladies, the writer notes.

“When you marry a Kikuyu, just know the children are not yours. If the marriage is dissolved, she will go with them. Which man will easily take such a risk? This makes most men who marry these women feel less obligated. Also, Kikuyu women, unlike others, are so aggressive in perpetuating their dominance. Even when married to men from other ethnic communities, they ensure their children — who are clueless about their father’s language — speak Kikuyu,” notes Sam Oluchiri, who admits to this writer he dated a couple of Kikuyu women but was not able to marry either of them. Regrettably, experts warn, this situation has had an enormous negative impact on how Kikuyu women raise children, particularly boys. Sammy Ndirangu, a social researcher who has worked with two different NGOs in Central Kenya, records that women empowerment has encouraged many women but unfortunately disenfranchised men. As a result, it has made them more family-based or rather oriented. This study finds the language used in the editorial as sensational and one that might arouse emotions; the word choice demeans women from Kikuyu ethnic group, the discourse here apportions blame to Kikuyu women reinforcing the stereotype that Kikuyu women cannot be trusted, the use of comparison like unlike others tend to inform the reader that others are okay apart from Kikuyu women

Conclusion

This part of lexical choices has revealed that words cannot be said to be random parts on labels of news reports. On the opposing view, they develop critical parts of those reports. Their location, semantic role, and cognitive consequences are such that they factually cannot be overlooked. They articulate the primary topic of the report, as the newspaper sees it, and thereby summarizes while evaluating news events. In doing so,

they explain the situation of the event. The definition also plays a crucial part in how readers comprehend or memorize news. Lexical choices that describe affairs, therefore, are critical for the description of events in ethnic situations. In the Media, these words are hardly ever positive; occasionally, they sometimes appear neutral, and many times negative. These descriptions are noticeably in the contexts of ‘riots,’ shown by many and at times deliberately pessimistic words, where the city disturbances are majorly connected, with other many terms such as chaos violence and more so with mainly atrocious crimes of illogical “rampaging mobs,” primarily associating with the specific ethnic groups.

The same is, however, valid for ideological disputes, such as land issues, cattle rustling and corruption, and other cases in which people are said to be propagating negative ethnicity. It is good to note that the Standard and Daily Nation online Newspapers not only dramatize these ethnic conflicts but also adopts specific position about those that are accused of ethnic stereotyping.

It is noted that the detailed summary of the said events is barely ambiguous, many editorials, and leaves less space for other interpretations, for example, in cases of rape, resistance, protest, or other descriptions that can identify motives that are charitable of the accused ethnic groups.

The superseding discussions of these situations and events, therefore, remain inside the structure of law and order: destruction, violence, chaos, crime, lawlessness, terror, and anarchy.

4.2 Modality

Using modality as a basis for identifying some of the linguistic features, Simpson (1993) defines modality as a writer's opinion or attitude about the truth of a

proposition expressed by a sentence. Modality can also be defined as the truth value of an utterance or the proposition by logicians. In linguistics studies, modalities are structures that assess the condition of affairs. They refer to aspects of meaning that cause sentences to be about the non-factual, that is, the alternative possibilities for how things could be (Linton, 2006).

Modality is a constituent of language use that language users most often exploit. The role of modality in newspaper editorials is of great importance because newspaper writers tend to use this strategy to manipulate the readers of the newspapers to establish either favorable or unfavorable bias. This is important to this study because this study seeks to find out how writers use linguistics strategies to apportion blame or innocence in editorials. Primarily epistemic modality becomes essential to this study.

Modality can be categorized into two groups, that is, the epistemic and deontic modalities. Epistemic modality refers to the knowledge writers have on what they are writing; this is generally what the writer knows about situations and contexts under the discussions. In this case, these are circumstances surrounding ethnic relations in Kenya. This, therefore, means that the writer of the editorial assesses the likelihood that the proposition is truthful in terms of probability, possibility, or modal certainty

Deontic modality has more to do with necessity and possibility in terms of freedom to act: permission, ability, and duty. It, therefore, means precisely that writers intervene during a speech by giving consent or obligation. It, thus, encompasses the use of language in expressing commands, wants, and desires Epistemic modality.

Fowler (1985) lists different categories in which epistemic modality is manifested in discourses; these are modal auxiliary verbs, reporting verbs, Adjectives, sentence adverbs, verbs, nouns, and nominalizations. Saheed (2003) identifies negation as one

strategy for expressing modality. This is in the analysis of editorials in *The New York Times*. He also identifies grammatical metaphors as another strategy of expressing modality in newspaper discourses. These assertions are further grouped into categorical and non-categorical assertions.

Through the analysis of selected editorials in *The Standard* and *Daily Nation*, this study first identified how modality is manifested in the two newspapers. It is important to note that modality is classified into two broader categories: the epistemic modality and the deontic modality (Palme, 2003). Epistemic modality points out how writers reveal the truths about propositions they use. Deontic modality is more concerned with the criteria by which future events are desirable possible, or necessary.

A newspaper assumes that there is always one logical point of view on any issue presented to the audience or public. Editorials seem to assert this point of view. An editorial gives the opinion of the newspaper owners, what has been labeled as the institutional voice (Kelling & Thomas, 2018; Hindman, 2003), or the organizational stance (Gajevic, 2016). And on many occasions, editorials are affected by the ideas of homophily (Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955) and are also value-oriented Porten-Chee, (2017). In the view of Rosenfeld (2000), editorials provide a subjective assessment of hugely debated and contested issues while, to Golan and Lukito (2017), editorials offer a voice to the newspaper's institutional point of view.

For this study, to explain how modality surfaces in discourse in *The Standard* and *Daily Nation* and how editorialists use this strategy to apportion blame or innocence when reporting on ethnic matters online, the study will analyze modal auxiliary verbs,

reporting verbs, adverbs, negation, and generic phrases. Some of the features identified are discussed below.

4.2.1 The Use Modal Auxiliaries Verbs

When news coverage uses verbs in reporting, modal auxiliary verbs suggest the possibility, or rather the prediction of a proposition (Biber *et al.*, 1999). In this study, they are editorials that contain modal auxiliary verbs that express obligation, volition permission, and ability.

Writers of editorials in the two newspapers express modality, that is, their perceptions and attitude towards news events and situations, through many different linguistic devices. Auxiliary modals, as the study found out, are one of the various tools to express Modality. In doing so, the discourse in the editorials seems to apportion blame and or innocence to specific groups.

In *The Standard* newspaper on September 15th, 2014, the author uses modal auxiliary verbs in an editorial to predict that the conflicts could escalate between the Orma and Pokomo if the situation persists.

Twelve months after the killings that took the lives of about 150 people, including nine security officers, and left thousands of people displaced, mutual suspicion and fear between the two warring communities still pervades the residents in one village that is only separated Kilelengwani Primary School.

The Orma and the Pokomo homesteads stand four hundred meters apart, with a military camp sitting 300 meters away overlooking the two homesteads. For Mohamed Mwashimba, 69, the fear and suspicion is not only visible but also tangible; if this is not stopped, the killings that have been witnessed will continue to escalate the conflicts, and these two communities will continue to fight each other

The military camp now serves as a hope for peace for the two communities. According to Mwangoya Mwamari, 73, the military camp is the only thing they attribute to the peace; therefore, the military must work with the communities to end this stalemate (The Standard, September 15, 2014).

In the extract from the editorial, the use of 'will' as a modal auxiliary verb shows the writer's opinion on the conflicts between the two communities. The modal auxiliary verb 'should' is used here to show a strong obligation towards the mission of bringing peace to these communities. In this study, Modality can be seen as a linguistic property that the language users could use to create favorable or unfavorable bias or manipulate readers' opinion. Here the two communities are blamed in case this situation escalates to violence have expressed modality, their attitude towards the situation, auxiliary modals, as the study found out, is one of the various devices to express modality.

In another editorial, James Kahonge of *Daily Nation*, while discussing the role of the youths in demonstrations, suggests that the youths from Luo Nyanza, if not tamed, would, later on, pose a more significant challenge to the nation in the future, the writer also uses the auxiliary verb *must* indicate the necessity of addressing the issue. This assertion made by the writer of the editorial is categorical; it is clear that the writer predicts that the youths from this region will pose a significant challenge to the country shortly. The editorialist uses the term harm to indicate the extent of the damage that the youth are likely to cause; *harm* refers to a physical injury inflicted deliberately. The assertion made by the writer is very categorical, and the writer seems to be sure of the sentiments he proposes. Below is the article:

If this behavior of hooliganism and rowdiness is not tamed, these young men from Luo Nyanza will grow up to cause more harm. They have destroyed properties, vandalized business premises; this mentality must be stopped; the Government need to address this issue (Daily Nation, November 03, 2014

The examination reveals that *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers editorialists extensively use the modal verbs of prediction, i.e., 'will' and 'would, in assigning blame. This means that the newspaper editorialists while discussing the situations,

make their predictions about future happenings. It also highlights that prediction is an essential feature of *The Standard* and *Daily Nation* editorials that discuss ethnic affairs; that is, the editorials, while apportioning blame or innocence to specific groups in their coverage, not only dwell on current issues but also give opinions on future events.

The Use of Reporting Verbs

In the Daily and Standard newspapers, a significant distinction exists between the two or more sides in ethnic conflicts is manifested, regarding which type of reporting verbs are used, there are unquestionably positive verbs which are made use of practically in a different way to denote "our" side. In any recounting, we find specific discourse markers that play the role of the guide as to the writer's attitude towards as far as the speaker is concerned. This study revealed that the regarding reporting verbs, whether when used with direct or indirect speech, laid bare what the writer narrated had some degree of truth considerably in it. Verbs, such as repeat and reiterate, are impartial reporting verbs but have positive connotations. Others, like tell and say, are also unbiased and require the accompaniment of some devices, typically an adverb such as solemnly, to ensure that they remain less unbiased. For analysis purposes, this study divided the verbs used into two groups, that is, the favorable verbs and non-favorable reporting verbs

4.2.2 The Use of Reporting Verbs in Verbal Processes

This study examined ways through which reports that seem unbiased clearly show individual choices that journalists make. It reveals how news on specific ethnic groups is covered by different modal verbs, thus influencing the readers' views in favor of or against them. It makes sense a lot if the verb used for reporting is

"professed" or "claimed," which carries negative connotations, or "explained," "announced," or "pointed out," which are more favorable.

Depending on the context of the utterance, other verbs in the discourse, such as asserted, concluded, promised, stated, and argue, are more impartial. In general, those reported favorably are associated with the profile of the majority against the minority.

News has always been more what people say than what they do. Most news is carried out in a speech that is reported. It mainly covers discourse, with many steps involved in the coverage. Reporters, on many occasions, rely a lot on other available sources to make a report on events. This means the news is second-hand information and criticisms. One benefit to the journalist of using quotes is that they lend authority to the story (Seizer, 2016).

In fantasy writing or methodical writings, the speaker provides more importance to the people who have more significance for their theme, so the actuality that a person's words are reported in the press indicates they are measured necessary. By depending on quotes from concerned people, Journalists substitute other people's opinions for the facts of real-life situations because of the atmosphere of authority emotionally implicated to individual commonly heard voices. News discourses, the sources themselves often determine what the point is, while news writers "exclude themselves of accountability" (Tuchman, 2015).

In this section, the study divided the verbs into two parts, the favorable reporting verbs and the unfavorable ones, to show how writers use them to apportion blame or innocence when reporting news online.

4.2.3 Favorable Reporting Verbs

When reporting verbs emerge, whether in indirect or direct speech, they are always less diverse in the news events than in other types of discourse, possibly because of the impartiality aimed at by most writers. In *The Standard* and *Daily Nation* papers reporting especially on matters with ethnic dimensions, there is an absolute deficiency of the reporting verbs that give rise to thought processes, like, he pondered, he thought, he reflected," as, in universal, the reporter is not aware, and most likely does not consider what the speaker is thinking and what is in his mind at the time, unlike a writer. However, this study finds many unfriendly utterances such as "it is believed or thought.

There exists a significant distinction between the two sides in chaos and conflicts in terms of the verbs that are used in reporting. There are undoubtedly positive verbs used nearly completely to denote the speaker's side.

In an article by Mercy Murimi in *The Standard*, the writer, while discussing the activities of Mungiki, used the verbs disclose, confirm and say to address the dangerous activities of the Mungiki group; here is an excerpt from the article

members of this gang are believed to be harassing residents, sources disclosed that on many occasions, the gang has attacked residents and kept damages and distractions; confirming the incident, the area chief alluded to the fact that this gang had run out of control and needed to be stopped, he said that the gang from Kiambu was a threat to peace (The Standard March 22, 2014)

The reporting verb disclosed in this article presupposes the truth that follows in the article. It means that what is said is true because the statement assumes the truth about what the writer is saying. It also means that the reader is shown a piece of information that is highly privileged, in the case of harassment and brutal attacks on the residence and the perpetrators of those acts. In this context, the articles blame the Mungiki for

harassing residents. The writer uses the verb alluded to mention without discussing that the gang had run out of control. This means the writer apportions blame but not directly because the magnitude of the assertion is not substantial: an implicit or indirect apportioning of blame.

The author uses the verb 'confirm' in referring to our side, the side that is considered innocent without blame while citing to the other side. 'Confirm' here is used because of its connotations that it summarizes what is said in the real sense. By using this verb, the author gives authority to what has been reported using another source; the use of these verbs apportions blame on the Mungiki.

In this discourse, the verb 'reveal' is used in the same way as to disclose. This verb in this context describes an act of speech that relays what is real and accurate, and therefore it means that the information is correct. Reveal here acts as a knowledge verb.

4.2.4 Unfavorable Reporting Verbs

Unfavorable reporting verbs are used in reporting as specific discourse markers and act as a guide to the reporter's attitude towards the speaker. They are reporting verbs, whether supplementing direct or indirect speech, meaning that what the writer says has some truth in it. Verbs, such as "reiterate" and "repeat," are ostensibly neutral reporting verbs but have positive connotations. Others like "say" and "tell" are neutral and need the accompaniment of other devices, usually an adverb such as "solemnly," to make them less impartial. Verbal communication processes involve a Sayer and an Addressee. The content shared between them is referred to as the Verbiage. Saragih (2010) posited that verbal processes demonstrate activities related to information. These processes include but are not limited to saying, commanding, asking, and

offering. *The Standard of September 22, 2013, shows Al-Shabaab as the sayer. Even as Al-Shabaab claims responsibility for the deadly attack, questions still linger whether the Government had been tipped off the attack and whether the police did enough to avert the disaster.*

In the editorial, "Al-Shabaab" is represented by the article as the sayer; 'responsibility' in the article is the Verbiage. In the article, the verb "**claims**" points out to the confrontation just like the term 'defend' and 'insist.' Therefore, the reporter in the discourse represents the Al-Shabaab as unapologetic regarding the said attack since they confess and take responsibility "*for the deadly attack*" unashamedly.

Tension is high at Kuvasali village along the border with Kakamega and Nandi counties, following fresh clashes between the Luhya and Nandi communities. The violence, which broke up at 9 am has seen over 20 houses burnt, animals killed, and plantations torched by attackers.

*The Nandi community **is believed to be** on a revenge mission following the release of three murder suspects who killed one of their own in a land dispute.*

Thousands of residents are fleeing their homes following the attacks, with perpetrators using arrows to force away residents from their homes.

They have also blocked the road leading to the village leaving residents with no option of getting to safer grounds.

*Children and women are the most affected as they have not had any meal since morning fearing for their lives. **Many have blamed the Nandi** for these attacks (*The Standard*, December 08, 2014)*

In the above article, the writer uses the knowledge verb 'believed' in the phrase *the Nandi community is believed*. The significance of this verb is that in apportioning blame to the Nandi Community, it shows a strong categorical assertion in implicating the Nandi for the attack. The verb believes in accepting an assertion without needing any further proof. There is the use of the verb revenge, which indicates shows retaliating; it paints the picture that there have been conflicts or war between the two

communities. The disputes are not likely to end. The language in the article, through the use of the verb *revenge*, implicates the Nandi people as responsible for the attack on the Luhya community. The writer also uses the passive voice in indicating that other people in large numbers have also blamed the Nandi community for the attack. The use of the determiner *many* in place of the noun *people* indicates the majority of people; the value of this is that the writer, through discourse, tries to apportion blame of the attack to the Nandi Community while showing that many sources can attest to the blame.

The verb *attack* is used to apportion blame on the community believed to be responsible. The choice of this verb depicts aggressiveness in terms of action, with *weapons* being synonymous with *assault* and *strike*. The writer goes on to link these events to one community by using the verb *blame*, which in other words, is declaring someone or something responsible for a fault or a wrong. Verbs used in this article put the responsibility of the attack against the Luhya community on the Nandi. There is the verb *killed*, which means to end life. The verb *believed* in the discourse indicates that the writer is used. Still, the writer shows beyond doubt that the attacks on the Luhya community are by the Nandi; anyone reading the article can deduce that the attacks were done by the Nandi, who are on a revenge mission. The writer also uses the verb *broke up*, which is an intransitive verb which that means to develop or emerge with suddenness or a force to show how the attacks started; this serves to show how violent the conflicts between the two communities are, which this study found as sensational reporting.

This study found out that the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers employ the use of verbs that show the negative sides of ethnic relations and situations; a good example is an article below:

It would appear that every little two-bit Somali has a big dream to blow us up, knock down our buildings, and slaughter our children. They declared war on us; we thought it was a small matter that some guy in the Government would take care of us; we were wrong (Daily Nation, 2014 March 23).

In the above article, the adjective *declared* is used as a categorical assertion indicating that the Somali had a deliberate intention to attack Kenyans; *it would appear* to be used generically to bring out modality as discussed in generic phrases. The value of the phrase indicates that many things point to the fact that the Alshabaab's sole mission is to destroy Kenyans. However, it is not a firm assertion of the commitment to the truth in the utterance. The choice of the verb *slaughter* is also for the purposes of amplifying how Alshabaab kill Kenyans and how they kill other innocent people like animals: this amplifies the notion that the Somali are ruthless because this article links them to vicious and violent extremism and describes them as murderers. The writer emphasizes that the Somali resolved to fight other people by using the adjective *declared*, which means openly announcing or asserting, which shows the reader their intentions with other people.

In the article by Benard Sanga in *The Standard*, the writer uses the verb *hacked*, which means to hit someone roughly; this is meant to highlight the aggressiveness of the Garjei community. The writer also uses the adverb *seriously*, which implies an earnest intent to support the verb *injured*, which involves damage to show that the damage was of great magnitude. Adverbs are used to modify verbs and give more

information. In this case, the adverb seriously modifies the verb injured and shows the damage significantly.

The two newspapers use reporting verbs in apportioning blame or guilt when reporting on ethnic groups; a classic example is an article below

"The recurring violence is believed to emanate from the difference between farmers from the Mijikenda community and pastoralists of the Orma from the delta" (The Standard, August 07, 2014).

This article uses the knowledge verb 'believed' to emphasize a strong categorical assertion with high proof. The verb is used to show beyond doubt the writer attributes violence occurring as a result of the misunderstanding between the Mijikenda and the Orma. Therefore, the implication is that the two communities are at loggerheads.

4.2.5 The Use of Generic Phrases

Another way modality is used in the editorials on ethnic affairs is through generic phrases. These phrases come in two forms, generic noun phrases and generic sentences. They include, *there is no doubt, it is clear that it is obvious and it seems that*, an example is in the extract below from an editorial in the *Daily Nation* February 23, 2014

*"There is a frightening issue of land grabbing in Narok and Kajiado counties ala Crimea! But unlike Vladimir Putin, who has been universally condemned for annexing Crimea, no one raises the alarm against the disturbing happenings in Narok and Kajiado. It is both outrageous and appalling that this evil is done by people who are not even from the Maasai community; it **seems that** they are not ready to let the genuine owners of these lands have such pieces of land; such evil is happening all over the Country. (Daily Nation, February 23, 2014)*

The phrase *there is a frightening* indicates the states of affairs described in the coverage. *It seems* it is generically used to show how consistent the people referred to and from other communities are unwilling to shun the issue of land grabbing land.

The Standard also had an editorial on Alshabaab that used generic expressions that expressed Modality. In their discourse about the relationship between Alshabaab and other non-Muslims and non-Somalis in Kenya, part of the editorial read, *it is clear that the Alshabaab targeted non-Muslims and non-Somalis in their attacks* (*The Standard*, September 23, 2013).

The use of the expression *is apparent that* indicates that the writer intends to convince the audience beyond doubt that the Alshabaab spared the non-Muslims and non-Somali at the expense of other groups of people during the attack, that anyone out who was not of Somali origin was not spared in the attack.

Muluka Barrack, in the *Daily Nation* in an editorial, uses generic expressions repeatedly in trying to convince the readers that the Somalis are in one way or the other.

*Not all Muslims are indeed terrorists; equally, not all Somalis are indeed terrorists, but it is **also true** that all terrorists against our civilian population have been Somali Muslims* (*Daily Nation*, April 12, 2014).

With the repetition of the expression, *it is true that not* is a categorical assertion with negative polarity to vindicate the Somalis. On the other hand, the *phrase is also true* is a categorical assertion to blame the Somali because of terrorist activities. These generic phrases serve to convince the reader that the writer is confident of what he is writing and that what is saying is entirely truthful:

In another editorial in the *Daily Nation* by Macharia Gaitho, the editorialist employed the use of a generic expression to talk about the state of affairs; *This is an apparent reference to the president's own Kikuyu community, who have **borne the brunt of** attacks at the Cord rallies for **allegedly** monopolizing critical positions in the public service, and **to some extent**, also the Kalenjin community of Deputy President William Ruto.* (*Daily Nation*, June 07, 2014)

The editorialist used the phrase *this is an apparent reference*, to reveal the value of this assertion in light of modality. The value of this assertion is that the writer asserts beyond doubt the claim that the President has on several occasions appointed people from the Kikuyu tribe to serve in government positions. In doing so, the writer reveals the degree of the blame of what he is talking about. In this regard, the relationship between the Kikuyu community can be used as an example to many other areas where the President has been accused of sidelining other communities. The author uses an expression *to some extent* to reveal the degree of commitment to the truth in the utterance. In regard to the appointments that the president makes, the author appreciates that they are mostly in favor of the Kikuyu community and somehow narrows down to the Kalenjin community and the rest. The extract from the editorial below illustrates this.

4.2.6 The use of modal adverbs

In some editorials in the two newspapers, modality in some instances was expressed through modal adverbs. The following excerpts from selected editorials represent the point.

"There is a frightening issue of land grabbing in Narok and Kajiado counties ala Crimea! But unlike Vladimir Putin, who has been universally condemned for annexing Crimea, no one raises the alarm against the disturbing happenings in Narok and Kajiado. It is both outrageous and appalling that this evil is done by people who are unlikely from the Maasai community; it seems that they are not ready to let the genuine owners of these lands have such pieces of land, such evil is happening all over the Country. (Daily Nation, February 23, 2014).

The use of the modal adverb *unlikely* while describing the state of affairs regarding land grabbing in Narok reveals who is responsible for this evil. The writer uses a negative assertion while exempting the Maasai from land grabbing. This points out

that this evil act done by people who are not initially from the area is a terrifying concern that needs to be addressed.

Modal adverbs are amply represented in editorials in *The Standard* and *Daily Nation* newspapers; an extract from an editorial in Sunday illustrates another example.

*We **certainly** share this alarm of clear frustration that the Government is doing very little to protect the Kenyans from the Al-Shabaab extremists or stopping the attacks in the Country especially in residence where Somalis live (The Standard, September 25, 2013)*

In the above extract, the writer uses the adverb to indicate a solid commitment to the assertion that precedes the adverb. The role of this modal adverb is to point out the fact that the government is doing very little in the fight against the Al-Shabaab group while causing fear and anxiety among people. This adverb exposes the vulnerability of the Kenyans against the Al-Shabaab terror group. It also exposes the government's failure in protecting Kenyans who live with the Somalis.

The Daily Nation, on March 30, 2014, published an editorial that also used the same strategy. The editorialist, while discussing the conflicts brought about by cattle raids among the Pokot, Samburu, and Turkana, uses a modal adverb to exclude the Kisii and Luo from this activity. The author uses the adverb *certainly* to indicate that this type of behavior is not among the Luo and Kisii communities.

*"As far as I know, the Luo people are not into cattle rustling— which is the euphemistic way our media refers to armed, organized cattle thefts. That activity **is the province** of the Pokot, the Samburu, and the Turkana. The Kisii **are certainly not into it either**, so when they complain, as the Luo in Nyakach are doing, of rampant cattle raids across the border from the former Rift Valley Province, they are making a point" (Daily Nation March 30, 2014).*

The degree of evidentially revealing who is responsible for attacks has been shown through the adverb, *certainly* in the excerpt above. There is also the use of a modal

adverb in another extract from an editorial in *The Standard* on April 18, 2014, by Kipkoech Tanui:

*We begin with the premise that Somalia is **the nursery** of Al Shabaab's terror against Kenyans. This implies chances are high; the terrorist nearest you is likely to be a Somali but from Somalia. The question then would be, how do you distinguish who is actually Somali from Somalia? The average Kenyan would then tell you they look alike, speak the same tongue, have curly hair, fair skin and most likely are in Somali flowing garb (The Standard, April 18, 2014).*

The writer uses 'likely' to relate to the highest possibility of a terrorist being near to a Somali. This, therefore, means that most Al-Shabaab is of Somali origin.

Apart from using adverbs to articulate evidentially, writers of editorials use some extremely evaluative adverbs and adjectives to articulate their perceptions and attitudes towards the desirability or if not of the state of ethnic affairs pointed out through their coverage in the newspapers. This is illustrated in the extract from an editorial written by Protus Onyango in the Standard about the chaotic scenes in one of the political rallies in Nyanza

***In the recent past** Last weekend youths **shamefully** locked former Prime Minister Nyanza **has witnessed several chaotic scenes targeted at leaders** Raila Odinga's wife Ida in Siaya, demanding money. She had visited to attend the burial of former Bondo MP Hezekiah Ougo. Last month, rowdy youths stormed Kisumu Governor Jack Ranguma's office and disrupted the inaugural County Development Board (CDB) meeting that was to be presided over by Kisumu Senator Anyang' Nyong' o, this reckless behavior of the youth from this region continues to spike uproar (The Standard, April 14, 2014).*

The writer also uses the phrase *in the recent past* to inform the readers that these scenes targeted at leaders have been happening and that this is not the first time it is being reported, therefore concludes that this behavior has been with these youth.

In the extract, the editorial uses the adverb *Shamefully* in evaluating the behavior of the youths who blocked the former Prime Minister's wife in Siaya demanding money; this shows this behavior is not worthy of bringing disgrace or shame.

This study also found out that while describing the conflicts between communities or the evil acts of some members of specific communities. The editorialists use highly evaluative adjectives in this description, as illustrated below.

*The thought that they were guarding the village against a deadly and murderous gang did not cross the vigilantes' minds as they rushed to the scene to put out the fire. As they got there, they were surrounded by Mungiki sect members who called out the same "Bantu" code name to identify members of the vigilante group and grisly killed them. At the end of the horror, the Mungiki adherents had slaughtered 18 men before proceeding to Kiaruhii village where they gruesomely killed another seven., members of this gang are believed to be harassing residents, **sources disclosed that** on many occasions the gang has attacked residents and caused damages and distractions, confirming the incidence, the area chief **alluded to the fact that** this gang had run out of control and needed to be stopped, he said that the gang from Kiambu was a threat to peace (The Standard, July 16, 2014).*

In the above editorial, the writer used deadly and murderous adjectives to point out how dangerous the Mungiki is and how they carried out their attacks.

4.2.7 The Use of Negation in Expressing Modality

Saheed (2003) identifies negation as one of the strategies used by writers in expressing Modality in their reporting in newspapers, especially in editorials sections

Below is an extract from editorials in the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers that had instances of negation.

*"As far as I know, the Luo people are not into cattle rustling – which is the euphemistic way our media refers to armed, organized cattle thefts... The Kisii are certainly not into it (cattle rustling) either, so when they complain, as the Luo in Nyakach are doing, rampant cattle raids across the border from the former Rift Valley Province, they are making a point. Before we come to how this backward pastime targets farmers like the Luo and the **Kisii** (Daily Nation, September 16, 2014).*

In the editorial, the writer uses a negation strategy to categorize the communities under the discourse. These two categories are in terms of those who take part in cattle rustling and those that don't engage in such activities; the author indicates that the Luo are not into cattle rustling and Kisi's are certainly not into the act. The writer asserts that this backward behavior is part and parcel of the Turkana Samburu and Pokot.

Negation also manifests itself in another editorial in the nation in the discussion about the Kikuyu band politics in which they are accused of betraying and taking center stage-

"First, Kikuyus did not fight for independence for the good of all Kenyans but to dominate and exploit other communities. Secondly, Kikuyus are greedier and love money more than other people in other communities. Thirdly, like Jews, Kikuyus are incorrigible from their hate of others, and the only solution to their problem is the Final Solution of genocide. Fourthly, Kikuyus can never accept and vote for leadership from another community. Fifthly, politically, Kikuyus are not compatriots. They are the enemies – adui." (Daily Nation, February 21, 2014)

Instances of negation in the above extract are-Kikuyus did not fight for independence for the good of Kenyans. Kikuyus can never accept and vote for leadership from other communities, and Kikuyus are not compatriots. This is meant to portray Kikuyus in a bad light and to show their negative side; this is from the writer.

Another instance of negation that expresses modality also surfaced in an editorial in the *Daily Nation* on December 03, 2014:

Mr. Sang is also reported to have used parables and coded language to avoid detections, such as telling the Kalenjin that "no one loved them and they should get together so as not to allow the enemy a chance." In his evidence, the witness also named some politicians in the Rift Valley whom he said incited violence between the Kikuyu and Kalenjin (Daily Nation, December 03, 2014)

In the extract from the editorial, the writer records that sang told Kalenjins that nobody loved them and that they should get together against their enemies.

4.2.8 Conclusion

The discussion in this section on modality brings us to the conclusion that possibility, probability, and necessity are significant features of the Standard and Daily Nation newspaper editorials. Therefore, it can be noted the two newspaper editorialists are mostly concerned with presenting 'what will happen,' 'what can happen,' and 'what should happen.' Furthermore, the editorialists of the two newspapers not only report information about news happenings and events, but they also give the readers with individual judgments and stances, which are realized through different modal verbs, evaluative verbs, knowledge verbs, reporting verbs, necessity modals, possibility modals, and prediction models. It undoubtedly means that the two newspaper editorials are marked with editors' or institutional stance. To manage the readers' negative perception about the said stance, the editorialists skillful use intermediate models. Therefore, the study suggests the readers of the two newspaper editorials be conscious that the said editorials might be biased to affect their minds and manipulate opinions.

The section on reporting verbs revealed one way in which news reports, apparently, subtly, neutral, show the personal choices of journalists. It tells how the use of different reporting verbs reports different news actors, thus influencing readers' opinions in favor of or against them. It matters significantly whether the reporting verb is claimed or professed, which have many negative connotations, announced or explained or pointed out, which have a more positive to them.

Depending on the context, some, asserted, concluded, stated, promised, argued, and maintained, are more neutral. In general, those reported favorably respond to a profile of those that are regarded as powerful or those that are considered to be innocent.

4.3 Transitivity

As a tool for identifying linguistic features, transitivity is commonly used by newspapers in apportioning blame or innocence to specific groups in news coverage. In evaluating newspapers editorials, this study shows how communities are represented in discourses in the two Kenyan newspapers. This is what people are described to be doing and to who the actions are directed (Holiday, 1994).

In transitivity, some processes are involved. The processes are as follows;

1. Relational process
2. Process of sense which is also a mental process
3. Verbal process
4. Behavioral process

In news coverage, processes that are material and relational reveal what is happening outside of an individual; these processes are centered on a participant in discourse (which are the agent and the actor). Processes that are relational make use of relationships of having and being between those participating in discourse.

In an article from an editorial in the *Daily Nation* of September 22, 2013, an extract read, "*Attackers shatter the nation again.*" In this extract, shatter is the process that refers to the activities of Al-Shabaab. This process, referred to as shatter, has a powerful emotional appeal and connotation that refers to destroying a nation which is Kenya, the Nation in this context is the goal, which is affected by the process. In the same extract, the nation, which is the goal, is closely followed to the relation process, represented by the word goal. This is not the first time they are striking Kenya; that has happened before. It relates to the frequency of attacks that Kenya has experienced.

In the same editorial, the effects of the actor are revealed. *Gunmen killed dozens in a terror attack at a Kenyan mall; in the attack, the terrorists told Muslims to get out before the attack* (Daily Nation, September 22, 2013).

In the article, the author uses the word *gunmen*; this is equivalent semantically to terrorists. Here, the main focus is put on the doer of the action, this choice of the word *gunmen* reveals how this gang is represented as a dangerous terror group, and the word *dozens* shows the intensity of the damage done by this terror group. The author uses the active voice to show the actor and the agent. In the editorial, the phrase "in terror" is relational; the use of "At the Kenyan mall" is also relational. The article's author uses the circumstance to tell how brutal the Alshabaab is. The phrase "At the Kenyan mall" is the location's circumstance; it reveals where the attack happened, the agent is the terrorist, the goal is seen as the Muslims.

The coverage of attacks and conflicts in editorials, as this study shows, reveals that editorialists sometimes use active voice to emphasize the actor or the agent. The actors' roles are emphasized, reduced, or sometimes left out (Nordlund, 2003). This scenario is manifested in news coverage in editorials in the Standard and *Daily Nation* newspapers. In *The Standard* editorial about the Westgate mall attack, the writer uses the phrases *in the terror attack*, and *at the Kenyan Mall*, these are considered relational processes. In the first instance, the expression *in the terror attack* refers to the brutal attack where many lives were lost, while the words *at the Kenyan Mall* refer to the place or location where it happened. This reveals the extremely violent nature of the terror group on the Kenyan soil

In the same editorial, an extract read *As security officers move to end to the Siege at Westgate, deaths toll continues to rise*, the relational processes move to end and

indicates the efforts being made in stopping the attack. The goal here is the Westgate mall siege. In the editorial, the editorialist puts focus on the efforts by the Kenyan Government to contain the situation. The phrase *move to the end* reveals how urgent it was necessary to end this attack before more significant damages are seen.

In covering some of the issues that have been contentious in Kenya, *Daily Nation* also manifests these processes. Below is an extract from an editorial in the newspaper that shows this.

. "There is a frightening issue of land grabbing in Narok and Kajiado counties ala Crimea! But unlike Vladimir Putin, who has been universally condemned for annexing Crimea, no one raises the alarm against the disturbing happenings in Narok and Kajiado. It is both outrageous and appalling that this evil is done by people who are not even from the Maasai community; it seems that they are not ready to let the genuine owners of these lands have such pieces of land. Even as some national leaders continue to condemn this issue, the Government remains adamant (Daily Nation, February 23, 2014).

In the extract from the editorial above, the actor is revealed as the National leaders; the goal is Narok and Kajiado; the excerpt reveals to the readers how some National leaders feel about land grabbing. The writer uses the word *National leaders* instead of just telling leaders to show how this issue of land grabbing is a national concern. This injustice on the people of Narok and Kajiado has attracted the attention of National leaders, showing how serious the issue is.

Material processes in the two dailies describe the functions of the actors and the goal; these descriptions help in pointing out the perspective of the writer on the events in editorial; the extract below from *The Standard* shows some of these processes: *The more significant Majority of illegal Somali refugees run to our borders, we allow them in and what follows are reports of lawlessness in refugee camps and other areas they settle (The Standard, October 24, 2014).*

In the extract, the process is run; using this, the author shows that the Somali refugees seek refuge in Kenya. The notion that they run indicates the state of affairs from their mother country, ideologically. To run suggests moving hastily and avoiding attacks, conflicts, and wars in their country or other calamities.

The mention of the great majority of illegal refugees as the actors in the discourse in this process implies that many refugees come to Kenya, and the government must keep track; the author achieves this by placing it before the verb in the active voice.

In the discourse, illegal Somali refugees are the ones who run and are responsible for lawlessness in refuge centers and other parts where they settle. The assignment of *our borders* as the goal in the discourse is acted upon by the refugees since the goal here is inanimate; it conveys the message that if their escape through running succeeds. They get into Kenya, then the security at the border is considered to have failed in preventing the illegal Somali refugees from entering the country illegally.

This editorial, through the above extract, registers the frustration of the writer that there are Somali refugees who enter Kenya illegally. The discourse also blames the authority at the border responsible for guarding the Kenyan border for negligence. This analysis concludes that the labeling of the great majority of illegal Somali refugees as the actor in this transitive process material process depicts them as outlaws doing illegal things.

4.3.1 The Use of Active and Passive Voice

In print media, texts characterized by abstract discourse are looked at based on how formal, technical and abstract they appear. Some constructive features consist of agentless passives, conjunctions, and by-passives (Biber, 1988). Verbs can either be written in an active or passive voice to indicate whether the subject performs the

action or receives the action of that verb. Depending on, for example, how blame or innocence is to be distributed among participants of the action in events and here ethnic events to be precise, there is a choice between active or passive voice. In so doing, the role of a participant may be, minimized, emphasized, or omitted totally.

An active voice is considered when focus on the actor is desired, implying responsibility for the action performed. Thorne (1997) notes that in the present news style, the active voice is preferred to the passive voice since it is considered more immediate or forceful, more economical in terms of space, and aimed at making the news stories more emotional. This could be the reason for the frequency in the use of active voice in the news report texts in the contexts of the newspapers.

The passive voice gives the story a new orientation and creates a different focus. The agentless passive is used when the agent is obvious, as in the example below where the police engaged in running battles with people on the streets in Nairobi. The police are implied as to the agent of firing tear gas canisters.

Several tear gas canisters were fired, forcing both journalists and ODM supporters from Kibera to scamper for safety at the nearby Serena HoT (The Standard, September 02, 2014

In this example, the writer implicitly identifies the agent as the police force. The agentless passive is also used when the agent is long and unknown, as in the example below, in which none is explicitly blamed in the said killings. *At least ten people have been killed and many injured in the riots that rocked the city (Daily Nation, October 2014)*

In the example above, the speaker indirectly apportions responsibility to the police force in the injuries and killings. Even though the agents are identifiable, in the example, the omission of an actor(s) is visible. The question of responsibility, that is,

who to blame, is left open. No one is openly accused. For newspapers, one strong reason for deleting the actor could be that "the paper can imply illegal conduct without actually accusing anyone that could leave them vulnerable to legal action" (Reah, 1998). Therefore, through this strategy, the blame is not apportioned directly to any individual or a group.

The agentless passive is used when the agent is purposefully absolved of responsibility. In the example below, the agent is long and is considered between the Pokomo and the Turkana.

The inclusion of the adverbial *by agent* becomes optional, and omitting it can change the focus of the sentence as in example a b & c below:

- a) *Active*: The locals then ordered the non-local people out of town.
- b) *Passive*: People were then ordered out of town
- c) *Passive*: People were then ordered out of town by the locals

Sentence (a) is much more direct in its approach, overtly declaring the locals as responsible for ordering the people out of town, while in the passive sentence b; the focus is on the affected people. For example (c), the position of the *by agent* always creates an end focus and, in our case: the police. The mentioning of the locals appears more as a matter of secondary importance. By leaving out the adverbial, however, the emphasis is placed on *the people*. Thus, in transforming a sentence into the passive, the actor becomes less prominent, and the person or thing affected by the action is focused, still, under abstract discourse. Conjuncts are adverbials whose function is to relate (or "conjoin") independent grammatical units, such as clauses, sentences, and paragraphs (Crystal 2004). Conjuncts are mainly used as essential linking items between the clauses and sentences, as given in the examples above.

Meanwhile, President Kibaki has asked Kenyans to desist from violence and maintain peace.

The Pentagon, *however*, vowed to carry on with their planned three-day of peaceful mass protests in the Coastal area.

In the examples, the conjuncts convey the relevant connections between text parts. These linking of adverbials also serve as logical connectors of ideas rather than just mere parts of a text. The conjunct, *meanwhile*, is attention shifting. This is based on the meaning it expresses since the previous discussion had been about the commissioner's admission of a mistake in the tallying of votes. In the second;

However, the officers did not know that they would run into a well-planned ambush by Pokot raiders that would leave 21 of them dead and a nation in shock at the barbarity of the crime.

The murder of the officers is made even more tragic by the fact that most of the slain officers were young and perhaps looking forward to long careers in the police.

But the killing of police officers was not an isolated event. The incident is part of a growing number of police officers killed in the line of duty by cruel criminals. (The Standard, November 09, 2014).

In the article, the conjunct, *however*, is contrasting. It helps to contrast the sentence they introduce and the preceding sentence about the previous day's abortion of a scheduled mass action rally.

4.3.2 The Inclusion of an Agent and an Action

When discussing how newspapers use the strategy of including an agent and an action while reporting, closer underlying meanings are the syntactic structures of sentences; for example, word order or the use of active or passive constructions are considered. Thus, among other things, word order could express the role and the prominence of underlying meanings in the news items, especially when reporting matters on ethnic issues. In the description of the action, for instance, the responsible agent of an action

is more likely than not referred to with the expression that is a syntactic subject of the sentence, and that happens in the first position. Other roles, like patient, experience, object, or location, are mostly expressed afterward in the sentence.

Therefore, word order may indicate how writers interpret events, that is, what their mental models of how such events look like. If majority speakers want to alleviate negative actions of their group members, they may try to make their agency less prominent, for instance, by expressing the agent role later in the sentence, as in the passive sentence, group of Kalenjin youths were harassed by police officers, or by wholly omitting such an agent, for instance, in headlines:

Similarly, agents may also be hidden through the use of nominalizations instead of complete clauses, as in the article on the riots in Mombasa by *The Standard*, one of the lines read *The harassment of Swahili youths was a major cause of the riots in Mombasa. (Standard June 2014)* here the author does not reveal the identity of those who harassed the Swahili youths; the author does not show who was responsible for the harassment.

The converse may be right as writers want to emphasize the negative actions of out-group members. Hence, when youths engage in deviant actions, we may expect that they will be highly mentioned as semantic agents and syntactic subjects; what makes it even more contentious is the mention of the ethnic background of the deviant youths. This claim is supported by (Fowler 1991; Fowler *et al.*, 1979, van Dijk, 1991), also supports; these scholars note that it is a deliberate attempt by writers to associate the behaviors of individuals to their ethnic groups. The agent and the action are given in an article by the *Daily Nation* on an attack by members of the Kikuyu community; here is an excerpt from the article.

"The attack on members of the Kikuyu community who had sought shelter in the church of the Pentecostal Assembly of God was blamed on Kalenjin youths protesting at the results of the 2007 Presidential election, which they claimed had been rigged." (Daily Nation, April 06, 2013)

In this article, the action is the attack. At the same time, the agent is Kalenjin youths; through this strategy, the writer links the attack on the Kikuyu community to Kalenjin youths directly. The writer would have left the word Kalenjin and instead said youths from the area. By the inclusion of an agent and an action, the writer tries to show who was responsible for the attack and who was the victim. In this case, it is the communities in question. Another example of an instance where both an agent and action are given in reporting is in the article below

"Kau village was also burnt in a revenge attack by the Orma and pastoralists from Ijara in North Eastern Province. On Wednesday, four men with gunshot wounds were admitted at Malindi District Hospital." (The Standard, August 16, 2014). In this article, the action is the attack. The agent is a pastoralist from Ibarra north while the process is burning, which is represented by *burnt*. By the inclusion of the agent and the action, the writer makes it known to the reader that, indeed, the attack on the Irma was carried out by pastoralists from the Ijara Community.

The use of passive sentences like ("Mrs. Otieno was shot by the gang from central) or the use of nominalizations ("the shooting of Mrs. Otieno") can be explained by many other factors of news discourse structure. The main feature is preceding knowledge: when the readers are hypothetical to know what transpired (for example, through television coverage, as is the case here), the shooting may be presupposed by a nominal phrase instead of a complete sentence. Such a curtailed proposition may be used when part of a more substantial sentence.

In an article by the Standard on September 23, 2014, on a terrorist attack in Kenya, both the agent and the action are given; this context is "shatters," while the actor is the attackers who are Alshabaab, which refers to the Alshabaab. The actor is followed by the process "shatters" to show what they have done. The process "shatters" has a strong emotional connotation that equates to ruining hence linking the Al-Shabaab to destructors of "a nation," which is the goal. The goal in this headline is the "nation" that is negatively affected by the process "shatters." Moreover, the goal is closely followed by a relational process "again," that is, a circumstance of frequency to express the frequency of the terror attacks that Kenya as a country has experienced. This links the Al-Shabaab to terrorism, and others show it's something they have been doing for a long time.

Another example that illustrates the use of an action an agent by newspapers is found in the article below;

One person was hacked to death and four others seriously injured in fresh attacks between two communities in Bora Moyo village of Kipini area in Tana River County Residents said that over 20 men from the Garjel community, who were searching for their lost herds of goats, raided the village on Saturday evening after they smelt cooked meat, claiming it was of their lost animals

Tana Delta region has remained to be the epicenter of conflicts because it is essentially crucial to the survival of the fighting communities, especially during the dry seasons (The Standard, 01, November 2014)

In this article, the writer in apportioning blame includes both the agent and action in his article; here, the action is injuring; this is the process that is happening on the outside, the agent or rather the actors are 20 men from the Garjel community. The article blames the attacks and injuries on residents of Bora moya village on Garjel community; the goal is the residents of Bora Moyo village. Therefore, here the writer

uses language to blame the Gerjei community for the attack on the residents of Bora Moyo village by revealing the event, the actors, and those responsible for the attack.

Daily Nation of September 22, 2013, in an editorial, reported that during the terrorist attack, *the terrorist told Muslims* to get out before the attack. In that excerpt from the editorial, the actor\agent is "*Terrorist*," while "*Muslims*" is the goal. The article tells the reader how the Al-Shabaab group segregated Christians from Muslims. The process "*told*" here is meant to sensitize the reader on how the Al-Shabaab group is out to divide Christians from Muslims. This headline also has two relational processes. The first is "*to get out*," which is the circumstance of location explicitly place, and the second is "*before the attack*," which is a *circumstance* of location precisely time. The circumstances, further, show the one-sided nature of the Al-Shabaab since it appears that the terrorists made some conscious effort to target non-Muslims during the attack. The data collected also shows other participants apart from terrorists as actors. From the *Daily Nation* of September 22, 2013, below shows the efforts made to bring the Nation back to normalcy by the security officers.

However, from these examples, it is clear that the media employs many linguistics strategies to emphasize the negative function of some ethnic groups and the alleviation of the negative function of the authorities. Not many reports characteristics of sentences such as "The youths barricaded ..." as the headline or the main, relatively, their function must be deduced from explicit statements by the reader from such utterances as "during a raid," or from an action where "the police were implicated." This study previously pointed out that if it is hard to deny the even as it happened, it is then described as "accidental or as a very "tragic mistake." The Standard Published an article about the Nandi and Luhya community conflicts and gave both the agent and the action;

*The Nandi community is **believed to be** on a revenge mission following the release of three murder suspects who killed one of their own in land disputes*

Thousands of residents are fleeing their homes following the attacks, with perpetrators using arrows to force away residents from their homes.

They have also blocked the road leading to the village leaving residents with no option of getting to safer grounds.

*Children and women are the most affected as they have not had any meal since morning fearing for their lives. **Many have blamed** the Nandi for these attacks (The Standard, December 08, 2014).*

In the above article, the writer makes it easier for the reader to identify the agent and the action, the agent above is the Luhya and the Nandi while the action is the attack which is said to have led to death, the use of this strategy blames the attack on Nandi. Further, it indicates that it is an attack that was because of revenge; the writer also goes further to mention the actions being done by the Nandi, for example, blocking roads and forcing them to flee their homes, this is reporting that could arise emotions among people

In the coverage of news, especially in the editorial sections, the Mental process show verbs that reveal affection, desire, and perception, attachday (1994) this strategy enables those who use language to express thoughts and opinions that are critical in identifying their definitions of what is like in the *Daily Nation* of September 22, 2013. This is revealed in an attack where the Alshabaab who are identified as Somali origin the extract read, *attackers will never break the Kenyan spirit*, this article seemed to blame Alshabaab who are linked to Somali, the sensor here is the word *attackers* who are said to be after dividing Kenyans, in this story, the Al-Shabaab profiled Christians and separated them from Muslims, the author despites Kenyans as people who are united in terms of religion. In the above example, Kenya is the sensor that will never break. Kenyan spirit is the phenomenon.

Behavioral processes also bring out transitivity, these processes that are psychological, for example, breathing, watching, listening, and pondering winged (1994)

These processes are said to be of confusing in that they border other processes. This process is closely related to the material process; however, they involve physical manifestation *Daily Nation* on September 22, 2013, which shows an example of the above process. In an article about terrorism, an extract read *terrorism rears its ugly head again*. This process is shown by the phrase "rears—this verb presents terrorism as a challenge that is frequently experienced. The word again indicates the frequency of this terrorist attack. The articles seem to point out that Kenyans are tired of these attacks.

This section of the study looked at the transitivity process in editorial sections of the newspapers. This helped to identify a much different process that is closely linked with the ethical issue in Kenya. The process highlights the derogate and negative images for example where Alshabaab group is linked as a doer of chaotic and violent actions that causes insecurity and many challenges to other ethnic groups in Kenya worrying enough is how Alshabaab is connected to the Somali group, indicating to the fact that to a large extent they are consideration gully, the material process used to reveal them are of the semantic field of chaos murder, insecurity hatred and violence this process is connected to violence and damage, in the case of Alshabaab, Kenyans are seen as victims to their chaos materials process target pints, not to negative representation.

4.3.3 Conclusion

This section analyzed transitivity processes in newspaper editorials has analyzed transitivity. This analysis implies that it was vital in helping to position the different types of processes associated with the reporting on matters of ethnic affairs in the two newspapers. The transitivity analysis on this newspaper points out the negative image associated with some reporting where editorialists using language use this process to apportion blame and or innocence to certain groups while reporting. For instance, where terror groups like Mungiki and Alshabaab are involved as actors, both newspapers framed the group always as the doers of Violent and chaotic acts and causes insecurity and challenges to state authority (material processes). This analysis patterns revealed the predominance of material processes in the news coverage in the selected editorials. The material processes associated with the Alshabaab, Mungiki, and Youths from Nyanza during protests can be said to belong to the semantic field of chaos and violence: shatters, attack, kill, claim to injure, and rears. The analysis, thus, shows that all the material processes are related to violence, destruction, and damage. Kenyans have been represented as the victims of these violent scenes.

4.4 Over-Lexicalization

According to Fowler *et al.* (1979), 'over-lexicalization as a pragmatic approach of encoding ideology in news discourse', this happens when there is an excess of repeating of quasi-synonymous phrases woven into the basics of news discourse, leading to an increase in the sense of 'over-completeness' (van Dijk, 1991) in the manner of how actors in the of news are explained. According to Fowler *et al.*, in the media's reporting of ethnic issues between those considered majority and minority, Minority ethnic people are over-lexicalized. Those also deemed guilty of offenses are overlexicalized and closely connected to their ethnic groups.

Over-lexicalization many a times negative result as it indicates divergence from communal convention or belief and reflects the point of view and judgments from the inherently prejudiced position of cultural norms or societal prospect. In the two newspapers, over-lexicalization is evident in news articles that involve ethnic affairs; an example is an excerpt from an article below

Early last month, 15 Wakali Kwanza gang members attacked and robbed passengers in two matatus in Kisauni. These youth are aged between 15 and 20. The day before they attacked the matatus, 50 of them had been are arrested, but we are baffled how these lads, the majority of them school dropouts, can be allowed to roam the streets without parental oversight,” said Coast regional police boss Wanjohi Mwangi. Two gangs, Wakali Wao and Wakali Kwanza, have been blamed for a spate of burglaries, muggings, and killings in Kisauni; the locals have accused this youth of being people from other regions in the country, the young turks are notorious and linked to many crimes in the area.

In December last year, Mohamed Bakari, the Wakali Kwanza gang leader on the run, was stabbed to death by a mob, and his hand severed at Mwandoni. Police said this was a retaliatory attack for a gangland killing in Lamu. Security officers recovered weapons from his house and arrested six members of his gang (The Standard, April, 03 2014.)

The study notes that there is also the persistent utilization of cohesive linguistic devices to create a profile of the perpetrators as youths from different communities as just 'Kids' in this case from the Coast. The most direct and obvious form of lexical cohesion is the repetition of a lexical piece such as 'youth' or young' lads and Turks.' The use of synonymy in 'Kids' and 'lad' and other direct references to the age of the gang also contribute to the co-referentiality of youthfulness and the gang in Kisauni who are said to be non-locals

The problem here, then, is: what is the drive behind this categorical over-lexicalization of the perpetrators? Emphasizing their age and youthfulness in that open, explicit, and why repetitively? While it is practical for news reporters to give

truthful and accurate information such as the occupation and age of the key participants in a news event, it is reasonably noticeable that the purpose behind these overt references to age is not only to give accurate information but to familiarize the readers with the perception of the Mungiki in a peculiar way. Being young is questionably a justifying feature of the bad actions of these gangs, but it is apparent that the reason here is to suggest not empathy but disapproval. The implied disagreement is not so much that, 'They are young, fallible and vulnerable to bad manipulation, so please excuse the young guys and leave them out,' but instead 'see, they are still young and as early as now shamelessly and committing such atrocious crimes, what more will they be able of when they grow as s adults!', worse still the mention of the word non-local tends to infer that such things are not of the people who formerly were the occupants of that area but those who are none of that area originally.

Evidence for such over lexicalization can also be found in the following article.

A section of youths in Nyeri have criticized the arrest of young men suspected to be members of the outlawed Mungiki sect, the youth is believed to be the gang that are terrorizing people in the area, section leaders condemned the rowdy youths who disrupted meeting by the Government officials, Mungiki has been termed as a cult of extreme violence harassing residents, (Daily Nation, July 19, 2014).

These references, a sympathetic view of the age and youthfulness of the Mungiki gang, are constant; this works to their disapproval and even derogate. Additional evidence in the same articles in the news includes: the cult of extreme violence,' extreme youth and extreme violence, hacked and stabbed people times with machetes'. These situations of over-lexicalization show the brutality and extremeness of the crimes done by these 'kids.' The juxtaposition of the young Mungiki with the

very 'adult' crimes like murder, drug-dealing, and robbery generate in the brain of the reader gives an image of extreme youth and extreme violence that is the Mungiki.

As well as indicating youthfulness, over-lexicalization also draws concentration to some disparaging uniqueness of the Mungiki.

Mungiki have been attributed with a surplus of epithets ranging from cruel profound, vicious, evil, restless, and animal-like in ascending order of negativization. This has the effect of dehumanizing and hence alienating the Mungiki group from the mainstream Kenyan culture. The over-lexicalization of the Mungiki gang and their connection with the Kikuyu ethnic group parallels their inability to express uniqueness for themselves, submitting, therefore, to the community misrepresentation of them not only as violent or dangerous gangs but as evil and brutal.

While the weak in the society, as this study notes, are silenced, those considered guilty or the ones to be blamed are over-lexicalized mostly with a comprehensive, however mostly unpleasant description. Furthermore, these people are not given a voice to talk for themselves; they are treated with the compassion of those who say whatever they will. This constructs the stereotype that Mungiki is not only considered as an extremely evil and greedy group but also an estranged enigma. This deliberate 'othering strategy by the writer' reinforces the 'Us versus Them' dichotomy and further expounds on the differences between the Kikuyu ethnic group of Kenya and other communities.

4.4.1 Conclusion

This section on reporting verbs revealed one way in which news reports, apparently, subtly, neutral, show the personal choices of journalists. It indicates how different news actors are reported using different reporting verbs, thus influencing readers'

opinions in favor of or against them. It matters significantly whether the reporting verb is claimed or professed, which have many negative connotations, announced or explained or pointed out, which have a more positive to them.

Depending on the context, some, asserted, concluded, stated, promised, argued, and maintained, are more neutral. In general, those reported favorably respond to a profile of those regarded as powerful or those considered as innocent.

4.5 Use of Pronouns

Pronouns can be defined as words that function as a noun phrase used by it and that refers to itself, and also, it can refer to the participants in the discourse.

Penny cook (1994) notes that pronouns are frequently regarded as simple features, that they merely 'replace' or 'substitute for a noun that is there in the text or very clearly inferable from the context.

Penny cook (1994), however, challenges us to go beyond what he terms 'bland descriptivism' concerning pronouns and argues that pronoun use, far from being unproblematic, "opens up a whole series of questions about language, power, and representation." In a related vein, Wales (1996) notes that her work on personal pronouns is "inevitably concerned with social, political and rhetorical issues of culture, relationships, and power." Brimley (2001), discussing the strategic use of pronouns by politicians, also goes beyond 'bland descriptivism' and focuses on the critical role pronouns play in constructing identity and, in this case, how they are used in apportioning blame and innocence when reporting news online.

Pronouns play a vital role in the construction of 'self' and 'other.' They are not merely a way of expressing person, number, and gender as is suggested by traditional grammarians, nor do they only do referential and deictic work; instead, they must be

thought of in the context of interaction and in terms of the 'identity work' that they accomplish.

Discourse is divided into three dimensions: texts, interactions, and contexts. Text, which is used for both written texts and spoken texts, is a product of social interaction. In social interaction, people draw on their knowledge of the language, representations of the natural and social worlds they live in, values, beliefs, assumptions, etc. Such a process is socially determined and conditioned. About these dimensions, three stages of CDA are distinguished: description, explanation, and interpretation.

In this study, analysis is concerned with the formal properties of the texts; these are vocabulary, grammar, textual structure, etc. Interpretation is concerned with the relationship between interaction and text or seeing the text as a product of production and as a resource in the process of interpretation. The explanation deals with the relationship between interaction and social context with the social determinants of the process of production and explanation and their social effects (Fairclough, 1989).

Levinson (1983) identifies deixis as an aspect of meaning in use in context. He states that: Deixis belongs within the domain of pragmatics because it directly the relationship between the structure of language and the contexts in which they are used. Also called "indexical" or "indexical expressions," deictics are linguistic pointers that orientate reference in an utterance to "the contextual coordinates of the utterance Mey (2001). The situation of deixis presupposes a speaker who provides meaning for an utterance and expects the audience to interpret the utterance's meaning from the speaker's viewpoint.

The speaker's point of view or perspective that we would understand best the referents of the personal indexical which the speaker employs. The speaker is thus the deictic center of an utterance. The speaker's attitude and intention to the topic of discussion and the context of discourse condition their indexical use. This is realized by using personal pronouns in many contexts of use. The first person, Pronoun encompasses the speaker; the second person, on the other hand, includes the addressee; the third Person, on the contrary, excludes both the speaker and the addressee.

Even without removing time or place, it can be challenging to assign reference correctly to any utterance containing a third person pronoun (he, she, it, and they) since these have an almost infinite number of possible referents.

The use of context-dependent pronouns, also known as *deictics*, may signal perspective when reporting crisis news online, most evident in the well-known opposition between *them and us*. Who belongs to our people or lives in our country or region depends on who is speaking and with whom the speaker identifies (Wilson, 1990). In the discourse of the Standard and The Nation, online newspaper descriptions of ethnic events are carefully examined for the various perspectives that are signaled by the words used in the description. News writers seem to categorize communities by apportioning blame or innocence whenever there is a crisis; here, the issue of us against them arises, that we are innocent while they are culpable, the use of these pronouns enhances this; below are some examples

It would appear that every little two-bit Somali has a big dream to blow us up, knock down our buildings, and slaughter our children. They declared war on us; we thought it was a small matter that some guy in the government would take care of us; we were wrong. ,
(Daily Nation, 2014 March 23)

In this article, there is the use of pronouns, the pronoun used is us, our and they, our in this article used by the writer as a determiner, belonging to or associated to the writer or people identified with, in this case, the writer is referring to children who are not of Somali origin, that, there are children whom the writer identifies with and then there are children of Somali origin, the writer also uses the pronoun they, this pronoun is used to refer people or things previously mentioned, in this case, the reference is the Somali whom the writer associates with terrorism, the writer uses these pronouns to categorize people into two, us and them, the writer tries to point the blame on people who are of different ethnic orientation, that it is them that who are the Somalis that want to kill us. This labels Somalis as dangerous and violent people; the use of words seems to blame the whole ethnic group; someone reading this might get the negative perspective of the Somali people. There is also the use of the pronoun we that creates categories, we and them; in this article, we used to alienate the Somali shows the contention is between the Somalis and the rest of the other communities.

The article below further shows how pronouns are used to apportion blame or innocence while creating categories among people and ethnic communities at large

When terrorist attacks occur, it is business as usual. You will never hear of the likes of Farah Maalim. When a baby was shot, you didn't hear all these people.

All of a sudden, it's about Somalis and Eastleigh. Don't we have the right to live in peace? When attacks were happening, the likes of Farah Maalim were not offering alternatives. Some of these leaders are the more prominent terrorists..." (Daily Nation, April 7, 2014)

In this article, the writer using language creates two categories, we against them, in this case, they are the Somalis, and the writer uses us as a first-person plural pronoun to indicate the category to which the writer belongs; it is prudent to note that all Somalis might not have taken part in terrorist activities. Still, this discourse in the

article implies that it is us; we are against them; this might make other communities have negative perceptions about Somalis and always associate them with terrorist activities.

4.6 Quotation Pattern

In newspapers, possible biases and apportioning of blame or innocence in the reporting of issues related to ethnic affairs reside not only in the choice and eminence of news actors, but it also resides in the manner in which these news actors are presented as speakers who offer their understanding of, and opinions about the events in the news. Consequently, this linguistic strategy evaluates the sources and the patterns of quotations in the news about minorities. This answers the questions like who is talking, how prominently and how often they do so, what is quoted, and are news actors permitted to air their opinions? These questions are found in a broader theoretical framework that explains how the minorities reach the media and the circumstances that dictate how they are quoted in reports in the news. Patterns in quotations are a relatively straight role of news creation processes that are a sophisticated structure of text dispensation. News reporters writing about news events get involved in various strategies to get significant content about the events. For example, in the article below:

Lawmaker Danson Mungatana, who represents the area, said the killings were "revenge attacks," adding a string of tit-for-tat killings, attacks, and cattle raids this month, though on a far smaller scale. "There have been problems simmering for a while... About 10 days ago three Pokomo were killed by the Orma community," he said. "In revenge, the Orma raided villages occupied by the Pokomo and burnt down more than 100 houses. Now the Pokomo have once again been revenged by killing about 50 people. These are purely revenge attacks." Mungatana said that police had boosted numbers in the region since the attacks. (The Standard 22nd August 2013)

In this article Danson Mungatana who is the area representative is quoted directly; he explains that the attacks are revenge by Pokomo on Orma due to previous killings; this tends to implicate the Pokomo, and the fact that it is quoted directly from the area representative to many makes it more credible.

Apart from events that are considered exceptional, like riots, chaos, and demonstrations, where news reporters may sometimes play the role of direct eyewitnesses, most of this information is discursive and indirect. Press conferences, press releases and eyewitnesses reports, other media texts, wire messages, interviews, telephone calls, hand-outs, executive reports, credentials, journals, and many other forms of 'source texts' are forms of discursive material used by news reports to write their news reports. Because these source texts are typically much broader than the intended news reports, their content must be condensed. Selection, as well as summarization, is, therefore, an essential strategy in the organization of the enormous forms of textual content that gets to the newspapers daily. This study has noted that those strategies are guided by the knowledge, models, attitudes, and ideologies that newspapers harbor, van Disk, (1988). In the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers, Source texts do not only feature descriptions, Quotations or interpretations, and sources announcements of events and actions but also in evaluative statements, that is, opinions. If these are voiced by prominent news actors, they may become newsworthy in their own right. In the previous chapter, this study showed that news reports have a select schematic category, 'verbal reaction,' reserved for such opinion statements of prominent news actors. This means that the reporter will actively seek such relevant opinions. For instance, in interviews, questions about the opinions of news actors about the current events are reutilized moves of information gathering. Since most statements by sources or news actors are too long

or too complicated, they are also transformed by selection and summarization, that is, by processes that have an ideological basis.

The actual formulation of understanding and evaluation statements by sources or news actors is itself a problematic discursive process. Parts of statements may sometimes be quoted verbatim and marked as such by quotation marks and a set of declarative predicates or other discourse presentation signals, such as “she said,” “He declared,” or “According to.” These types of direct discourse do not always entail, however, that this is what the source or news actor said or wrote, especially in contexts of oral communication. Most forms of the quotation, however, are indirect or a mixture of direct and indirect speech; this is one of the many ways in which reporters use to apportion blame during their example; a good example is an article below the involvement of Mr. Sang, a journalist the post-election clashes in Kenya

Mr. Sang is also reported to have used parables and coded language to avoid detection, such as telling the Kalenjin that “no one loved them and they should get together so as not to allow the enemy a chance”.

In his evidence, the witness also named some politicians in the Rift Valley whom he said incited violence between the Kikuyus and Kalenjins.

He said a businessman, Mr. Jackson Kibor, told the mourners during the burial of Mr. Lucas Sang, a Kalenjin youth who was killed during the post-election chaos in early 2008, to prepare to fight the Kikuyu, while nominated MP Tabitha Seii told the young men: “If you are not ready to fight, I can decide to wear a trouser and go to war.”

He also said that Keiyo North MP Elijah Sumbeiywo told the youth to emulate Mr. Sang, saying he died fighting for the Kalenjin. (Daily Nation, December 03, 2014.)

By using a prominent actor, the reporter uses both direct and indirect quotation to pass across what is said; the reporter also quotes MP Tabitha directly where she alludes that if men are not ready to struggle and fight, she is willing to put on a trouser and

head to war while talking about MP Elijah Sembeywo, the report quotes him indirectly. This permits different varying degrees of distance that is noticeable in different linguistic forms between the quotation and what was said then (Coulmas, 1986).

Quotations carry many news functions. First of all, statements made by well-known news actors may be newsworthy by themselves; this is because they convey the opinions or interpretation of significant news actors. Secondly, the news becomes more active by mostly quoting those involved in the news, which the writer does; this is a distinctive function of a narrative. Thirdly, when quotations are used, they boost the trustworthiness of these accounts; since then, they are used, they point out what believable participants talk about the events in the news. The reliability is also improved by the proposition that the reporter must have access directly to a significant news actor. Fourthly, quotations are said to permit not only interpretations of current news events but also predictions of events in the future and strategies for the approaching actions of news actors. In the example below, the Deputy President is quoted as a prominent person in a case where he is accused of inciting the Kalenjin community against the Kikuyu Community, this indirect quoting is sensational, and the choice of the words in the quotation implicates Ruto and Kalenjin Community on the attack on Kikuyu.

Deputy President William Ruto told the Kalenjin to ensure all the Kikuyus were evicted from Rift Valley following unsuccessful attempts in 1992, an ICC witness said Wednesday.

Witness P-0658 said Mr. Ruto spoke during a referendum campaign on the draft constitution in 2005 in Eldoret, where he urged Kalenjin youth to repeat what they did during the clashes in 1992, only this time to ensure the job was completed (Daily Nation, December 03, 2014).

Lastly, and most significant, quotations permit the inclusion of interpretations, explanations, or subjective opinions about current events in the news, without flouting the ideological regulation that requires the disconnection of facts from mere opinions. The point of view of news actors or sources are facts, even if this allows writers to insert important opinion statements in the news reports for which they cannot be held responsible. In summary, quotations in I newspapers, especially in *The Standard* and *Daily Nation*, selected editorials to have many functions that make news articles more convincing. It is noted that an individual or group has ‘ideological’ or ‘symbolic’ access to quotations and sources in the Press if their evaluations and interpretations of events in the editorials are regularly entrenched in the description of these events. On the other hand, access is, of course, also socio-economically pre-determined. That is, to get ideological access, sources first need to find reporters initially, a process that is on many occasions is thereby organized news actors who are prominent and organizations by genres and discourse events such as press releases, press conferences, public declarations, granting interviews to chosen reporters, reports and other source texts made and controlled by sources. Only institutions, elite actors, and organizations have such possessions of organized media access (Gans, 1979; Tuchman, 1978).

Waluke said those targeted in the war on graft were coming from one community and said graft suspects from other communities were not targeted.

“We are seeing that there is a systematic move to target people from one community in this war on graft. This is unacceptable as we want this to be a clean and fair fight in the war on graft,” he said.

Waluke stated that the public service sector and various parastatals had workers from various tribes in Kenya, and it was wrong for a particular community to be targeted.

He alleged that there had been reported cases of graft suspects from other communities and wondered why they were not being prosecuted.

Waluke challenged the Director of Public Prosecutions, to come clean on what his strategy was in combating corruption instead of targeting members of one community.

"We know some people from other communities have been mentioned but we are not seeing any action compared to members of one community. (The Standard, December, 10th 2014)

It is noted that the writers use quotation patterns in influencing public opinion; in the above excerpt from an editorial, it is noted that those from the accusing communities are given more time by the standard, those being accused are not given the space or quoted for their views to be taken.

Conclusion

This section has shown that ethnic group members considered guilty during reporting are quoted less comprehensively and rare occasions than those considered innocent. Even when the topics under discussion directly involve them, they are quoted less, and even when their opinions are needed, they are assumed.

This chapter confirms the general study that the media always tries to marginalize ethnic minorities. The quotation patterns reveal how they have factually very few to talk about. The Authorities, politicians, and the police are the significant speakers during the coverage in these editorials; they define ethnic events and situations. Noticeably as speakers are representatives of key ethnic groups. Normal people are less quoted, mainly when they act as victims, and also only when they speak about that are personal: they are hardly ever allowed to air out their primary criticism of those who are considered as majority, or those considered not guilty, those who the discourse considers as innocent are given a lot of time to speak, the others are denied this opportunity through reporting when they are accused. An analysis of the patterns of quotation in the two newspapers of some significant editorials confirmed that in totality, the selection of speakers is not on a fair basis: journalists mostly tend to quote

speakers who support the position of the newspaper. Actors from the opposing side who are news worth quoted rarely.

4.7 Repetition: Alliteration, Rhyme, Parallelism

Alliteration is the occurrence of the same sound or letter at the beginning of adjacent or closely connected words. It describes a literary device in which a series of words starts with the same consonant sound; alliteration is considered one of the most prominent figures used in reporting in the media. Alliteration occurs normally in headlines, opinion articles, editorials, and headlines; for this study, those that appear in editorials are of interest; they are known because they appear in phrases that convey interpretive meanings or opinions on events in the media. Very less in the coverage of events: But far from appreciating their massive mistake, they bear on with the insincerity and hogwash, the fantasy of ethnic relations and events, in the Standard and *Daily Nation* newspapers, this style is used to show blame and to emphasize who is to blame.

In an article in the *Sunday Nation* in September 2014, an extract from the editorial read; *Face to face with the fear and fury of Mungiki gang from the Mt Kenya region* (*Sunday Nation*, 11 September 2014), the author made use of alliteration in his reporting, the same newspaper also used alliteration to report on riots that happened in Kisumu, an excerpt from the article read; *Bombs bullets, blood in barricaded Nyanza streets.* (*Daily Nation*, 27 December 2014)

The above examples illustrate how alliterations in the newspapers are mainly used when covering alleged aggression and other negative attributes of ethnic groups or mostly in contexts of tension and clashes ascribed to them, such as the chaos, riots, and violence. Their role, in that in the above case, is to be to underline the implication

or evaluation of the phrases which is certainly directed home' by the alliterations: an example is serial bomber is described by newspaper writers as "Somali serial bomber," another example is the fear and fury which appears well to writers than anger and fear and the pair "cant and claptrap" is even more negative than 'nonsense' alone. On the other hand, we have only occasional positive use of alliteration, such as a "brave bobby," which also emphasizes the evaluation. This study found only one example where alliteration is used in a phrase where other communities are depicted as victims of biasness: For example, this sentence from an editorial in the Sunday Nation, *Bias bars non-locals from jobs in Kiambu County* (Sunday Nation, 18 September 2014). There is also the use of rhyme; for example, in the *Sunday nation part article* read "must Ruto Rule for Rift valley to thrive, the writer makes use of alliteration in showing still the rift valley can still prosper if Ruto does not rule.

Parallelism is often common in reporting, and especially by *The Standard* and *Daily Nation* newspapers in their editorials sections.

For example, this excerpt from an article in the *Daily Nation*:

It was, in real meaning, not a race riot ... It was not a 'spontaneous eruption' of human misery ... It was not 'as a result of unemployment, or poverty, it was caused by the greed of the few Luo and Kikuyu warlords who under their watch other communities suffered (Daily Nation, 13 September, editorial 2014) in the above article the writer apportions blame of human misery to the warlords from two communities, through parallelism the writer can talk about what exactly caused the misery and suffering of other communities, the writer note that under the leadership of these warlords from Kikuyu and Luo other communities suffered a lot. These strategies are also analyzed in the article below

Such gruesome attacks bring out the primeval in us. Naturally, we want pitiless revenge – and not a moment too soon. But yet, our

response to those who would terrorize us is a reflection of our soul as a nation. I'm not wielding the Bible but remember this – do unto others as you would they do unto you. That's why we shouldn't wage a dumb war against terror.

Let me get some cold – unarguable – facts out. Fact – virtually all Al Shabaab terrorists are male. Fact – virtually all Al Shabaab terrorists profess Islamic faith. Fact – most Al Shabaab terrorists are ethnic Somalis. The vast, overwhelming majority of Somalis and Muslims are not terrorists; they don't subscribe to Al Shabaab and practice Islam as a religion of peace. Fact – you can't argue with these facts. Conclusion – a war on terror that doesn't accept this empirical evidence is doomed to fail. (The Standard April 13th, 2014)

In the above article, the repetition of the word fact, which means proven right beyond doubt, serves to inform the reader that what is being written is true; it emphasizes the issue, the word Somali is also repeated as the writer tries to link the Somalis to Alshabaab and terror activities.

It is noted that parallelism primarily serves in reasoning and supporting cases that are directed against groups considered as minority or those that are associated with blame; this is sometimes followed by repeated negation (“it was not ... it was not...”), or in a figure of difference (“it was not ... it was...”), occasionally combined with other figures, such as alliteration (“vicious mob ... victims”, “sticks and stones”). Exceptional importance can be accorded to the parallelism by a culmination when the succeeding propositions are located higher on a scale of significance: an example below can illustrate how parallelism is used by writers to apportion blame or guilt to groups that are considered guilty.

It is true that not all Muslims are terrorists; equally, it is true that not all Somalis are terrorists, but it is also true that all terrorist activities against our civilian population have been Somali Muslims. (Daily Nation, 2014 April 12)

In this article, the writer deliberately coils his choice of language by the use of parallelism to pass his message across; he tries to argue that all Muslims might not be

terrorists but at the end notes that all activities of terrorism in the country have been perpetrated by Somali Muslims, this links terrorism to Somali Muslims, associating the word terrorists to Somali Muslims in this, discourse seems to link the activities of terrorists to Somalis, this is ethnic profiling that in the end connects Somali people to the negative things done by Alshabaab.

It is seen that parallelism and alliteration seem to have comparable roles in emphasizing the negative features of opponents. Whereas alliteration, however, focuses on negative news actors and events, parallelism underscores confrontational progress made in making sense out of such events in the media discourse

4.8 Hyperbole

Hyperbole is exaggerated statements or claims that are not meant to be taken literally; it is a synonym of an overstatement, which is the act of stating something too emphatically, hyperboles are used like any descriptive form of language to help paint a more vivid picture. It also serves as a form of persuasion to make a case to the audience; it evokes intense feelings and creates a strong impression.

After the local semantic analysis was done, it was established that most figures were semantic and operated on meanings despite the previous ones operating at the level of sound and sentence structure. This, thus, means that different meanings may be emphasized, byways of either exaggeration or hyperbole, or deemphasized, through ways of understatements, litotes, or other forms of mitigation. Therefore, those with negative or positive actions may be over-or de-emphasized. Examples of this may be drawn from two dailies... *a guerilla campaign. (Daily Nation, 16th September 2014)*

Militant Pokot youths who masterminded the raid planned the attack after raiding the village and making away with livestock... (Daily Nation, 12 January 2014). Such

statements are seldom missing in the press, print media, and ethnic reporting. They use the aforementioned ways of emphasis with dramatization to make the information more interesting and exciting. In these ways, ethnic interactions are prone to exaggerations as they become highly selective. As the media employs these techniques, they bring about aggression amongst the consumers and may become a 'vicious attack' when used at separate events. This may eventually lead to riots. Being spat at, or being splashed with water in an ethnically-motivated talk, is represented as terror. And so on. Again, such rhetoric would be innocent or just make juicy reading in the accessible Press account of events, which is close to everyday exaggerations in conversation about happenings. However, this study found that 'hyperbolism' is not a general rhetorical feature of the tabloids.

This strategy is selectively used to emphasize and dramatize the negative events and actions in which some ethnic communities are concerned. Psychology is sometimes considered necessary to infer that predominantly in the social context, such a staged prominence on the actual or supposed negative events of minority groups "stirs up ethnic hate" instead of mitigating it. To have more consistent thought of this form of hyperbolic expression, consider the following example of what the *Sunday nation* would most likely call 'verbal terror,' consisting of most of the stylistic and metaphorical structures analysed above, in, for instance, the editorials where the Al-Shabaab is the Actor, it has been found that Al-Shabaab is always the doer of violent and chaotic acts and causes insecurity and challenges to state authority, this articles further go-ahead to link Alshabaab to Somali ethnic group in Kenya hence associating them with violence and terrorism.

In the *Daily Nation* September 11th, 2014, an excerpt from an editorial read, *and as night darkness fell over smoke-blackened ruins of a weary and s stunned community,*

fears and anxieties of more mayhem and danger loomed. Surly gangs of rogue youths from MRC roamed around the area as they were watched suspiciously by a contingent of worn-out police. (Daily Nation 11 September 2014), In this article, the author managed to use hyperbole to emphasize on community fears as darkness fell, the period when armed youths from MRC in Mombasa took to the streets to terrorize residents at the coast.

By using this term, the Writer tries indirectly to put it that this Somalis approve of the Alshabaab activities.

On the whole, however, it is the editorials in newspapers that highly exaggerate negative events that are ethnic. It can be said that they do so in common, with any form of the problem of conflict, and that, therefore, when they report on ethnic affairs, it is basically ‘in style’ with the other forms of their reporting. Nevertheless, this type of explanation would critically understate the ideological slanting involved: it is not a dramatization, negativization, exaggeration, in totality, which is involved. Rather these types of hyperbole are constantly only ever applied to specific ethnic minority groups. On 15th October 2014, *The Standard* through its writer, Ally Juma described the Kenyan Somalis as Alshabaab sympathizers; below is an extract of the editorials.

A new research report paper is calling on government security agencies to review its counter-terrorism measures that may increase the problem or youth radicalisation in the country. Majority of Kenyan Somali Alshabaab sympathizers say that the government pushed them to radicalization.

This was meant to show the view of Kenyan Somalis and their relations to the Alshabaab; this was a deliberate strategy to associate the Kenyan Somalis to the terror group and its activities.

Conclusion

From these few examples, it is seen that the semantics of ethnic coverage in the media is a big area of analysis; this allowed the study to evaluate how the media describes ethnic events, actions, and people who are concerned with ethnic relationships and how the media apportions blame or innocence when reporting. The study found out that many strategies are employed to try mitigating, denying excuses, or otherwise hiding prejudice, racism, or discrimination to blame the victims based on their ethnic orientation and to accuse the other opponents.

These are usually described negatively, sometimes faintly by unrelated side remarks, and the accusations leveled against them as far as ethnicity is concerned. Other strategies used are suggestions, implications, presuppositions, and further implied, indirect or unclear means of voicing fundamentals interpretation or opinions are used to persuade readers to adopt the perception of the newspaper

4.9 Metaphor, Comparison, and Metonymia

Metaphors are a set of the rhetorical strategy used in evaluative writing in the Media; Lakoff and Johnson (1980) note that metaphors facilitate thought by providing a practical framework in which abstract thoughts can be understood and accommodated. Based on this line of thinking, the metaphoric language that is used by the Kenyan media understudy may have played an essential role in apportioning blame or innocence.

It is worth noting that these features are uncommon in normal reporting but frequently appear in editorials, background, and column features. This study previously established that conventional lexical metaphors are used when reporting about the riots as a “war” and those who demonstrate as “guerillas.” That is, people and events

are covered by words considered very unsuitable in that state of affairs, but which keen focus on an actual dimension of such events, or people, such as their “warlike” character. Again, the riots particularly motivate the more literary-minded of the reporters.

In an editorial in the standard, part of the text read, *These are the people who have been burning the midnight oil since the clashes erupted to make sure that there is no peace among the worrying communities, they have incited the Kipsigis against the Maasai, and they are sponsored to arm the Kipsigis (The Standard, September 2, 2014)*. To burn the midnight oil means to work studiously, late into the night. Thus this statement portrays the Kipsigis politicians working tirelessly on behalf of their ethnic group to attack the Maasai in the war continuously

In the daily nation, this strategy is also evident; he told that between January and February 2013; he visited the country and that the Kipsigis were on fire (*Daily Nation, September 22, 2014*). This statement means that because of the clashes, the citizens were chaotic, that they were chaotic and would probably do the worse if the situation was not contained; the use of the metaphor incriminates the Kipsigis.

It was therefore found that in the two newspapers, various metaphors were used to represent every aspect of the process, and they were selected on the basis that was those that their audiences could easily relate to, thereby making meaning out of them.

4.10 The Implication of the Language Used in Media in the Construction of Ethnic Stereotypes and its Impact on Nationhood

The Media has been accused of propagating negative ethnicity through its reporting and destabilizing nationhood; coverage of the media on issues related to specific

ethnic groups has been noted to be biased and to follow a certain trend that tends to stereotype ethnic groups in Kenya; below are examples of how media has dealt with the above-discussed issue.

On the 8th of May 2013, *Daily Nation* published an editorial on the ethnic stereotyping and profiling of the Kenyan Somalis; the writer used a case study of the xenophobic attacks that were carried out in the Eastleigh to show how stereotypes propagated against Somali affect them. This, therefore, helps us to confirm that indeed the same media that has been accused of propagating ethnic stereotypes is also aware of this vice in Kenya; the same *Daily Nation* published another editorial on the impacts of ethnic stereotyping and profiling of the Kenyan Somalis, the writer in the editorial explained how Somalis live in fear because of the stereotypes against them, here is an excerpt from the editorial

It gets worse when there has been a terrorist attack in the Country; Kenyan Somalis watch in horror but at the same time with fear from backlash from fellow Citizens who discriminate against them in places such as malls (Daily Nation May 3)

This is just one of the many examples of documented evidence about the impacts of stereotypes on many ethnic groups in Kenya and its impact on nationhood Pauly (2009) poses the question, “Is journalism interested in resolution or only in conflict,” which is an essential predicament for reporters and the media institutions that should be looked at keenly. The media's interest in reporting can be looked at by analyzing the framing of the news. Entman (1993) notes that framing is “to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evolution, and treatment recommendation for the item described.” Also, Gamson and Modigliani (1989) points out that framing is a “central organizing idea...for making sense of relevant events, suggesting what is at issue.” In our case, two opposite

framing are prevailing as peace and conflict-based framing of news in Radikal and war/violence-oriented framing of information in Sözcü. Newspapers correspondingly manifest the features of peace and conflict journalism.

In this study, one of the essential parts or structure for this chapter is the study articles from editorials from the daily and Nation Newspapers during the reporting of the crisis.

This study found out that Social classification and stereotypes is fundamental and plays a persistent role in social awareness and judgment; even though stereotypes enables us to make meaning of the current social environment when used, they can support intolerance and bias when people are treated based on this stereotypic expectations instead of fair treatment based on available information that is individuating. Prejudice arises from stereotypic associations that are generalized and that which people possess about social classes in society. These stereotypes are then shared socially within existing cultures and subcultures through interactions by communications about these categorized people and their characteristics. Research on biased language shows the linguistic processes through which such stereotypes are constructed.

In Kenya, ethnic violence is a typical trend and has affected our continent for decades, especially after colonization. Several states were plunged into civil wars, including power and politics, injustice, greed, and ethnic division. Violence occurs in many shapes based on context and interpretation. Young's (2007) concept of violence is when the action of someone is aimed at inflicting pain on others or killing other human beings. However, violence and conflicts can also have the broader aim- of

groups seeking to achieve political goals – with power to become active so that ‘A can compel ‘B’ to do things against his will (Luks, 2005 in Pearce (2007).

Ethnic stereotyping through language use in the media in Kenya is the focus of this study section. However, Kenya has enjoyed some relative stability from independence (1963) until the mid-1980s (Gimode, 2001). It is prudent to note that there have been instances when the state of nationhood has been shaken. Kenya has over 42 ethnic groups. There have been protracted political and ethnic clashes. Worse of all, in 1991, 2000, Kenyans were killed in the rift valley due to ethnic conflicts. It is suggested that land scarcity - and its distribution – aggravated by other factors such as the increasing rate of population and land degradation, gave rise to various ethnic clashes (Brown, 2003). Furthermore, Apollos (2001) is persuaded that most of the discussions and debates about the situation in Kenya surround ethnicity, violence, and democracy.

It is supposed that Kenya’s former political leaders, such as presidents Jomo Kenyatta and Daniel Arap-Moi, sowed the seeds of ethnic violence by mostly putting their kin to political positions since independence, a situation that was also provoked by the 1991 rift valley ethnic violence (Adar and Munyae, 2001; Kagwanja, 2003). Wamwere (2003), a victim of years of ethnic tension in his native Kenya, believes that there exists a new form of ethnicity in Africa, a situation that has resulted in genocide, civil wars, and violence. He notes that ethnicity is not a negative word but something harmless and neutral that describes in detail ethnic particularity. However, he says, negative ethnicity indicates ethnic bias and hatred, a concept he thinks is currently destroying Africa. Such a concept has also surfaced on the airwaves.

With the emergence of many newspapers in Kenya, ethnic groups and individuals now use these outlets to promote their interests – enhancing social cohesion and unity,

and belonging among groups of people. Some use newspapers to promote unity peace, and not conflicts and violence. A positive reference can be drawn to Tanzania, where the *Taifa* newspaper was used to resolve land conflicts among the Maasai herdsmen in Arusha. The paper encouraged them to change their lifestyles by living together in permanent settlements, taking their daughters to school, and opening debates on ending genital mutilation among girls. However, some radios create ethnic division, hatred, violence, and bias against other communities, and the international community has particularly paid insufficient attention to the use of media, especially online community platforms, to encourage violence (Frohardtand Temin, 2007 Thompson, 2007).

In Kenya, for example, digital media was one of the media mostly blamed for its involvement in the escalation of the post-election turmoil that resulted in the death and displacement of thousands of people. This objective presents findings from the study that shows how *The Standard* and *Daily Nation* online newspapers contribute to constructing or reinforcing ethnic stereotypes that might result in violence and conflicts through language.

4.11 Fostering Peace

In the discourse analysis of the two newspapers in this study, it was found that not all the editorials published laid blame on particular ethnic communities through reporting. An example is in the analysis of chaos, clashes, and discord in the coastal region; the author is Njuguna Mutonya, in his article does not appear biased to any side; the author sounds neutral even though he gives the names of tribes. In the case of the analysis of clashes in Likoni in 1997, the writer only gives accounts on what is considered to be the basis of the clashes. The author here does avoid giving his opinion in blaming the Digo, even though he gives the names to articulate his

assertions. The extract from the article reveals shows the objectivity and impartiality taken by the author of the article in the *Daily Nation* newspaper; below is the extract from the editorial

The stake in Likoni then was the belief by some politicians in the KANU camp that unless the Digo evicted upcountry people who had settled there, their candidate could never beat the Ford Kenya candidate, courtesy of the upcountry votes like had happened in 1992."(Daily Nation July 23, 2014)

In addition, the writer avoids implying that the Digos struggled to chase away the upcountry people from Likoni. He discusses the issue in expressions of the thought potential that could be the reason behind have the clashes.

The writer of this piece practices peaceful journalism by not concentrating on one tribe in his discussions on the turmoil and clashes in the affected region. He still finds a way to talk about the situations leading to conflicts in other parts of the region. Through all this, the writer does not hold any community accountable or apportion blame to any of the tribes that are caught up in the clashes. In Tana River, for example, he holds that the Pokomo and the Orma have been long known to live in peace and that such clashes between the two communities could not develop because they had avenues of handling such problems. The following extract from the editorial point to the fact that the opinion piece aims at showing accord and exposing the credence that bordering tribes can impulsively fight one another by the very few differences in beliefs and ethnic compositions.

" The report detailed an oil exploration which had been taking place in the Tana Delta which immediately raised my interest in the near meaningless conflicts by neighbors who had coexisted peacefully for many years save for a couple of individual cases which were always resolved using the Pokomo and Orma traditional peacemaking instruments". While the conflict over land and other resources have been the order of the day at the Coast since 1992 when multipartyism was reintroduced, Mpeketoni, with its cocktail of

communities but dominated by the Gikuyu had never erupted into ethnic conflict”(Daily Nation, July 23, 2014)

The above editorial suggests that harmonious coexistence here is linked to the ethnic groups that have frequently been fighting because of natural resources. The writer of the article takes the approach of a friendly tone in his narration of the events that led to skirmishes. He shows through the discourse the clashes and violence among the neighboring communities mainly as an exception and not as a norm.

Analysis of newspapers on some of the issues that lead to tribal confrontations hardly get to the end devoid of mentioning the conflict over natural resources, land, and other issues. Through this context, consequently, most analysts are too prone to lean towards giving their suggestions through ethnic or rather tribal terms. A look at some articles discussed earlier proves that some writers are biased by using language to apportion blame on some ethnic groups for being violent by purchasing land that belongs to the feeble communities, nonetheless, in an article written by a writer by the name Ibrahim Mwathane in an editorial in the *Daily Nation*, the author uses a different means discussing the issue in contention, and, to this result a more satisfactory way of discussing the ethnic detestation and violence that begin from with areas of conflicts like land concerns in the nation. In this editorial, the author expresses unwillingness that until a time when land problems in the Coast region will sort out with and solved with moderation, they might lead to ethnic animosity. The author explains further issues that are considered to be land problems in Kenya.

Nevertheless, one of the surprising ingredients of this discourse is that the author does not mention the ethnic identities in the said forms of injustice. The author maintains focus on the terms outsiders, local people, and native communities when making a dichotomy between those responsible and the victims. Below is a classic example to illustrate what is discussed.

“There are also cases of people who used their privileged public offices to acquire government land which initially belonged to indigenous Coast people. This has left local people with many unhealed grievances. And then there is the category of sincere investors who bought the property from local people or outsiders in possession of land along the Coast and have subsequently made heavy investments. This category feels rather “trapped,” after having made genuine investments only to later be viewed with suspicion and hostility by local people.” (Daily Nation, August 12, 2014)

This study considers this approach to discourse as a beginning means of evaluating concerns deemed sensitive to the Kenyan people. As opposed to the other articles that avoided political precision and candidly talked about the ethnic tribes that could easily cause chaos, the author of this piece engages in this discourse cautiously. In this long editorial, the author does not use any words to give the name of the ethnic groups that are accused of engaging in many disputes related to land issues in Kenya. One can point out that sometimes, in discussing such issues, the editorial policy of The Nation newspaper does not emphasize the authors in being that realistic and practical when writing on issues that are of grave concern and great interest to the public. Necessarily require that the authors be as realistic and practical as possible when dealing with issues of public interest.

Therefore, it is likely to use politically correct language to manipulate how different people in society interrelate. In the view of O’Neill (2011), those who defend politically correct language think that when this language is used, it influences society in a cultured way. Furthermore, political rightness does not encourage the use of phrases and words that carry negative or offensive connotations. This gives esteem to people who can be fatalities of stereotypes in unfair ways. The use of these languages consequently can avoid unpleasant actions and harassment. The language used in this article can, as a result, be considered correct, and it aims in sowing agreement. This

language adopts a neutral advance even as it complains about the mistreatment that some ethnic groups in the nation face.

The strategy of calling for unity by the two major newspapers can also be said to help promote unity and harmony where communities exist peacefully in different ethnic groups and, consequently, front the prevention of hostilities and these conflicts. An analysis of an editorial written by Mutuma Mathiu of the Nation newspaper after the 2013 Presidential General Elections point to the fact that the press and, in this case, newspapers, can be an asset in the fight against ethnic conflicts. In this extract, the writer calls for the urgency to have discussions that are issue-based and sober politics and avoid tribal politics. The following article proves that the author is keen on observing that the country exists in harmony.

“For the sake of the future, what we need are not tribes and parties, but a couple of good ideas about how to live with each other in honesty and fairness.” (DN March 29, 2014).

In the excerpt above, using language, the author tries to persuade the readers that if they desist from thinking and acting based on tribal lines, everything will work for the country's good. This is journalism that promotes harmonious living among people; this has been noted by Lee & Maslog (2005) in the examination of tribal conflicts that engross Sri Lanka, India, Philippines, Indonesia, and Pakistan. These studies exposed that several journalists practiced journalism that disregarded peace; others practiced journalism that promoted peace. In peace journalism, the authors noted that the journalists desisted sensational language and used impartial and unprejudiced approaches and combined orientations. The article authored by Mutuma Mathius can also be considered peace journalism in that it seeks to champion the acceptance of an impartial approach to issues affecting the country. This is not the case of war journalism; it can, therefore, be said that the newspaper here has been used to call for

sober and developmental politics that unite the nation and as a result reduce the many incidences of ethnic conflicts. The results of the study are in contradiction of a study by Ndonge (2014), who established that the use of online news outlets in Kenya was a big blow to peaceful journalism. The studies concentrated on social media use on forums like Twitter and Facebook. This denotes that while some journalists engage in peace reporting, which helps reduce the frequency of ethnic instabilities, others engage in journalism that does not take this subject seriously.

From the evaluation of the two newspapers, it is suggestive that editorials take diverse forms of reporting when handling issues with various topics that may fuel ethnic anxieties. As it is expected those editorial policies in media houses about the tone to adopt in discussions, the newspaper is seen not to have a unique course that should be considered when dealing with issues that touch on ethnic activities.

4.12 The Role of Language in the Creation and Reinforcement of Ethnic Stereotypes

The media has enormous power when it comes to shaping and molding people's perceptions and public opinion. Media plays a crucial role in ethnic classification and reinforces the spread of negative stereotypes of these ethnic groups. Even though journalists endeavor for objectivity, this goal is difficult to achieve. Instead, the words, phrases, and general tone that are used by the journalist broadcast an opinion, whether it is conscious or unconscious. When someone decides to use the word "terrorist" instead of "freedom fighter," for example, it quickly becomes clear which side of the debate they are on.

Taking a keen look at the media in Kenya, a case of the Standard and Daily Nation newspapers. It is noted that ethnic minorities and Muslims are continuously

represented by negative frames, and reporting on issues related to them takes a stereotypic angle.

In news reporting, the norms and values of society are mirrored, and new norms and values are constructed. Indeed, writers influence how messages are put across and how much value these messages are given. They use specific frames, and in doing so, they highlight and select certain aspects of an event. This way, the text becomes more orderly and less chaotic. At the same time, however, other information is left out and considered insignificant. And this very conclusion of what is essential and what not has a considerable impact on how the reader or viewer interprets and values the message.

Many articles about Alshabaab in the two dailies link the Somali ethnic groups to Alshabaab, reinforcing the stereotype that the Somalis are terrorists; many media reports can be considered as fuelling negative perceptions and stereotypes. For example, in one of the newspaper articles analyzed, Nation Media Group's Managing Editor, Mathiu Mutuma, wrote statements that associated Kenyan Somalis with activities of terrorism. The following was the opening paragraph of the article:

It would appear that every little, two-bit Somali has a big dream – to blow us up, knock down our buildings, and slaughter our children. They declared war on us, and we thought it was a small matter that some guy in government was going to take care of. We were wrong.'
(Daily Nation, March 23, 2014)

Barrack Muluka, in another editorial, stated that all terrorists are Somalis. The following is an extract from the article:

It is true that not all Muslims are terrorists. Equally valid is that not all Somalis are terrorists. But it is also true that all the terrorist attacks against our civilian populations have been Somali Muslims.'
Muluka, B. (2014, April 12)

Daily Nation also published an article with statements that profile Somalis as terrorists (Makoha, 2014). The article contained several stereotyping statements indicating that police trace all explosives to Somalis. It blamed the government for allowing Al-Shabaab relatives and friends to invest in the country. The author in the article blames Somalis for refusing to integrate with other Kenyan ethnic groups by converting them to Christianity. He, in detail, described Islamic dressing as suspicious because it covers the faces of women).

The article additionally accused the ethnic group of refusing to associate with other Kenyans or even converting to the religion of the majority, Christianity. The writer also accused the Somalis of refusing to learn Kenyan languages.

The stereotype that Somalis are terrorists is reinforced in the articles above; the writer alleges that all terrorist activities against our civilians have been perpetrated by Somali Muslims, creating animosity among the Somali and other ethnic groups in Kenya.

Taking an example from the Netherlands and its media, ethnic minorities and Muslims are constantly covered by negative frames. Stories about “Moroccan youth” and crime are frequent; indeed, the structures that are used to explain these groups, their Dutch nationality is often ignored, their ethnicity is emphasized, and they are more often related to crime, dependency on social services, terrorism, unemployment, and drugs than autochthonous Dutch people. Concurrently, the religious background of these groups is oversimplified and considered to be the cause of this negative behavior. Socio-economic factors are neglected, even though such factors are a much better predictor of negative actions in societies. The findings on using these frames are that minorities are being stereotyped and stigmatized. It is thus not shocking that

many people from these minorities are not satisfied with how they are represented in the media. They do not feel like they are being taken seriously

An example of this situation is in the article below

“The Rift Valley tribes, the Turkana, Samburu, and Pokot, have opted to stick to this “warrior mindset” of cattle raiding; this is dangerous because people get killed in such raids..... We all saw what happened in 1991, 1992, and 1997. It happened again in 2007 but a different context. ” (DN March 30, 2014)

The author, by use of language, heaps blame to three ethnic communities for the skirmishes that took place during elections; this might not be the case because the ethnic clashes and violence that took place were spread across many communities. The Kisii and Luos going through this article may begin to look at the continued stay of the Samburu in their areas as violent and murderous enemies; this might inform them to resist and protect themselves from. This negative profiling of tribes can result in ethnic animosity and hatred; this is further supported by Sigona (2005) and Pusca (2010); in his study about the negative profiling of Roma people, he asserts that the fetishizing of nomadism of the Roma people across Europe is similar to ethnic stereotyping and this the first step for developing insecurities and fears tribe.

He notes that there are political and cultural tendencies to aestheticize and fetishize the Romas, and this has led to stereotyping, and this is the first step for creating insecurity of this ethnic group.

The writer appreciates the existence of political and cultural tendencies to aestheticize the Romas and thus has led to stereotypes. These stereotypes have been significant in creating and spreading hatred for Romans; these stereotypes can be observed in the discussion in the article written by Gitau Warigi. In this situation, Pokots Samburu and Turkana, like the Roma people, could be fatalities of conflicts fuelled on the basis

of ethnic identities arising from the newspaper. Just as Romas have been stereotyped as nomad people, the Samburu, Turkana, and Pokot are described as cattle raiders, which are a stereotype. The stereotype discussed in this article is vivid and should have been looked at or moderated before publication. The implication of such reporting and writing in this article is that the language used could fuel violence and hatred; nonetheless, it is far beyond the capacity of this study to judge the editorial policy of this newspaper, from this article in the daily it can be said that the opinion could be connected to stereotypes of some ethnic communities in Kenya, However, the author may not have had these ill intentions when writing the article the words in this article reveals, that this content could lead to stereotyping, this discourse where communities experience suffering as victims of stereotypes could result to violence or conflicts.

Media houses should be resourceful to a nation, especially after periods of conflicts, violence, or instability. After the case of the 2007-2008 electoral violence, newspapers have been writing and publishing articles discussing what might have caused the violence and measures that could be put in place to ensure that the nation never finds itself in that situation again.

An article published in *Daily Nation* on 6th April 2014 by Emmar Onavl' is one of the articles which, in the opinion of this study, does not seek to find peace and reconcile in the tribes.

In this article, the author complains about the lousy affairs of the grave where the Kiamba Church victims' bodies were interred; the author tries to connect the two cemeteries with one at the area of Sachangwan where people died to a fire from a petrol tanker were buried. One thing that should be remembered is that the two types

of deaths were not related; the previous comprised of victims from the Kikuyu community and the latter of victims from the Kalenjin tribe; the writer, through language, portrays that the Sachangwan cemetery has received good care and is well kept. Still, the cemetery at Kiambaa has been left in shackles.

The discourse on the comparison through the ways these cemeteries have been kept shows an attempt by the writer to use metaphorical devices to demoralize another ethnic group. In discourse, it is probable to use hyperbole and metaphor, and irony to concentrate on the bad sides of one group and the good side of the others. This is obvious enough that this article may escalate the situation where those who read this article may take sides and develop against the side perceived to be the enemy, as shown by the writer.

Even though the intentions of this article could be noble, to spirit can be said to have been well calculated to cause discomfort and to accuse the Kalenjin ethnic group. Some of the extracted paragraphs from the article are used to analyze the possibility to elicit ethnic conflicts.

The attack on members of the Kikuyu who had sought shelter in the church of the Pentecostal Assembly of God was blamed on Kalenjin youths protesting the results of the 2007 presidential election, which they claimed had been rigged (Daily Nation April 6, 2014).

In the extract from an editorial above, language use is victimizing one ethnic group and then blames the other for the hostility; it might be true that this attack was on Kikuyu ethnic group, it is not automatic true to say that this was done by Kalenjin youths although evidence might have it that the perpetrators came from this community, the way language is used when writing this article makes it look like all youths from the Kalenjin ethnic community are to be held responsible for the attack. The writer, according to this study, could probably have written ‘some youth from the

Kalenjin community or some youths from the Rift valley; this phrase would then not indict the entire community of this tragedy and blame and make it very understandable that only a segment of youths from the community was involved in burning the church, Santax has been used here to apportion blame to a whole community of the Kalenjins.

The writer uses active sentences to implicate the action to a whole community. Rather than the use of the Kalenjin's word in the passive state, he has resolved to accentuate that these youths are Kalenjin as an alternative of saying that they are from the Kalenjin Community, this is bound to bring fresh memories of hatred among the Kikuyu and Kalenjin Community, such assertions need to be avoided.

In the same editorial as an extract reveals below, the author demeans the Kalenjins by insisting that out of the six people on trial; three were Kalenjins

The event that became widespread in the country's history resulted in an indictment for crimes against humanity by the International Criminal Court at The Hague. Three of the six people who were wanted for the trial were Kalenjins (DN April 2013).

In this article, the writer deliberately made it known that half of the people who were accused people were from the Kalenjin Community; the writer does this by including numerical. This approach can be compared to how the media covered the Kargil and Gujarati riots between Muslims and Hindus, Chatterly (2004) found out that media discourse resorted to demonizing the enemy. The media that favor Muslims portrayed the Hindus as the violent ones, while those that supported Hindus talked negatively about the Muslims. This is the same situation that can be seen in some articles in the two online newspapers; such situations can arouse emotions, and communities might find themselves in conflicts that eventually may lead to violence which has disasters

As an implication, using language for apportioning blame or innocence when reporting online on ethnic communities while giving the identity of victims in the clashes can be disastrous.

In an editorial that talked about the clashes between Orma and the Pokomo in 2013, the identity of the victims is given

Kau village was also burnt in a revenge attack by the Orma and pastoralists from Ijara in North Eastern province. On Wednesday, four men with gunshot wounds were admitted to Malindi District Hospital (Standard Aeg. 16, 2013).

Here it is evident that the writer covers Ormas as the aggressors and the Pokomos as those on receiving end; such reporting can make the Pokomos want to alleviate. It should be at the writer's discretion to choose the best possible way of passing the message to the audience. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that the writer should not try to explain in his ways the genesis of the crisis.

This study also analyzes the discourse on the key appointments made by the presidents; this is about how the positions are made on ethnic lines; the writer notes that big and major appointments are shared among the Kikuyu and, to some extent, the Kalenjin community of the deputy president, this reinforces the stereotype that its Kikuyus majorly and Kalenjin who benefit from the government, the writer alleges that the key positions have been monopolized, this magnifies the assertion that Kenya belongs to two communities.

It's good to note that ethnicity does not comprise part of the qualification. The writer implies that the selection of people to head this bank is selective, the extract from the editorial below reveals this.

This is a clear reference to the president's own Kikuyu community, who have borne the brunt of attacks at the Cord rallies for allegedly monopolizing key positions in the public service, and to some extent also the Kalenjin community of Deputy President William Ruto. The

suggestion, then, was that the Mpeketoni attack was not just a random action, but one targeted directly at the Kikuyu, a unique majority population in the settlement scheme established in 1960 in the Coast region by President Jomo Kenyatta. (Daily Nation, June 7th 2014)

These assertions are sensationalists, according to this study, and may lead to ethnic animosity and confrontations. According to the knowledge that there has been grave unemployment issues in Kenya, and nepotism and tribalism have been blamed in this area; one of the areas of conflicts and confrontations in this country is the appointment of certain tribes to state jobs. Many people have blamed the Government for these issues; it continues to escalate.

The writer goes on in the article to emphasize that the nation could fall into conflicts if the president does not look into this issue of state appointments and ethnic balance in his appointments; he quotes Karl Marx. The latter is one of his speeches that said that s history and what great and prominent people do frequently repeats itself, first like a disaster and later on as a mockery. The writer then advises the President that he would not love to witness his presidency in catastrophic or bizarre terms.

In his thought, the writer calls for aggressive revolutions and confrontations, taking away of private property, and demark totalitarianism of masses (Marx of Engels 2002). This on the proposition of an author who implies that the ethnic groups that have amassed wealth could also end up in the way described by Karl Marx.

The author reduces the whole ethnic community to job appointments in the Central Bank. Golay (2009) finds fault with this method of handling discourse on ethnic identities and inclusion.

Looking at the discussion of the problem of segregation based on ethnic identities of the Gorkia in India, the writer thought that such an approach was most likely to

construct tribal identities in the first stages and risked making inappropriate conclusions. The country can run into extreme conflicts and violence because of ethnic exclusion.

In the article, the close association of the people from Nyanza with violence by the use of language that connects them to violent acts reinforces the stereotypes that Luo people are violent and do not love peace; the use of words like riots, mobs demonstrates, when referring to activities in this areas creates a picture in the minds of other tribes is that Luo is the people who cause chaos in Kenya, in the same article the writer exonerates other ethnic groups from thus behavior by using moderate words to describe the same events when they happen in their backyard, this is an implication that disturbances and violent is a behavior that is associated with people from the Luo community, this breeds hatred and animosity among the Luo and other communities.

In Kenya, critics posit that the Odinga dynasty has used rigging claims to remain relevant and stem revolt, particularly in Luo Nyanza politics after a series of electoral losses in 1992, 1997, 2007, and 2013. As citizens, Mr. Odinga and other Kenyan leaders have both a moral and legal responsibility to supply evidence to back their claims of planned electoral fraud – preferably channeled through the institutions established by our constitution. Populist rigging claims are a potential tinderbox and should not be entertained in 2017.

The author here implies that the Luo also has been responsible for violence, revolutions, riots, and rigging. This is a stereotype that Luo like revolts and violence.

This article had made people evolve in association with Muslims; with this article, where language directly associates terrorism with the Somali ethnic group, there are high risks of violence as other communities view Somalis as terrorists.

In the article about Mungiki, the gang is reported to be recruiting young teenagers into mugging and breaking into various premises; the young lads are now a very

dangerous criminal gang that also collects money as protection fee in public transport; this gang is said to be funded by some Kikuyu politicians. Standard 23rd October 2014 by Kennedy Gichuhi. The activities of the Mungiki in this article are extended through generalization to the entire Kikuyu community in Kenya; the writer of the article uses over-lexicalization and further links the activities of the Mungiki to some politicians who are Kikuyu, the linking of this gang to Kikuyu politicians is not necessary, This represents stereotyping in its most uncovered and ugly forms. The often irrelevant reference to the perpetrators as Kikuyu is, repeated often enough, gives the impression that being Kikuyu is synonymous with criminal

The investigation of rhetoric and style, that is, the strategy for the formulation of news discourse, additionally agrees with the findings in the earlier chapters of this study. What prospect may be blameless variations of lexical variety or rhetorical creativity at first seems to be a slight - and frequently not subtle -way to indict the enemies of the alternative media and rhetorically to highlight such evaluations. While significant parts of custom news reports might have a more unbiased style of reporting, the critical parts, which describe and assess ethnic situations, will frequently be used by the media

Media, in this case, the Standard and Daily newspapers, works to construct negative descriptions of some actors categorically in place even before the reader begins to understand the other part of the news report. Editorials, where opinions are projected, are still less reserved with lexical exploitation, which are drawn largely from the field of warfare, animal life, mental health, or opinionated cruelty. For instance, those considered enemies are either described as extreme or foolish, and at times as serious criminals and dangerous people, Style, and similar crust of the earth. There is little doubt about the position of the media in this kind of coverage and editorializing.

Ethnic minorities, leftists, and anti-racists are not the only victims of these forms of ethnic-spoken hostility. The many hundreds of readers of the newspapers also become involved when daily faced with this rhetoric of race hate. In the next chapter, we investigate how the reading public reacts to the more subtle reporting about ethnicity in Kenya. We may then also begin to answer whether it is the Media that instills or confirms underlying prejudice and ethnic stereotypes or whether it merely reflects what most readers think anyway.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study sought to find out how online media discourse can lead to ethnic stereotyping in Kenya through language use. In the research, two newspapers were analyzed. The online versions of newspapers were searched, and articles that dwelt on issues and topics of ethnic conflicts and stereotyping were identified. The *Daily Nation* newspaper and *The Standard* newspaper were the media that were analyzed. Critical discourse analysis was used as the theoretical framework to assess the content of the media. This section presents the summary of the findings.

5.1 Summary of Findings

The current study investigated the language used in online newspapers to apportion blame and innocence. Mainly the study focused on expressions that imply and visualize ethnic stereotyping characterized their writing. The articles under consideration favor specific terms and language style based on sense impressions, probably to intensify anxiety, fear, disgust, and curiosity. Readers look at these articles and notice the grim picture of the ethnic stereotypes presented, which convinces them to read-to find out the appalling details in the body of the story. The stories become ‘must read’ for the readers.

The study found out those writers of the two newspapers categorically used lexical items to apportion blame to communities and hold them capable in times of crisis. The writers employed the inclusion of an agent and an action when reporting on aggressive behaviors to apportion blame while apportioning innocence to other communities. Over-lexicalization was used to strongly apportion blame to communities. The writers of the editorials used pronouns, figurative language, and quotations patterns to separate the perceived innocent sides from those alleged to be

perpetrators of the rogue acts. Specifically, pronouns were used to create the two sides and distinguish us against them, we against them. The study found out that newspaper writers use passive voice to strongly and categorically apportion innocence to communities that are considered not to blame.

This study found out the two leading newspapers that are *The Standard* and the *Daily Nation*, have a significant influence on the readers and that the media favors specific topics, styles, stories, and quotations or stories to favor the message they want to communicate to their audience. Therefore, in the media, the concerns and interests of corporate leaders or politicians are covered with more sympathy than those of socially or liberally inspired conservative elites who are considered to be “softer. Secondly, the media is powerful in shaping public opinion via its discourse.

Styles, stories, rhetoric, and topics are geared towards an ethnic situation definition that confirms prevalent attitudes and stereotypes among large portions of the conservative media. In this regard, the numerous violence and crime stories and the coverage of riots appeal to the insecure feelings among many readers. The stories reinforce the opinion of the public on ethnic affairs that news writers need to be aware of to be re-elected. In this regard, the media is not only powerful in manipulating inter-elite communication but also in the vital role it plays in persuading the definition of the public’s ethnic situation. While the elite can access other communication and information sources, it is only occasionally, at least for ethnic affairs issues, for the white population, including those in “mixed’ neighborhoods. Therefore, ethnic opinions of the press share a close resemblance in Kenya.

Because most readers get information on ethnic groups mainly from the press, the hypothesis that the media writes ‘what the public thinks’ may be safely rejected. Both

the fieldwork and discourse analyses have demonstrated that users of the media form detailed knowledge on ethnic events at certain times despite evident discrepancies in their ethnic attitudes and opinions. This disparity is constrained closely by the latitude of opinions that access the press. Further, the comparison between how various ethnic laced stories are covered by the Kenyan media also reinforces the assumption that was once defined as negative or positive by the media; such groups are largely confronted with similar attitudes from the public.

The media selects ordinary people's spontaneous opinions and letters that are consistent with their ethnic ideology to manipulate the opinion of the public. In this regard, the media has numerous symbolic and institutional resources that enable it to play a significant role in forming an ethnic consensus that is broadly shared. Ethnicity is ideological as presupposed by racial practices; it's precisely this discursive and ideological power of the media that is vital in legitimating and forming such a consensus.

Thirdly, the ideological role, in particular, more so of the right-wing media, becomes especially clear in its brutal attacks on its highly influential competitors ideologically in defining the situation, researchers and educators and, to a lesser extent, opinion leaders or liberal; writers and left-wing politicians.

Even though there are certain domains where the media is less powerful symbolically, it goes a long way to limit the influence or power of its competition. These interpretations and conclusions on the media's role are essential for the negative airing of ethnic issues in the right-wing tabloid media, but numerous examples have demonstrated that.

5.2 Conclusion

For the conservative quality media, the study determined that the liberal media does not especially favor the ethnic situation interpretations of their competition. Research that is anti-ethnic, more so about the media itself, is usually ridiculed or ignored by the newspapers that are liberal too, while research findings confirm that more attention is paid to prevailing ethnic stereotypes as is the case for research on deviant behavior or cultural differences of certain minority group segments.

Finally, this research about the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspaper on the coverage of ethnicity in the media discourse in Kenya reinforces the claim of recent studies on ethnicity that the processes of reproduction involved are determined by news writers. However, it does not imply that ordinary people lack ethnicity or that resentment against other ethnic or racial groups may not arise from the grassroots level, more so in apparent or real competition among groups and direct ethnic conflicts. Nevertheless, the study determined the influence is directed from top to bottom.

Ethnic ideologies are learned and not innate. A large social learning section is operated through mass media and formal education. It is not solely the responsibility of reporters for the news stories that are biased but also the chief editors that sign and accept the stories. The ideologies of ethnic parties are often inspired by leading politicians or intellectuals, as with UK's Enoch Powell. In Kenya, ethnic politics has produced ethnic kingpins among the leading political elite ethnic groups who have equally formed political parties along the same ethnic lines. Such parties are rarely prohibited because of the usually opportunistic policies not only of the right but also the political elite. However, such views that are extremist do not portray either ethnicity or racism reproduction by the elite.

The study concludes on objective 3 that, initially, when labeling people, the category label types that we select reflect the existential cognition of social categories. Secondly, once the target persons are labeled as belonging to a certain category, individuals tend to communicate mainly information that is stereotype congruent over incongruent information. The study finally has demonstrated numerous biases on how data is formulated about ethnic groups that are categorized.

The formulation differences such as explanations, irony, abstractions, and negotiations reveal subtly whether or not the behavior of a target was expected stereotypically speaking. Behavioral information in line with knowledge on the social category that is stereotype consistent is differently formulated compared to information that is stereotype inconsistent or incongruent. Social stereotyping and categorization are related to the use of language. Besides, language reflects the singled-out categories for stereotyping and is among the primary carriers of stereotyping information associated with the categories. Various complex societal challenges result from stereotypes on social categorization and the behavioral tendencies and affective reactions towards members of the category that they may elicit, such as tensions, prejudice discrimination, and racial, sexual, religious, gender, and ethnic conflicts.

From these interpretations and conclusions, it is apparent that the first role played by the media in ethnic reproduction cannot simply be evaluated going forward by giving examples of evident bias on anti-racists or minorities or listing their stereotypical topics. Because its role is mostly ideological and symbolic and therefore biased on discursive practices, a thorough discourse-analytical technique is necessary to explain and describe the subtleties of reporting on ethnicity systematically. Secondly, the researchers determined that this symbolic and reproductive role of the media isn't

isolated but linked in numerous ways to the elites or economic, power, and political institutions. The impacts for the reproduction processes of this ideological or structural position of the media in relation to other institutions should be examined further in the theoretical framework presented by the book on some brief elements such as in terms of media sociology and the political economy.

Finally, more insight on the most complicated issue of the reproduction problem is necessary, that is, the media's role more so of the meanings and structures of its reporting, in the attitude formation and opinion process of the public. An interdisciplinary theoretical framework that is complex on the uses, social cognitions of press users changes and acquisition structures and their cultural and political contexts is necessary for such an account.

In sum, although the research has attempted to explain answers on the core issue about the discursive nature of the media's ethnicity reproduction – the agenda still entails most of the crucial issues of the problem.

5.3 Recommendations

The study recommends applying editorial policies in regulating the reporting on ethnic affairs in the editorials of the two newspapers, especially during crises moments. This is on the basis of the findings that the strategies used in reporting and the language use in this section could be a basis of ethnic animosity, profiling and clashes due to the stereotypes that enhance intimidation and evoke feelings of the need for defense and revenge. This study also recommends that editors should tone down the discussions in the editorials on matters that can escalate ethnic tensions and animosity in the country. This research focused on ethnic stereotypical speech digitization in Kenya. Further inquiry should be done on other different types

of hate speech, such as religious hate speech, racial and gender hate speech. There is a need for further investigation on the impact of digitized ethnic stereotypes on target groups or individuals.

Ethnic stereotypes seem like a phenomenon firmly established in the digital space in Kenya. The findings from this research reinforce the Umati 2013 report that indicates that Kenyan political events and crises moments are the primary triggers of hate speech motivated by ethnic stereotyping. Ethnic stereotypes in the Kenyan digital space arise during political events such as election campaigns and intensify when it involves warring politicians. The ethical hate speech before and after Kenya's general election, conducted in 2013, was more evident in the Media. The increase of ethnic stereotypes in the nation resulted from increased mobile usage, internet connectivity, and increased the use of online newspapers that as this study suggests have been the main avenues for the spread of ethnic stereotypes.

The research showed that the disseminators of ethnic stereotypes in the digital media had varied goals ranging from violence, moral subordination, or hatred. However, the magnitude of unsociable and rude speech displayed by the ethnic stereotypes on the Kenyan digital media as this study finds out is horrifying. Ethnic Stereotypes and their accompanying ethical issues raised are detrimental to Kenya's welfare and its citizens. Ethnic Stereotypes in media increase the volume and speed of such messages, thereby increasing the destruction it has on national cohesion. The study therefore recommends that there is need to ensure that ethnic stereotypes are carefully filtered when the reporters write in the newspapers on matters ethnic stereotypes,

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APPENDICES

Article 1 by Ally Juma –*The Standard* 12,10,2014

A new research report paper is calling on government security agencies to review its counter-terrorism measures that may increase the problem of youth radicalisation in the country. Majority of Kenyan Somali Alshabaab sympathizers say that the government pushed them to radicalization

Article 2. (*Daily Nation* January 10, 2016) By Prof Kagwanja- Link: <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/lifestyle/article/2000094927/kenya-ponders-terror-attack-as-reports-say-insurgents-now-revive-their-ea-cells>

In Kenya, critics posit that the Odinga dynasty has used rigging claims to remain relevant and stem revolt particularly in Luo Nyanza politics after a series of electoral losses in 1992, 1997, 2007, and 2013. As citizens, Mr. Odinga and other Kenyan leaders have both a moral and legal responsibility to supply evidence to back their claims of planned electoral fraud – preferably channeled through the institutions established by our constitution. Populist rigging claims are a potential tinderbox and should not be entertained as we head to 2017.

This article is considered a crisis article because the issues in it touch on elections that have been a reason for much violence and ethnic hatred in Kenya; the 2007 post-election violence claimed almost 1000 lives, with thousands being displaced and a lot of property destroyed.

Article 3 *Daily Nation* February 23, 2014 Link:<https://nation.africa/kenya/blogs-opinion/opinion/maasai-risk-been-driven-from-their-grazing-lands-967086>

“There is a frightening issue of land grabbing in Narok and Kajiado counties ala Crimea! But unlike Vladimir Putin, who has been universally condemned for annexing Crimea, no one raises the alarm against the disturbing happenings in Narok and Kajiado. It is both outrageous and appalling.

Land grabbing in Kenya is a very contentious issue; there have been a lot of cases that revolve around land issues, the land has been grabbed and even families killed because of this issue; it has generated a lot of hatred among many communities.

Article 4. (Daily Nation March 30, 2014) by Ahmednasir Abdulahi Link:<https://nation.africa/kenya/blogs-opinion/opinion/maasai-risk-been-driven-from-their-grazing-lands-967086>

A small and weak pastoralist community is being systematically overrun by powerful neighbors who have set their insatiable appetite and wandering eyes on their grazing land. Despite the widespread disposition of their ancestral grazing land, many Kenyans are oblivious to the plight of the Maasai community that faces not only the destruction of a way of life but also definite political marginalization.

At this rate, the Maasai will be completely overrun by their neighbours. Of the two counties, Narok is in a dicier political state. Within two decades, the Maasai will probably constitute a negligible political minority in both counties. They will then be disenfranchised and unrepresented in all political organs of the state, including the National Assembly.

There have been many instances of ethnic violence among pastoralists communities, and many people have lost lives; these lives have been lost because of violence and war as communities fight for grazing lands.

Article 5. (Daily Nation March 30, 2014) Link:<https://nation.africa/kenya/blogs-opinion/opinion/take-deliberate-steps-to-probe-and-punish-youth-incident--967100>

“As far as I know, the Luo people are not into cattle rustling– which is the euphemistic way our media refers to armed, organized cattle thefts. That activity is the province of the Pokot, the Samburu and the Turkana. The Kisii are certainly not into it either, so when they complain, as the Luo in Nyakach are doing, of rampant cattle raids across the border from the former Rift Valley Province, they are making a point.”

Article 6. (Daily Nation, September 16th, 2014) By Gitari Warigi Link:<https://nation.africa/kenya/blogs-opinion/opinion/take-deliberate-steps-to-probe-and-punish-youth-incident--967100>

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The Kisii are certainly not into it either, so when they complain, as the Luo in Nyakach are doing, of rampant cattle raids across the

border from the former Rift Valley Province, they are making a point. Before we come to how this backward pastime targets farmers like the Luo and the Kisii, it is important to cite some cultural and historical references. For the Turkana-Samburu-Pokot orbit, cattle raiding has been part of their life. You prove your manhood by how many cattle raids you participate in against the neighbours.

It is more or less like aspiring Maasai morans would set out to kill lions. This led to induction as a full-fledged warrior. For the cattle rustlers, they also become marriageable material; they now would have plenty of animals to pay dowry. Happily, the Maasai have gone beyond that lifestyle. You only see it on tourist postcards. They no longer attack neighbors for cattle. Modernity caught up with them. They don't even kill lions unless the Kenya Wildlife Service fails to remove troublesome big cats that attack their livestock.

Cattle rustling and raiding is one of the issues that has brought tension and hatred among many communities, especially the ones that are pastoralists; many of these communities have engaged in fights and lives have even been lost

Article 7. (Daily Nation April 6, 2013)

Link: <https://nation.africa/kenya/counties/kiambaa-a-monument-to-man-s-evil-ways--763432>

“The attack on members of the Kikuyu community who had sought shelter in the church of the Pentecostal Assembly of God was blamed on Kalenjin youths protesting at the results of the 2007 Presidential election, which they claimed had been rigged.”

The presidential election of 2007 was marred by violence that claimed almost 1000 lives, with people being displaced and destruction being witnessed; the aftermath of this election is one of the darkest moments that Kenya has gone through.

Article 8. (Daily Nation April 6, 2013) Link: <https://nation.africa/counties/Kiambaa-a-monument-to-mans-evil-ways-/1950480-1139928-format-xhtml-vbiotk/index.html>

“The event that became a watershed in the country's history has resulted in indictments for crimes against humanity by the International Criminal Court at the Hague. Three of the six people wanted for the trial are Kalenjins.”

“...the stake in Likoni then was the belief by some politicians in the KANU camp that unless the Digo evicted upcountry people who had

settled there, their candidate could never beat the Ford Kenya candidate, courtesy of the upcountry votes like had happened in 1992.” (Daily Nation 23, 2014)

Article 9. (Daily Nation July 23, 2014)

Link:<https://www.theafricareport.com/6298/kenyas-tana-delta-burning/>

“The report detailed an oil exploration which had been taking place in the Tana Delta which immediately raised my interest in the near meaningless conflicts by neighbors who had coexisted peacefully for many years save for a couple of individual cases which were always resolved using the Pokomo and Orma traditional peacemaking instruments”. While conflict over land and other resources have been the order of the day at the Coast since 1992 when multi-partyism was reintroduced, Mpeketoni, with its cocktail of communities but dominated by the Gikuyu had never erupted into ethnic conflict....”

Article 10. (Daily Nation August 12, 2014) Link:<https://nation.africa/kenya/blogs-opinion/opinion/historical-land-grievances-at-the-coast-and-elsewhere-must-be-carefully-settled--1013794>

There are also cases of people who used their privileged public offices to acquire government land which initially belonged to indigenous Coast people. This has left local people with unhealed grievances. And then there is the category of sincere investors who bought the property from local people or outsiders in possession of land along the Coast and have subsequently made heavy investments. This category feels rather “trapped” after having made genuine investments only to later be viewed with suspicion and hostility by local people.”

Land grabbing has been emphasized, particularly from around the 1980s and beyond. This unlawful land allocation happened at the end of the one-party era (Moi era). Rigon (2013) notes that the pluralism of politics in Kenya seems to have led to two very unconstructive results: the increase of politically-motivated ethnic animosity and unlawful land allocations of a significant section of precious public land and other resources. Southall (2005) argues that the elites have gotten the mainly vulnerable land that can be said as a town, ministry land state corporation; settlement schemes and trust land; wetlands, riparian reserves, forestlands, national parks, and game reserves.

Article 11. (The Standard, July 19, 2015) Link:

<https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/kenya/article/2000169681/ugly-side-of-bitter-pokot-tugen-ethnic-clashes>

A stand-off between two warring communities, the Pokot and Tugen, has left the grass unattended for several seasons now. None of the two sides is ready to give in. The grass in the hilly area continues to grow taller and taller as cattle from both sides of the divide continue to starve for pasture.”

Article 12.s (Daily nation, Dec 31 2014) by Dennis Lubanga Link:

<https://nation.africa/kenya/counties/draw-borders-to-end-pokot-turkana-wars-1056222>

Incessant conflicts between Pokot and Turkana communities have been attributed to the long-standing boundary and resource tussle in the area.

“The body should fast-track the demarcation of the boundaries in 2014 to avert conflicts that have led to the loss of lives and displacement of families,” said Mr. Munyes, who read a statement on behalf of his colleagues in Eldoret on Wednesday.

The leaders attributed persistent insecurity in the affected counties to lack of clear boundaries

There have been many disputes between the Pokot and Tugen, and this has been partially attributed to their location, both are on the periphery of the country, a place that borders some of the most violent and unstable countries in Africa; South Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia, both of these communities are pastoralists and have in many occasions engaged in battles over grazing land.

Article 13. (The Standard Oct 26, 2015) Link:<https://www.accord.org.za/ajcr-issues/pastoral-conflict-in-kenya/>

*Traditionally, pastoralist communities engaged in cattle rustling as a rite of passage where manhood was demonstrated through either killing a fierce beast of the bush like a lion or going to raid neighboring communities for their livestock”.(The **conflict** situation in **pastoral Kenya** today revolves around negative reciprocity. Turkana and Pokot societies respond negatively to one another's actions – violence begets violence. Cattle were indeed raided throughout the history of East African **pastoral** societies*

Article 14. (The Standard Aug 7, 2015) Link:<https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/the-counties/article/2000172009/hundreds-flee-ethnic-violence-along-tana-river-kilifi-boundary>

“The recurring violence is believed to emanate from the difference between farmers from the Mijikenda community and pastoralists of the Orma from the delta.”

In August 2012, a series of ethnic clashes between Orma Mijikenda and the Pokomo people of Kenya Tana River District resulted in the death of fifty-two people, the worst of its kind since the country’s 2007-08 crisis.

Article 15. (The Standard Aug 16, 2013)-
Link:<https://nation.africa/kenya/counties/turkana/herder-killed-in-revenge-attack-960488>

Tension has gripped West-Pokot and Turkana counties after the killing of a herdsman in renewed attacks between members of the two pastoral communities.

Two villages are deserted in Lorogoon and Nakwomor, on the common border, while security has been beefed up to contain counter-attacks between the two groups.

The herdsman was shot dead at the weekend by raiders suspected to be Pokots in what the police termed as a revenge attack resulting from cattle raids and boundary disputes.

Article 16. (The Standard Oct 19, 2014) Link:
<http://mobile.nation.co.ke/counties/West-Pokot-Turkana-Herder-Attack-Insecurity/-/1950480/2241164/-/format/xhtml/-/f9m9jvz/-/index.html>

“So intense is the tension has gripped West-Pokot and Turkana counties after the killing of a herdsman in renewed attacks between members of the two pastoral communities.

Two villages are deserted in Lorogoon and Nakwomor, on the common border, while security has been beefed up to contain counter-attacks between the two groups.

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Competition that it has degenerated into ethnic hatred. Some communities consider certain ethnic groups as their sworn enemies.

How can citizens of the same country exhibit a deep dislike for each other?"

Article 17. (*The Standard* June 7, 2014) - Link: [https:// standardmedia.co.ke /publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/cow-life-pokot-turkana-conflict](https://standardmedia.co.ke/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/cow-life-pokot-turkana-conflict)

"I am surprised you named Dr. Njoroge to succeed Prof Ndung'u given the past history of the bank in a nation where the politics of ethnic exclusion has always shaken our foundation as a nation."

Tribalism Nepotism and politics of ethnicity in Kenya are the most disruptive influences confronting development in Kenya; this issue has been a concern for a very long time

Article 19. (*The Standard* Dec 1, 2014)

No one from Central Kenya who resides in Western should be anxious or lose any sleep just because Wetangula has lost a corruption case. Senator Wetangula and Bungoma police should be the first people to move to stop this grievous nonsense – and to press charges."

Homemade terrorism is where people who live together turn against each other; many communities have turned against each other and engaged in battles that, in the end, have even claimed lives.

Article 20. (*Daily Nation* 2014 March 23) by Mathiu, M- Link: <https://www.mediacouncil.or.ke/en/mck/jdownloads/MEDIA%20MONITORING%20REPORTS/Deconstructing%20terror.pdf>

It would appear that every little two-bit, Somali has a big dream, to blow us up, knock down our buildings and slaughter our children. They declared war on us we thought it was a small matter that some guy in the government was going to take care of us, we were wrong.

There have been several terrorist attacks in Kenya in recent years:

- From 15 to 16 January 2019, the attack at the hotel and the commercial complex at 14 Riverside in Nairobi resulted in injuries and the loss of many life. British nationals were also killed.
- In June and July 2014, attacks in Tana River Counties and Lamu at the Kenyan coast claimed at least 85 people. Al-Shabaab terror group claimed responsibility for the attacks.
- Over 60 people, including s British nationals, were murdered in the September 2013 attack on the Westgate shopping mall in Nairobi.

Article 21. Muluka B. (Daily Nation 2014 April 12) Link:

<https://www.saferworld.org.uk/long-reads/inside-kenyaas-war-on-terror-the-case-of-lamu>

It is true that not all Muslims are terrorists, equally, it is true that not all Somalis are terrorists, but it is also true that all terrorists against our civilian population have been Somali Muslims.

Article 22. (The Standard May 3rd, 2013)- Link:

<https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/ktnhome/video/category/1/news-state-house-security-lapse>

'A handful of individuals who lost in the last General Election have been awarded plum parastatal jobs as board directors and board members. In also what is seen as a tactical calming of the storm that has brewed within Central Kenya, President Uhuru Kenyatta, in a gazette notice dated May 3, 2019, has appointed and re-appointed key figures to balance out the scales.

A culture of meritocracy is the one sure panacea of turning around the fortunes of the many institutions facing challenges such as poor results, poor procurement policies, and other problems associated with incompetent and unaccountable staff whose primary loyalty is not to the institutions but those hiring them. Just when Devolution was taking off, the Auditor-General raised the red flag that there were counties where hiring was heavily skewed, creating regional, gender, and ethnic imbalances. These

practices flew in the face of the constitutional provision that no community should disproportionately dominate county employment.

Article 23. *Daily Nation* Wednesday 2014 Link: <https://nation.africa/kenya/news/48-villagers-killed-in-revenge-attack-825412>

The attack is believed to be in revenge for another one a week ago at a village called Kau, in Kilelengwani, some 10 kilometers from Riketa, in which suspected Orma herdsmen killed three Pokomo villagers, injured six others, killed livestock, and burnt homes.

The two ethnic groups have a very long history of violence and conflict over the access to Tana River and the fertile soils on lands of the Tana delta.

Article 24. *The Standard* 16th August 2013. By Paul Gitari - Link: <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/coast/article/2000064159/village-burnt-as-violence-rages>

Ethnic violence in Tana Delta escalated as Internally Displaced Persons, and those injured flocked to Malindi District Hospital for treatment.

The clashes between the Pokomo and Orma communities began last week and on Tuesday gunmen attacked Kilelengwani village and shot two farmers who later died at Kipini Hospital.

Kau village was also burnt in a revenge attack by the Orma and pastoralists from Ijara in North Eastern Province. On Wednesday.

This area frequently experiences conflicts that, on most occasions, claim lives or even lead to extreme violence. The last was in 2012-2013, when approximately 200 people died in ethnic-instigated clashes. On 4th March 2013, Kenya held its first general elections under the new constitution, which was embarked in 2010 and led a regime structure delegating more roles to the regional level, the counties

Article 25. (Standard, 28th August 2014) Tony Malesi. Why men fear marrying Kikuyu Women- Link:

<https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/evewoman/article/2001252837/why-kenyan-men-fear-marrying-kikuyu-women>

They have been accused of all manner of things; they not only 'sit' on their husbands, but also beat them up; they kill their men when bored with them to enjoy their property; they walk out of marriages old enough to produce grandchildren, and wags never tire of poking fun at their culinary skills. But why exactly are Kikuyu women so heavily stereotyped? Well, it is believed that more than females from any other community in Kenya, this lot conforms to the Western notion of 'liberated' women. Sociologists argue that, unlike other Kenyan women, most Kikuyus were emancipated from social shackles and domestic bondage long ago and have perpetuated this 'liberation' from generation to generation.

Article 26 Daily Nation February 04, 2014 - Link:

<https://nation.africa/kenya/article/2000199369/red-flag-over-deadly-tribal-clashes-ahead-of-the-2017-general-elections>

And in another clash, three members of the Marakwet community were killed at their farms along River Kerio by unknown assailants believed to have crossed over from East Pokot in Tiaty Constituency. Last week the Marakwet retaliated by killing two members of the Pokot community.

These tensions are emerging as the National Council of Churches of Kenya has warned that the country is teetering towards another violent General Election on account of misgivings about the credibility of the electoral commissioners.

Vincent Mabatuk and Antony Gitonga 24th April 2016-35 Today, let us revisit the issue that is the hottest topic of national dialogue today: security swoops targeting foreigners.

Article 27. The Standard 18th April 2014 by Kipkoech Tanui - Link: <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/long-reads/2020/09/21/kenya-should-get-out-of-somalia-and-negotiate-with-al-shabaab/>

We begin with the premise that Somalia is the nursery of Al Shabaab's terror against Kenyans.

This implies chances are high the terrorist nearest you is likely to be a Somali, but from Somalia. The question then would be, how do you distinguish who is actually Somali from Somalia? The average Kenyan would then tell you they look alike, speak the same tongue, have curly hair, fair skin and most likely are in Somali flowing garb.

Article 28. By Cyrus Ombati (The Standard Nation November 11th, 2013 - Link:
<https://test.standardmedia.co.ke/amp/nairobi/article/2000097395/police-arrest-over-300-illegal-aliens-in-swoop>

Let us not forget the recent terror attack on Westgate Mall was planned in a refugee camp. They need to go back to the camps and we have informed the United Nations High Commission for Refugees. Some of the terrorists who staged the attack on Westgate Mall on September 21 killing more than 67 and injuring 200 also lived in Eastleigh, The suspects were Saturday being interrogated at various police stations and police said the move is part of larger efforts to contain terror activities in the city.

Article 29. By Ted Malanda (The Standard 6th Jan 2014) - Link:
<https://new.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000101550/n-a>

The fact is Kenya is divided into two nations. The Luo state and the Kikuyu state with three other big tribes oscillating their support depending on what their fat tribal warlord orders. (The Turkana, Pokot, Rendile and other forgotten tribes wouldn't care less.)Of course there is no love lost between these two nation states that constitute Kenya. Thus, you have all manner of drivel hurled at Raila Odinga from the Kikuyu nation for the most inane of things. But on the other hand, there is nothing that President Uhuru would do that would meet the favour of the Luo Nation.

Article 30. By Macharia Gaitho (Daily Nation June 17, 2014) Link:
<https://nation.africa/oped/Opinion/Mpeketoni-attack-opposition-kikuyu-/440808-2352388-fj19xf/index.html>

An interesting gist of the president's statement was that the Cord rallies set out to demonise certain communities and incite other Kenyans to violence against them.

This is a clear reference to the president's own Kikuyu community, who have borne the brunt of attacks at the Cord rallies for allegedly monopolizing key positions in the public service, and to some extent also the Kalenjin community of Deputy President William Ruto.

The suggestion, then, was that the Mpeketoni attack was not just a random action, but one targeted directly at the Kikuyu, a unique majority population in the settlement scheme established in the 1960 in the Coast region by President Jomo Kenyatta. The reference to ethnic profiling and deliberate targeting of the Kikuyu stood out in the statements from both Present Kenyatta and Mr. Ole Lenku. The interesting thing is that the allusions to an ethnic angle predate the Mpeketoni attack. In the run-up to Mr. Odinga's much-hyped return from the US at the end of May, Jubilee social media activists went

into overdrive on Twitter and Facebook in what looked like a coordinated offensive to depict the Kikuyu under attack.

Article 31. By Moses Odhiambo (Daily Nation July 07, 2014) - Link:
<https://nation.africa/kenya/news/politics/tension-in-kisumu-as-youths-stage-riots-1002140>

Rowdy youths lit bonfires on major highways of Kisumu town on Monday in what they claimed was a show of solidarity with fellow Cord supporters gathered at Uhuru Park. Tension was high in the lakeside town with several shops remaining closed for fear of being raided. Only banks and major supermarkets were open, although they were cautious of possible raids from the mob.

Article 32. By Makau Mutua (The Standard April 13, 2014) - Link:
<https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/current-affairs/article/2000109299/n-a>

Such gruesome attacks bring out the primeval in us. Naturally, we want pitiless revenge – and not a moment too soon. But yet our response to those who would terrorise us is a reflection of our soul as a nation. I’m not wielding the Bible, but remember this – do unto others as you would they do unto you. That’s why we shouldn’t wage a dumb war against terror.

Let me get some cold – unarguable – facts out. Fact – virtually all Al Shabaab terrorists are male. Fact – virtually all Al Shabaab terrorists profess Islamic faith. Fact – most Al Shabaab terrorists are ethnic Somalis. Fact – the vast, overwhelming majority of Somalis and Muslims are not terrorists; they don’t subscribe to Al Shabaab and practice Islam as a religion of peace. Fact – you can’t argue with these facts. Conclusion – a war on terror that doesn’t accept this empirical evidence is doomed to fail.

Article 33. By Protus Onyango (The Standard 14th April 2014)- Link:
<https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/nyanza/article/2000134904/uhuru-heckling-revives-memories-of-1969-debacle>

Rowdy youths took strategic positions in front of the dais, throwing shoes and shouting pro-ODM slogans soon after Migori Governor Okoth Obado rose to speak. Uhuru had visited the county to launch an anti-malaria campaign. Leaders roundly condemned those behind the fracas. The scene was similar to the 1969 incident in which crowds charged as the presidential motorcade left, prompting security officials to open fire on the mob. Eleven people died in the fracas, and several were injured. Jomo had gone to Kisumu to open Russia Hospital (now Jaramogi Oginga Odinga Referral and Teaching Hospital).

In the Kisumu incident, the presidential convoy was met with shouts of Dume (the bull), KPU’s political symbol, from a group of hecklers. Uhuru was also confronted with pro-ODM chants at

Migori Primary Grounds, but only this time, the security personnel didn't fire although they had cocked their guns.

Nyanza has witnessed several chaotic scenes targeted at leaders in the recent past. Last weekend youths blocked former Prime Minister Raila Odinga's wife Ida in Siaya, demanding money. She had visited to attend the burial of former Bondo MP Hezekiah Ougo. Last month, rowdy youths stormed Kisumu Governor Jack Ranguma's office and disrupted the inaugural County Development Board (CDB) meeting that was to be presided over by Kisumu Senator Anyang' Nyong'o.,

Article 34. By Standard reporters, (*The Standard* December 08, 2014) - Link: <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/western/article/2000143949/tension-high-as-fresh-clashes-erupt-at-kakamega-nandi-border>

Tension is high at Kuvasali village along the border with Kakamega and Nandi counties following fresh clashes between the Luhya and Nandi communities. The violence, which broke up at 9am has seen over 20 houses burnt, animals killed and plantations torched by attackers.

The Nandi community is alleged to be on a revenge mission following the release of three murder suspects who killed one of their own in a land dispute.

Thousands of residents are fleeing their homes following the attacks, with perpetrators using arrows to force away residents from their homes.

They have also blocked the road leading to the village leaving residents with no option of getting to safer grounds.

Children and women are the most affected as they have not had any meal since morning for fearing for their lives.

Article 35. *The Standard* January 25, 2014, by Benard Sanga - Link: <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/coast/article/2000103126/are-outsiders-slowly-taking-overleadership-at-the-coast>

A good number of people considered immigrants to the region have contested political seats and won. The wave could sweep away more locals in the next elections if the trend is maintained.

One of the most significant outcomes of the 2013 polls in the region were in Nyali and Lamu West constituencies where the so-called "immigrant candidates" won the parliamentary seats.

But this was not the first time an "outsider" won an elective at the Coast. The late Kennedy Kiliku, an ethnic Kamba, won the Changamwe constituency seat in 1983 and represented in 1997 while Basil Criticos, a Kenyan Greek, was elected twice to represent Taveta constituency in the early 1990s.

But the wins by Hezron Awiti Bolo, an ethnic Luo, and Julius Ndegwa, a Kikuyu from Muranga, was significant for their audacity and significance.

Article 36. *Daily Nation*, June 07, 2014, Macharia Gaitho - Link: <https://nation.africa/oped/Opinion/Mpeketoni-attack-opposition-kikuyu-/440808-2352388-fj19xf/index.html>

This is a clear reference to the president's own Kikuyu community, who have borne the brunt of attacks at the Cord rallies for allegedly monopolizing key positions in the public service, and to some extent also the Kalenjin community of Deputy President William Ruto.

The suggestion, then, was that the Mpeketoni attack was not just a random action, but one targeted directly at the Kikuyu, a unique majority population in the settlement scheme established in the 1960 in the Coast region by President Jomo Kenyatta.

The reference to ethnic profiling and deliberate targeting of the Kikuyu stood out in the statements from both Present Kenyatta and Mr. Ole Lenku.

The interesting thing is that the allusions to an ethnic angle predate the Mpeketoni attack.

Article 37. *The Standard* November 09, 2014, Kipchumba Somes - Link: <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/kenya/article/2000140840/kapedo-killings-were-second-highest-loss-to-police>

However, the officers did not know that they would run into a well-planned ambush by Pokot raiders that would leave 21 of them dead and a nation in shock at the barbarity of the crime.

The murder of the officers is made even more tragic by the fact that most of the slain officers were young and perhaps looking forward to long careers in the police.

But the killing of police officers was not an isolated event. The incident is part of growing number of police officers killed in the line of duty by cruel criminals

Article 38. *The Standard* February 06, 2014, Willis Oketch - Link: <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/kenya/article/2000104030/foreigners-among-mombasa-mosque-chaos-suspects>

It is believed that foreigners may be among the 129 suspects in detention following reports that some entered Kenya from Uganda and Tanzania through Busia last week.

The suspects include three women, Christian converts to Islam, and 21 male youths under 18 years.

Officials say 129 suspects are detained at Shimo la Tewa, although Haki Africa, a human rights group, alleges that minors have secretly been moved to the Port Police station.

The list includes man police believe was in charge of logistics for the ill-fated convention that ended in blood and tears.

On Wednesday, youths returning from the burial of a victim of Sunday's mosque violence attacked police on patrol and descended on motorists in Mombasa's downtown.

A resident was hit on the head with a rock and injured in the violence around Musa mosque.

*Local leaders denounced the rioters claiming they were not local Muslims. The **Standard February 06, 2014, Willis Oketch***

Article 39. Daily Nation December 03, 2014, John Njagi- Link: <https://nation.africa/kenya/news/politics/witness-william-ruto-told-youth-to-evict-kikuyu-1048718>

Mr. Sang is also reported to have used parables and coded language to avoid detections, such as telling the Kalenjin that "no one loved them and they should get together so as not to allow the enemy a chance." In his evidence, the witness also named some politicians in the Rift Valley whom he said incited violence between the Kikuyus and Kalenjins. He said a businessman, Mr. Jackson Kibor, told the mourners during the burial of Mr. Lucas Sang, a Kalenjin youth who was killed during the post-election chaos in early 2008, to prepare to fight the Kikuyu, while nominated MP Tabitha Seii told the young men: "If you are not ready to fight, I can decide to wear a trouser and go to war,"

Article 40. The Standard, 1st November 2014, Benard Sanga- Link: <https://reliefweb.int/report/kenya/kenya-witness-claims-kalenjins-prepared-violence>

He also said that Keiyo North MP Elijah Sumbeiywo told the youth to emulate Mr. Sang, saying he died fighting for the Kalenjin.

One person was hacked to death and four others seriously injured in fresh attacks between two communities in Bora Moyo village of Kipini area in Tana River County Residents said that over 20 men from Garjel community, who were searching for their lost herds of goats, raided the village on Saturday evening after they smelt cooked meat, claiming it was of their lost animals

Tana Delta region has remained the epicenter of conflicts because it is essentially crucial to the survival of the fighting communities, especially during the dry seasons.

Article 41. *The Standard* 16 July 2014, by Murimi Mwangi- Link: <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/central/article/2000128316/mungiki-unleashes-terror-on-village>

The thought that they were guarding the village against a deadly, murderous gang did not cross the vigilantes' minds as they rushed to the scene to put out the fire. As they got there, they were surrounded by Mungiki sect members who called out the same "Bantu" code name to identify members of the vigilante group and grisly killed them.

At the end of the horror, the Mungiki adherents had slaughtered 18 men before proceeding to Kiaruhuu village where they gruesomely killed another seven., members of this gang are believed to be harassing residents, sources disclosed that on many occasions the gang has attacked residents and kept damages and distractions, confirming the incidence, the area chief alluded to the fact that this gang had run out of control and needed to be stopped, he said that the gang from Kiambu was a threat to peace.