CONTEMPORARY VERNACULAR BROADCAST MEDIA INTERVENTION IN COMMUNITIES PRONE TO INTRA-ETHNIC CONFLICT: A CASE OF THE ABAKURIA IN KENYA

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A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Communication Studies, Department of Communication, Journalism and Media Studies, Rongo University.

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DECLARATION

Declaration by the Candidate

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DEDICATION

To my family, my children, friends, supervisors, classmates and the entire School of Information, Communication and Media Studies, Rongo University . Due to your support, this work has got into the annals of history as the first PhD in the School of Information, Communication and Media Studies at Rongo University.

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ABSTRACT

The rapid growth in the vernacular broadcast media sector in Kenya has been lauded as key in the social and economic transformation of the rural communities. However, how they can be used in conflict management still remains datable. The aim of this study was to evaluate the contemporary vernacular media intervention in the Abakuria community which has been prone to internecine intra-ethnic conflicts for a long time. The study analysed sources of information from broadcast media and their role in conflict resolution; evaluated the existing media reportage of intra-ethnic conflict; identified shortfalls in the usage of existing broadcast media platforms for resolving ethnic conflict and assessed the suitability of vernacular broadcast media in resolution of intra-ethnic conflict among the Abakuria community. The study used libertarian and social responsibility theories to advance understanding of the media in enhancing conflict management. It used a mixture of survey and qualitative methods of research design. Data was obtained from 162 victims of previous conflict and 162 local community members as well as 12 media practitioners and 12 key informants from the four divisions of Mabera, Ntimaru, Kegonga and Kehancha. Analysis of previous media reports was also done. Data were collected through observation, interviews, questionnaires, focus group discussions, and Participatory Vulnerability Analysis (PVA). The data were coded and entered in the computer for analysis using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). The study established several findings. The main sources of information among the respondents were radio with 80% listenership, television (TV) with 40% viewership and newspapers at 20-25% readership. The most frequently used media for obtaining information was radio, followed by TV while newspaper was low and internet least preferred. Radio Citizen, Citizen TV and NTV were the most preferred channels from where information on intra-ethnic conflict is obtained. There were also up to 20% of the respondents who sought information from the Ekegusi language radio channel known as Egesa FM and another 3-5% of the respondents obtained information from one or the other of several Luo language FM stations. The national and vernacular broadcast media provided very little information about conflict resolution for the community. This study therefore recommends that a vernacular broadcast media channel distinctly dedicated to the Kuria language be established. It also recommends that a mass media advisory committee on conflict management should be set up at the local, county and national levels to advise media practitioners and coordinate activities of the mass media to set standards of enhancing management of intra-ethnic conflict among the communities in Kenya.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CBOs	Community Based Organizations
DNCPK	Department of National Cohesion and Peacenet Kenya
FBOs	Faith Based Organizations
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
HDI	Human Development Index
ICG	International Crisis Group
KBC	Kenya Broadcasting Corporation
KTN	Kenya Television Network
MJNCCA	Ministry of Justice, National Cohesion and Constitutional Affairs
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NMG	Nation Media Group
NTV	Nation Television
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PEV	Post-Election Violence
SG	Standard Group
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
SSA	Sub Saharan Africa
TV	Television
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
VOK	Voice of Kenya
WB	World Bank

OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS OF TERMS

Audience: Audience includes all those who can be reached by a particular media content or media 'channels'. Audience can be defined according to the relevant media and content or in terms of their social composition, location or time. The audience can exist as an imagined 'target' or intended group of receivers. Media audiences are not fixed entities and may only be known after the event as statistical abstractions (e.g. 'the rating'), with a known probability of recurrence.

Clan: A group of people sharing a traceable lineage or a basic unit of an ethnic group.

Conflict management: this refers to intervention or efforts towards preventing the escalation and negative effects, especially violent ones, of on-going conflicts. These conflicts will then are reduced, curtailed, downgraded, coped with, especially since conflicts are hardly completely resolved.

Conflict: Spangler and Burgess (2005:1) State that conflict "involves deep- rooted moral or value differences, high-stake distributional questions, such as who dominates whom, fundamental human psychological needs for identity, security and recognition are often an issue as well, adding that "people will not compromise fundamental values".

General public: Refers to members of the Kuria ethnic extraction who participated in this study as respondents.

Media effect: means the consequences or outcomes of the working of, or exposure to mass media, whether with intention or not. They can be sought at different level of social analysis. There are many types of effect, but it is usual to distinguish at least between effects that are behavioral, attitudinal (or affective) and cognitive.

Media messages: persuasive messages targeted at various groups through communication forms.

Media: The media includes all the media organizations, such as television, radio, and newspapers that provide news and information for the public, or to the audience.

Mitigation: Conflict is considered as part of human nature that we are all likely to live with throughout our lifetime, as individuals and as groups. The word mitigation is derived from the verb mitigate. The ordinary dictionary meaning of the word mitigate means to moderate (a quality or condition) in force or intensity.

Perception: De Vito (1986) defined perception as "the process of becoming aware of objects or events from the senses".

Ethnic group: A group of people with similar physical, ideological and cultural characteristics such as the Abakuria. It is composed of related clan-families

Prevention: Prevention is better than cure is a popular adage. The word *prevention*, derived from the root word prevent**,** is to keep something from happening or occurring altogether, especially by taking precautionary measures and actions.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1. Overview

It is worth noting that much has been written about ethnic conflict[1], with less focus on conflicts that occur within the same ethnic group[2], which provides a considerable challenge to regional and local security currently. Intra-ethnic conflict is caused by the interaction of multiple factors which are localized. A sudden structural change, such as collapse of a political and/or economic system, or the scramble for scarce and ever diminishing resources create a context of instability and general uncertainty about the future, not only in the local or regional context but also at the global arena. In this context, ethnic emotions, based on the historical memories of grievances, are revived where institutions lose their capacity to regulate ethnic emotions and relations in a peaceful manner and externally manipulate ethnic groups' emotions and fears of each other to achieve particular political or self-serving goals.

If these crises are left unchecked or managed poorly, this situation may threaten the very fabric of the societies in which it occurs. Generally, societal conflict normally wreaks havoc on a community's economic development, destabilizes entire regions and if it continues unchecked for a long period, it usually spills over, and create conditions in which organized crime, anarchy and disorder can flourish. This is the observation that has been witnessed for a long time and reported among the Abakuria ethnic group in South-Western Kenya. One feature that most intra-ethnic conflicts above all share is the sheer human misery that they create in their wake: people are killed, tortured, maimed, raped; they suffer from

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[1] This terminology is not clear because it includes conflict issues within the same ethnic community (Forsberg *et al*., 2016), or a community speaking the same language but has: dialectal differences, clan differences, or resource use differences (Syed and Mitchell, 2013) but can also refer to ethnic groups that are not related culturally but share resources that may bring conflict (e.g. see Brosché and Höglund, 2016)

[2] These are actually intra-ethnic conflicts in general which are not new to human societies; they are as old as the human society because they have been in existence in all spheres of human life since the beginning of history (Christie, 1998; Banton, 2011)

displacement, starvation, and disease. Strategies to solve or manage these conflicts are therefore vital and urgently needed in order to ameliorate their usually negative effects on the human society, cohesion and advancement.

Although there are several methods that have been employed in the past and even now still being used to manage various conflicts, the use of mass media have been noted for its functional roles in managing large scale conflicts in the society through their expansive reach and social education capacity. However, mass media in official or national languages rarely penetrate the ethnic fabrics of the rural communities where the conflicts have been mostly reported to occur. In such instances, strategies that decouple the link between a given community and their internal conflicts can be approached through vernacular mass media. Therefore this study focuses on intra-ethnic conflict and the possible intervention of vernacular mass media in prescription of solutions to these underlying problems.

In order to realize the aforementioned, this chapter starts by presenting the background to the problem of intra-ethnic conflict in the world, within the regional and local context and finally among the Abakuria community of South-Western Kenya. The link between the mass media and resolution of intra-ethnic conflict is explored to aid in creating a locus of setting for the study both geographically and conceptually, where it has been noted that there is consistent lack of vernacular mass media of any form. This chapter also highlights the problem of the study by presenting the knowledge gaps to shed more light on the potential of vernacular broadcast media in resolving intra-ethnic conflict among the Abakuria community.

1.2 Background to the Study

1.2.1 Background of ethnic conflict in the global and regional context

Conflict, in its broadest sense, has been part and parcel of human existence since the evolution of mankind (Pettersson and Wallensteen, 2015). As Davies (2004) states:

> Conflict as questioning, dialogue, struggle or debate is universal, found within families, communities, and nations (Davies, 2004, p. 9).

As a result, many of today's conflicts are generated within individual societies spread across borders to their surrounding environment and communities (Hussein, 2014). The number of major conflicts around the world in contemporary history is considerable and are becoming increasingly diverse and fragmented posing more threat to world peace and stability than ever (Hegre, and Niggard, 2015; Tomlinson and Benefield, 2005; Wallensteen and Eriksson, 2015). Most of them have been characterized by immense violence, while many are still unresolved and constitute deadlocks in international, regional and local interrelations (Vandeberg, 2009; Gardner, 2014; Duursma, 2014; Wallensteen and Pettersson, 2015). Thus, the understanding of the root causes of conflicts and their management from a global to local level has increasingly become very dynamic (Sommers, 2002; Guilherme and Morgan, 2011; Fjelde and Ostby, 2014). However, it is the conflicts that are linked to ethnicity that are more significant despite attracting less attention worldwide.

A key element of intra-ethnicity relates to efforts that associate "group belonging" with "cultural, biological or territorial" features" (Kelman, 2007; Eller, 2012; Fjelde and Hultman, 2014). According to Gardner (2014), members of the same ethnic group have a "normal disagreement particularly when vital resources are usually scarce" (Horowitz, 2000). Intra-ethnic conflict however, becomes an abnormality when it results to escalated

violence (Alfred and Paul, 2008). Intra-ethnic conflicts[3] of varying scales and intensities have been witnessed in this century (Akinteye, 2009; Daly and Sarkin, 2007; Forsberg, 2014). Many of those involved in intra-ethnic conflict situations have used a number of perceived wrongs, ethnic identities or pseudo-ethnic reasoning to rally support, justify their actions and proclaim a "moral superiority" over others (Rugumanu, 2002; Galtung, 2014). Thus researchers have identified intra-ethnic conflict as having its origin from a contest for political power and scarce resources rather than divergence of cultural affiliations involving ethnic markers (Kaufman, 2001; Kumar and Srivastava, 2003; Puddephatt, 2006). Indeed massive intra-ethnic conflicts on a scale previously unimaginable have been reported (von Uexküll, 2014), but an equal number gone unnoticed (Howard, 2008; Park and Deshapriya, 2016). These episodes of intra-ethnic violence have also taken a significant toll on humanity in terms of deaths, displacements and disruption of economic and social activities (Bloomfield and Allen, 1997; Brockerhoff and Hewett, 1998; Burton and Dukes, 2008; Cornell, 2011; Collier, 2015). The human costs of these conflicts are profound resulting in up to 7 million deaths and almost 38 million displaced persons[4] globally (Lake and Rothchild, 1998) but the real statistics may be higher than these due to underreporting or non-reporting of the conflicts (Oshita and Osaze, 2010).

Statistics show that one-third of the population in the African continent is income-poor and one-quarter is poor in terms of the UNDP's Human Development Index" (Brown, 2009; Montville, 2013). Majority of those people are located in the Sub-Saharan Africa, which significantly tends to project the most mediocre development record, the slowest economic growth, and also includes some of the world's poorest countries - as outlined in various reports in the past 2-3 decades by the World Bank, the United Nations Development

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[3]Conflict as used here is seen as the perceived divergence of interest, beliefs or aspiration between and amongst members of the same ethnic group simultaneously from gradual interactions.
[4]These numbers are based on official statistics but in reality those that go unreported by the media or world bodies are more than the reported and therefore these statistics are grossly underestimated regardless of the source of the statistics.

Program and the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, among others (see: World Bank.org; UNDP.org; OECD.org). For example, the most recent Human Development Report produced by the UNDP indicates that while "the global HDI is now 0.702, [...] the lowest regional HDI values are for Sub-Saharan Africa (0.502) (Piterse, 2010; Brown, 2009).

It is discernible from these reports that although the vast majority of African ethnic groups live in relative peace with each other, life has been malevolent, bestial, and short for millions of others who live in ill-fated parts of the continent where the competition for resources and political power are divergent and therefore intra-ethnic conflicts have recently raged (Black and Rolston, 1995). Further, more than 20% of all African countries have experienced at least a year of intra-ethnic conflict during the past three decades (Mensah, 2008). Therefore, African casualties of intra-ethnic conflict may exceed those of all other regions of the world combined. Accordingly, Wanyama (2000), indicates that conflicts have cost Africa a fortune as they are so intense that they lead to massive destruction of property, loss of lives and population displacements among many other evils.

In the Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) alone, there are 32 (out of 47) countries that have been affected by intra-ethnic conflicts at a given point in time (Scarritt, and McMillan, 2005; Picciotto 2010; Elfversson, 2015; Jarstad and Höglund, 2015). Once they start, conflicts in the SSA tend to last for many years before meaningful and lasting peace can be restored. The low-income nations coming out of conflict situations usually have a hard time overcoming poverty, implementing development strategies and improving economic growth. As Picciotto notes, considering the extent to which living standards dropped considerably almost everywhere across the SSA and considering the repeated occurrence and recurrence of extreme intra-ethnic conflicts, the proposition that these conflict are a

significant impediment to development in SSA countries may at first empirically seem irresistible. But the continued occurrence and substance of ethnic conflicts in SSA countries calls for a more nuanced analysis and discussion.

1.2.2 Intra-Ethnic conflicts in Kenya

Sub-ethnic identity among the Kenyan ethnic communities dates back to the origin of the settlement now known as Kenya (which is described as a conglomeration of ethnic communities) (Adamson, 1967; Oyugi, 2000). The ethnic groups of Kenya sometimes use their sub-ethnic groups by such primordial categories as clans, religion, region, district or ancestral origin as a basis of ethnic identity (Okoth, 2005; Mwakikagile, 2007; Ndegwa, 2009). For example among the Luhya ethnic community, there are sub-ethnic identities such as the Bukusu, Maragoli, Batshotsho, Idakho, Isukha, Kisa, Marachi, Tiriki[5] among others who speak the common Luhya language but have different sub-ethnic identities (Were, 1967).

Among the Luo ethnic group, identification is always based on shared ancestry like Joka-Jok, Jok-Omolo, Joka-Owiny, and the Luo Basuba among others and also due to geographical resettlement. On the other hand, there are Jo-Nyakach, Jo-Kano, Jo-Ugenya, Jo-Alego and Jo-Karateng to connote the areas where these people have settled (Mwakikagile, 2001). In such a circumstance where only a geographical area separates the member of the same ethnic community, conflicts have still arisen in the past (Ibid). Yet compared to the statistics in the SSA, there is still very little seminal information available in published literature about intra-ethnic conflicts in Kenya.

There are reports of intra-ethnic conflicts in Kenya which more often than not occur in a small scale (Gettleman, 2012). Although most of these conflicts are minor skirmishes

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[5]There are 18 "*peoples*" of the Luhya in Kenya and 4 in Uganda. Some sources make reference to one Luhya people in northern Tanzania, but I have not been able to determine what that refers to. None of the sources which mention this have given a name or explanation. The Luhya call these groups "houses" of the Luhya. Other Kenyan peoples speaking Bantu languages, such as the Kikuyu and Meru, also have multiple origin traditions, indicating groups of their ancestors came from different places.

(Howard, 2015), it has been noted that in the recent past, they have been more rampant and more pronounced (Ibrahim and Jenner, 1997; Oucho, 2002). Several factors have been identified as the cause of outbreaks of ethnic violence among members of the same ethnic group or populations living in close proximity to each other and therefore share the same cultural orientation (Ellsworth, 1999; Oucho, 2002). According to Eriksson, Sollenberg and Wallensteel (2002), factors responsible for the intra-ethnic violence include: past legacies and post-colonial policies; political orientation, (un)availability of land; access to water and pasture resources; loss of traditional grazing land; cattle raiding; lack of alternative sources of livelihood; terrorism; harassment and theft as well as extortion[6]. These factors are becoming increasingly mobilized in the struggle for power and social positions among some Kenyan ethnic communities.

According to Sikuku (2011), there have been several cases of intra-ethnic clashes in Kenya but the major one points to the Sabaots residing in and around the Mt. Elgon region pitting the Sabaot Land Defence Force of the *Soy* clan and the Moorland Forces of the *Mosop* clan resulting in massive loss of lives and destruction of property. Other available reports in Kenya indicate that ethnic conflicts have been experienced and manifested by feuding groups who engage in armed and even unarmed but very active conflicts normally for scarce resources among the said groups, as has been reported in Kenya in the past (Amisi, 1997; Ibrahim and Jenner, 1997; Ruto, Olaf, Ralf and Wotzka, 2003; Yamano and Deininge, 2005; Terry, Peter, Marl and Fred, 2007; ICG, 2008; Sikuku, 2011; Koni, 2012). The scale of these intra-ethnic conflicts is diverse among each different ethnic group. In majority of the cases, the conflict is classified as minor and go unreported (Amisi, 1997; Oyugi, 2000; Mworia and Ndiku, 2012; Mulati, 2013) while in other cases, they are so

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[6]Newspaper report, TV news, social media, radio news are the main sources of these information because published work remains so limited

pronounced that even property and wealth is destroyed, people get killed and others become displaced[7] (Nnoli, 1998; Matemba, 2008; Mazrui, 2008).

There is no intra-ethnic conflict in Kenya that has been more profound and yet remains unnoticed and underwhelmingly addressed as the one experienced among the Abakuria community (Kungu, Omari and Kipsang, 2015). This ethnic community of Bantu speaking origin occupies the south-western tip of Kenya, along the Kenya-Tanzania boarder. Their homeland is located between River Migori to the east and River Mara to the west, in Migori County. The County is multi-ethnic, as it is also home to the predominantly Nilotic Luo, a decent chunk of the Abaluhya as well as some pockets of the Somali (Abuso, 1980). The Kuria community is made up of four clans: the Bakira, Bagumbe, Banyabasi and Bairege. The four clans speak exactly the same tongue, save for just a few words which may be frequently used in one clan more than the other. In all historical sense, they are homogenous, one tribe, anthropologically from same father but from different mothers (Abuso, 1980). The Abakuria are both pastoralists and agriculturalists, though due to changing times, they are currently predominantly agriculturalist.

Despite the very many shades of conflict that have been experienced in Kenya, the Abakuria ethnic violence is unique since it is based on clan differences and sometimes occurs across two countries with territorial sovereignty and often leads to massive destruction and death of people regardless of their gender and age (Marwa, 2001). The construction of clan identity in the Abakuria ethnic community has increasingly been fostered as the basis for the allocation of political offices and ascension to important political offices[8]. In earlier literature, the inter-clan feuds among the Abakuria was described as prolonged (Abuso,

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[7]Information is available in most of the leading newspapers, TV stations, Radio stations including the vernacular media station and even in the social media
[8]http://www.irinnews.org/report/55654/kenya-conflict-over-resources-border-areas; Hussein, 2014); Maxon, 1989).

1980). While giving a detailed account of how to foster a long lasting solution, Kungu *et al*. (2015) states that the Abakuria conflict has become perpetual. Based on studies by Marwa (2001), the conflict escalated to its most intense levels among the Abakuria clans between 1986 and 1996, and this conflict caused massive but unknown human mortality and lots of destruction to property. Again between the months of July and September 2009, feuds between the two main clans namely the - Nyabasi and Bwirege resulted in displacement of over 20,000 people and left up to 200 people dead and properties of unknown amounts destroyed (OCHA, 2009).

The clashes in Kuria East district between the warring clans that began in 2009 originated from cattle rustling and intrigues over political differences over the division of the former Kuria District and disputes over the location of the current headquarters in Kegonga division that host the Nyabasi clan (Kungu *et al.*, 2015). The Bwirege clan demanded that the District headquarters be located in Ntimaru Division while the Nyabasi clan wanted the headquarters to be retained in Kegonga. Due to these foreseen divergences of opinion, the clans viewed themselves to be involved in direct competition in hosting the new district headquarters which as predicted ignited the intra-ethnic conflict (Aluvi and Kimutai, 2013). In the year 2009 alone, more than 100 houses were burnt down, more than 1500 animals driven away, crops in the fields slashed or burnt, granaries burnt down, more than 180 deaths registered and more than 1,500 families becoming internally displaced, while others camped in various market centres, churches, police stations and among their relatives in what they call "safe homes". Public opinions are reported to incite divisions among the two clans. Historically, the Nyabasi and Bwirege clans have had differences triggered by their competition for the scarce resources such as farmland, livestock, and grazing lands (*Ibid*). In addition, the conflict cycle patterns in Kuria East District have involved cattle raids which

can be partially attributed to cultural practices relating to initiation and use of cattle primarily for paying dowry for marriage following the initiation rites of passage.

Besides, other problems have also been reported such as: victims of conflicts/pupils from either clan suspending schooling or dropping out altogether to seek safety in their respective clans during the periods of conflict. This seriously interrupts their learning; schools situated along the common borders are forced to close down if they are not destroyed altogether; inter-clan marriages also suffer as women married from opposite clans flee back to their respective clan homes as they are threatened with death, or are killed in the process of attempting to flee. This is often followed by an emergence of armed militias in the respective clans in the name of protecting their clan, leading to spiralling of more violence and destruction. A solution to these problems is therefore an urgent necessity. To foster long lasting peace, these conflicts among the Abakuria need to be resolved decisively, once and for all.

1.2.3 Resolution of intra-ethnic conflict in Kenya (the Abakuria community)

Although the Abakuria intra-ethnic conflicts have been reported and known to occur with such alacrity, there has not been a serious and concerted effort to foster long lasting peace amongst this ethnic group (OCHA, 2009; Kungu *et al*., 2015). However, some of the mechanisms that have been used in managing these intra-ethnic conflicts have been found wanting due to the fact that they keep recurring. Part of the reason for this failure in achieving long lasting conflict resolution within the warring factions of the community need to be examined based on the communal, organizational and socio-cultural setup.

According to Kungu *et al*. (2015), the Abakuria have a well-established and indigenous mechanism for managing intra-ethnic conflicts buttressed by several stakeholders including:

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Community Based Organizations (CBOs), members of the peace committees, civic leaders, warriors and community members or victims to previous conflicts. There are five traditionally established institutions of conflict resolution in the Kuria community. They are *Inchama, Avaragoli, Iritongo, Sungusungu* and *Ihama*. The Inchama are the community's traditionalists whose role is to protect their respective clans against evil spirits and other supernatural powers originating from their perceived adversaries. The *Avaragoli* were community seers and informed the council of elders during conflicts and cleared the raiders to go and attack a neighbouring community and steal their animals. The *Iritongo* are elders who represent individual villages within a given clan and manage conflicts related to cattle theft. Customarily, the *Sungusungu* were the policing arm of the indigenous conflict management system and were used by the council of elders to administer punishment to offenders and culprits based on the prescription from their judicial system. The *Ihama* acted like the *Sungusungu* except that their roles differed slightly in the sense that they formed part of those who make follow ups when livestock is stolen on behalf of the community therefore displaying a special intelligence wing dealing with tracing and recovery of stolen animals on behalf of the community. These five traditional institutions were established with the aim of fostering harmony, cultivating peace and ensuring mutual coexistence amongst the clans.

Despite the existence of the clan organizational hierarchy to deal with conflicts, the government of the day does not support such initiatives. Moreover, there have been little efforts to try and resolve them in the past by the successive governments since Kenya got independence in 1963 (Aluvi and Kimutai, 2013). However, in more recent years, solutions to these intra-ethnic conflicts have started to be sought and implemented by different actors using different approaches. In the year 2011, the British Council, in partnership with the Ministry of Justice, National Cohesion and Constitutional Affairs, through the Department

of National Cohesion and Peacenet Kenya, spearheaded the process of community cohesion with a focus on multi-ethnic and intra-ethnic tolerance, long-term peace building and sustainable development. They entered into collaboration with other state and non-state actors and engaged in various studies to identify the key long-term, short-term challenges and opportunities to contribute to national cohesion and harmony among the Abakuria community among other communities in Kenya.

The conflict mapping survey was necessitated by the fact that there was need to involve the local communities in preparing tailor made solutions to their own problems (bottom-up approach). There was need to involve the locals in problem identification, agenda setting, programme design and implementation. The outcome of these processes led to identification of priorities for the phases of programming in the mapped areas, as well as a revised strategy and priorities for the National Cohesion Programme as a whole (Kindiki, 2013). However one of the areas that was identified as the weak link in search for solution was how to use the mass media to reach most of the stakeholders in the conflict.

1.2.4 The mass media and conflict resolution in Kenya

Various forms of mass media are useful as channels through which messages reach both the target and non-target audience. In most instances, the information conveyed by mass media is meant to set an agenda (Willey, 2008). The power of the mass media to focus public attention and set an agenda on key public issues, is immense and well-documented (see Shaw, 1979; Hans-Bernd and Hans, 1992; Lars and Jian-Hua, 1996; Shanto and Adam, 1997; Kepplinger, Donsbach, Brosius and Staab, 2009; Kiousis, 2010). The principal outlines of this influence were sketched by Walter Lippmann in his 1922 classic, *Public Opinion*, which began with a chapter titled "*The World Outside and the Pictures in Our Heads*." He opined that the news media are a primary source of those pictures in our heads

about the larger world of public affairs, a world that for most citizens is "*out of reach, out of sight, out of mind*" (Lippmann, 1922; 11). Based on assertions by Lippmann, what we know about the world is largely based on what the media decide to tell us suggesting that the elements prominent on the media agenda become prominent in the public mind.

In the current information age, the media agenda is to enable people to acquire factual information about public affairs, readers and viewers also learn how much importance to attach to a topic on the basis of the emphasis placed on it in the news (Becker, 1982; Brosius and Kepplinger, 1992; Scheufele, 2000; Brandenburg, 2004). The agenda of many news organizations are found in the pattern of coverage on public issues over some period of time, a week, a month, or even an entire year. Newspapers provide a host of cues about the salience of the topics in the daily news – lead story on page one, other front page displays, large headlines, etc. Television news also offers numerous cues about salience – the opening story on the newscast, length of time devoted to the story, etc. (Scheufele, 2000). These cues repeated day after day effectively communicate the importance of each topic. In other words, the mass media can set the agenda for the public's attention to that small group of issues around which public opinion revolve.

In regard to the agenda setting role, it is observable that the media today from the local, national and global context plays a key role, either positive or negative in key areas that affect humanity such as: politics, conflict management, policy making and in some instance humanitarian response in conflict situations (Meyrowitz 1985; Kull, 1998; Westphal, 2004). Therefore the media may have a critical influence on whether the situation can be destructive or constructive in any given situation. In this regard, the evolution of media affects the social behavior of the audience and therefore becomes a tool in influencing the direction that issues can take.

Locally, the Kenya's media fraternity has seen tremendous growth and regulation. The media story in Kenya started in the 1890s through the establishment of *Taveta Chronicles* by the British settlers[9] which was followed by the *Leader*[10] and *Uganda Mail* published first in 1899. In 1902 *The Standard* was established by A.M Jeevanjee, a Parsee migrant from India[11] and is still in circulation till today. Jeevanjee sold his interest in the business to the partnership of Mayer and Anderson who renamed it *East African Standard*, which grew to become the largest and most influential publication in colonial East Africa. In 1911 other publications by the white settler community controlled media such as *Mombasa Mail* and *Nairobi News* were published and put in circulation as well. Later on in 1959 after Kenya had developed a vibrant nationalist press, The *Nation Media Group* (NMG) was established in the heat of nationalism and independence struggle. The Daily *Nation* is owned by the spiritual leader of the Ismailia community Aga Khan and it has been acclaimed for being the first publication to adopt a policy of Africanization (Hachten, 1971). The NMG also publishes another edition, *Taifa Leo* in the Kiswahili *lingua franca*. Other foreign magazines have also over a time proliferated the Kenyan market and continue to flourish.

At independence, Kenya had over 40 publications whose focus was agitation for political freedom and independence. According to Faringer (1991), media in Kenya at independence was categorized into a three tier system with European press at the top, the Indian press in the middle and the African press at the bottom. The media was mainly owned by the white colonialists and later by the Asians who ventured into media ownership with a main objective of using it to legitimize their second place status to the whites in Kenya. The Africans ventured into media entrepreneurship much later basically to agitate for freedom,

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[9] The *Taveta Chronicles* was published by the Rev. Robert Stegal of the Church Missionary Society in 1895 and was circulated among the Europeans and interested persons in the United Kingdom only.
[10] This was published by British East Africa Company
[11] During the construction of the railways the British settlers brought in Indians to work on the railway that was crucial in opening up the countryside for settlement. Most Indians settled in Mombasa and engaged in commerce.

justice and equality. The radio broadcasting and print newspapers started when Kenya adopted the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) in 1928 as a British colony[12], later renamed Voice of Kenya in 1964 at independence, but reverted to KBC in 1989 by an act of the then Kenyan Parliament[13] and has maintained the same name until now.

The major sponsors and contributors of the African media invariably had no journalistic experience and some of them later became the pioneer post-independence leaders. They were all folded up upon Kenya becoming an independent state. The ownership of the mainstream Kenyan press has been largely private and foreign, with the government only owning a minority of radio and television segments and laying no claim to ownership of any print or online newspaper. *Daily Nation*, *Taifa Leo* are published on week days, while *Sunday Nation* and *Taifa Jumapili* published on Sundays, are owned by the Nation Media Group. The Saturday and Sunday editions contain pull outs that include children magazines, whereas the week day editions carry special sections on various issues that touch on different aspects of the nation's economy, politics, human interest, entertainment, education and other social issues. Virtually every Kenyan can access at least one form of the readily available media.

Human social behavior has on the other hand been modified with the western culture, pop culture, and universal human rights being known by this population. In other words, if the media does have an influence on its audience, then the Kenyan audience is not immune. By exposing the governments' failures to the public, the media voluntarily or involuntarily causes the public to revolt or oppose the government on account of their failure. To show this causal-effect relation of the media and its audience, Rather and Herskowitz (2009)

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[12]Kenya was the first African colony to have a regular broadcasting service. In 1931, a 25 year Charter was granted by the Kenya government to Imperial and International Communications Ltd whose function were later taken over by the Cable and Wireless Ltd that operated a transmitting station in Nairobi. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0015/001572/157266eb.pdf accessed on 14 September 2015.
[13]Ibid, 1 above.

explore the nature of the relationship between mass media and those affected by conflict. They say, news coverage of conflict or war often appeals to emotions, hence the questions such as what do we do when we receive media words or images? Do we put off the television set, cry, get angered, complain or even provoke war and genocide when exposed to the media? These questions tackle the role that media exposure has on its audiences.

Hallin and Paolo (2004) discuss the role of media contents and notes that the media makes spectators feel that they operate generously on their own and are endowed with spontaneous civic or humanitarian feelings that make them react. In other words the media when used unethically can create an uprising against the government or various authorities. Joshua Meyrowitz in his analysis of the impact of media on social situations also notes that exposure to the media can alter the receivers perception (Meyrowitz, 1985). This, he says, is created by an amalgamation of the personal and public spheres hence there is no clear separation of the two spheres in an individual's internal process of thinking and decision making (*Ibid*; 107). In other words as a result of this merger, an audience watching a video clip of the government spokesperson justifying banning the media, finds himself (personal sphere) in touch with the war/tension (public sphere) that is ongoing in the government offices and media houses. The resultant amalgamation is the action of agreement or revolting, demonstrating or fighting.

In order for news to have an impulsive response that causes the audience to react, there has to be vivid stories of those suffering or injustice brought to the sitting rooms of the audience (Turkle 2007). These stories become the backbone and origin of conflict, a war of words whose playground is the media and its supporters or disapprovers are the public. Notably, for these stories to have an impact, they have to explicitly appeal to spectators, steer up reaction, bringing up the questions of how they can respond to alleviate the injustice or

suffering by merely provoking audiences to rise and stop the conflict (Signorielli, 2005). The matchless nature of media coverage of conflict makes all people caught up in conflict have one thing in common; an element or wish for change and often the call for action. This is especially true since conflict news normally leads to diverse representation of those caught up in the conflict. This gives rise to a blend and handy domination of various emotional feelings during conflict (*Ibid*). This implies that viewers are led to react, possibly through violent actions.

Yet by the time of doing this research, there was a complete absence of any form of a formal or indigenous mass medium of communication for the Abakuria and therefore the link between mass media and solution of the intra-ethnic violence for this community is not clear.

1.2.5 Vernacular mass media intervention in intra-ethnic conflicts

The use of local or vernacular languages in the provision of information, knowledge and skills has gained popularity in the quest to empower communities through mass media. Marcogliese (2015) reported that the growth of vernacular mass media reflects both the improvements in information technologies or what is referred to as "cultural industries" among indigenous population and the shifting of development paradigm towards a more participatory style of information and knowledge transfer to the rural communities. Furthermore, Rennie (2006) identified vernacular mass media as an avenue for participatory as well as grassroot communication and as a relevant tool in both economic and social development in communities whose members are not "literate enough" to understand the information broadcasted by the national or international languages.

Among the vernacular mass media, radio broadcasting is the most important compared to TV and newspaper. It is the most popular and accessible medium of information with 95% of all Kenyans listening regularly to the various radio broadcasts (Howard, 2009). Synovate survey shows that nearly all Kenyans aged over 15 listen to the radio at least once every four weeks (Synovate Surveys, 2015). By June 2013 there were 105 licensed FM radio stations on air a majority of them broadcasting from the capital city, Nairobi. As has been noted elsewhere in the thesis, most of them are privately owned commercial stations that are subsidiaries of large media enterprises. The state owned Kenya Broadcasting Corporation runs six stations while only nine stations are classified as being community stations that broadcast to smaller populations within a given locality. The FM mode remains the prevalent method of tuning into radio broadcasts. The AM, Shortwave and mobile phone listening methods are also used on a consistent basis. Internet and satellite radio are upcoming as well, though not very strongly and widely used (Bowen, 2010).

Community based or ethnic oriented mass media services offer communication beyond commercial and public service and thus serve "remote" geographic communities and communities' interests. The content of broadcasting is largely popular and relevant to a local and/or specific audience but which may often be overlooked by commercial or mass-media broadcasters (Adorno and Horkheimer, 201). Vernacular based mass media serve their listeners by offering a wider variety of content that is not necessarily provided by the larger commercial mass media whose consideration of profit and audience spread form the key considerations. In exploring the importance of sharing information locally and the opening up of wider information networks, DeGrauwe (2002) found that rural or vernacular mass media is effective in improving the sharing of vital information by remote rural communities. Mass media in this regard provides a set of participatory communication techniques that support agricultural extension efforts by using local languages to

communicate directly with farmers and listeners' groups, among other social topical issues of importance to that specific community.

The use of mass broadcast media in Kenya started with the opening up of the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) radio and TV channels in Nairobi that would broadcast to the entire nation (Abuoga and Mutere, 1988; Okoth, 2015). The programs were aired in English, Kiswahili, Hindu and eleven other local ethnic languages. By 1964, KBC had established three national broadcasting services and two regional stations in Mombasa and Kisumu. It was until 1953 when the first broadcasting service was created for Africans and appropriately named African Broadcasting Services (ABC). It carried programmes in the languages of Kiswahili, Dholuo, Kikuyu, Kalenjin, Kiluhya, Kikamba and Arabic (Gathigi, 2009). It is worth taking empirical notice, that the Kuria language was not among those that found their way into the airwaves during this period. Following the liberalization of the airwaves in Kenya from the year 2003, major media houses started radio stations, with a view to target specific demographic, musical or ethnic genres. The Voice of Kenya, the only mass media broadcaster in the country by then went on to establish 19 radio stations feeding transmitters that were located in different parts of the country. The state agency offered three domestic services; the National Service in Kiswahili, the General Service in English and Vernacular Service in 14 local languages (Orao, 2009). The Vernacular services offered 184 hours every week for each language. Among the local languages which have been slotted by the national broadcaster KBC, Kikuria only has a two hour airtime which is restricted from 11 a.m. to 1 p.m. The broadcasts are also only allowed from Monday to Friday, excluding weekends when it would be argued that majority of the listeners are home and are therefore more predisposed to tune in to their radios. It is also noted that those hours allocated to Kikuria broadcasts too, are not prime resulting invariably into very low listenership.

The vernacular mass media broadcasting landscape in Kenya has changed over the last decade under the management of the Communication Authority of Kenya (CAK) which licenses stations that broadcast in vernacular languages[14]. *Kameme FM* that broadcasts in the Kikuyu Language was the first pure vernacular station to be set up in the year 2000, which eventually led to a proliferation of a number of commercial, state-run and community based vernacular stations. Vernacular radio stations in particular have exploded with the latest data showing that they have increased tenfold over the last decade from 10 in the year 1999 to over 120 in the year 2015 (Synovate Survey in 2015). In total, active FM radio stations in Kenya are more than 100[15]. Some of the stations which are on air today include: Kass FM and Chamgei FM (Kalenjin), Coro, Kameme and Inooro FM (Gikuyu), Ramogi FM, Radio Lake Victoria, Lolwe FM, Radio Mayienga (Luo), Mulembe FM, Sulwe FM (Luhya), Musyi FM (Kamba), Egesa FM (Gusii), among others. None of the stations broadcast in the Abakuria Language.

Vernacular broadcasting is instrumental in helping developing countries such as Kenya combat economic, political, educational, health and social-cultural challenges. Ethnic tensions, human rights abuses, and corruption in government can be addressed through vernacular radio programs. Low literacy levels in rural areas, health issues such infant mortality, maternal deaths and communicable diseases are best addressed by tailor-made radio programs that are broadcast in respective vernacular languages through the radio.

The media, whether traditional (e.g. radio, television and newspapers) or contemporary (21st century) media (e.g. Internet and mobile telephony) can be a potent tool either for

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[14]http://www.ziviler-friedensdienst.org/sites/ziviler-friedensdienst.org/files/anhang/publikation/zfd-performance-vernacular-radio-stations-kenya-1658.pdf accessed on 22 September 2015.

[15]http://www.ipsos.co.ke/spr/downloads/downloads.php?dir=media_research&file=Explosion%20in%20Media%20Changes%20Audience%20and%20Advertising%20Trends%20in%20Kenya%20.pdf accessed on 22 September 2015; Although there are only 42 ethnic communities in Kenya, some of the ethnic groups have up to five vernacular radio stations and now at least one TV station.

fomenting and escalating conflict or for ameliorating and resolving it. This notion is fortified with the example of the Rwandan genocide of 1994 where a private radio establishment, *Radio Television Libre des Mille Collines,* was used to rally one ethnic group to commit massacres and try to wipe out another group by calling for a "final war" to "exterminate the cockroaches" (BBC News, 2003). The use of the mass media to mitigate inter-ethnic tempers during the Kenyan post-election violence in the late 2007 and early 2008 is a well-documented example of media use for conflict de-escalation and resolution.

Technology has played a role in increasing access to this channel. Radio is now more available everywhere because apart from the conventional transistor radio set, one can listen to it through the mobile phone, cars, and computers. The cost of the individual radio handsets has also reduced greatly thereby enabling many people, both the rich and poor to have access to them.

Kenya's vibrant media has been accused of having been ill-prepared for the 2007-2008 post-election violence that rocked the country as a result of the disputed presidential results of the 2007 general election. The Kenyan media has been accused variously of failing to communicate the election results and the subsequent violence without partisan flavour. Various media houses especially vernacular radio stations stood accused of stirring tensions by taking sides and providing politicians with avenues to disseminate hate speech.[16] A radio journalist with one of the vernacular radio stations in Kenya was accused by the International Criminal Court in The Hague, Netherlands of committing crimes against humanity using his radio programme session during the post-election violence by inciting one community against another community.[17]

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[16] The Commission of Inquiry into the Post-Election Violence, the Waki Commission, collected data to the effect that the media was highly involved in fomenting the post-election violence through ethnic fervour as well as confusion, misinformation

[17] "Pre-trial Situation in the Republic of Kenya," ICC-01/09, at www.icc-cpi.int

During the 2013 general elections, some of the Kenyan media played a crucial role in informing, educating and providing space for dialogue and propagation of a spirit of peace, tranquility and restraint form acts of violence. These media practiced a considerably high degree of self-censorship looking at how it handled and adopted the prevailing peace discourse. It was accused of failing to fulfill its role as a watchdog, to wrongdoings and neglecting to act in the best interest of the public. The media was accused of imposing self-censorship before, during and immediately after the 2013 elections with respect to broadcasting sensitive issues and topics that might incite or ignite violence. The media was generally said to be very cautious, very restrained, careful, reticent or invariably hesitant and lacking in courage and objectivity and did not delve deeply enough into the issues as they should have done.

Critics have argued that the prevailing peace discourse at the time of the election was the fundamental reason why the media self-censored. The general feeling was that the 2007/2008 violence was to be avoided in 2013 at all cost. The barrage of peace messages from both government and civil society via the mass media urged Kenyans to maintain the peace and accept the results of the election whichever way they went. The media was keen to salvage its image after accepting culpability for the violence that took place in 2007-08 and was determined not to be blamed for another round of violence.[18]

It is worth observing, however, that researchers and practitioners have tended to put more attention to the negative role of media in conflicts rather than its ameliorating effect. Etyan Giboa (2009) has observed that:

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[18]http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/mediaaction/pdf/kenya_election_2013_working_paper.pdf. Accessed on 24 September 2015.

> Despite the critical significance of the roles played by media in conflict and conflict resolution, this area has been relatively neglected by both scholars and practitioners. Most existing studies focus on the often negative contributions of the media to the escalation and violence phases of conflict. Very few studies deal with the actual or potential media contributions to conflict resolution and reconciliation. – (p.88)

A well-grounded approach to the exposition of the actual and potential benefits of media in conflict resolution and reconciliation lies in understanding of the broad concept of media effects. Many authors (e.g. Gauntlett, 1998; Perse, 2001; Newman and Guggenheim, 2011) have sounded caution, however, about the limitations (and to some futility) inherent in focusing on the media as prime movers or cause for effects. Perse (2001) has suggested that the reason why many studies on media effects have produced minimal evidence of such effect could be that "media effects might be obscured by methodological imprecision, theoretical forces, and many personal, social, and situational constraints" - p. 14. To Perse (op. cit.), "the probe for media effects demands continued efforts, refined theories and methods, and the integration of a wide range of intervening variables into research designs". It is therefore arguable that there is need for more investigation of media effects using refined approaches and based on sound theory to establish the actual connection between media and its effects on society rather than (like the proverbial desert ostrich) hide away from the problem and assume that media effects don't exist in any significant way. This is the motivation behind this study – to establish in a contextually suited way, the enablers and inhibitors of the media in resolving a long-lasting intra-ethnic conflict among the Abakuria people of South Western Kenya.

Majority of Kenya's rural population depends on the radio as the most readily available source of important information and news. The information and broadcasting industry has exponentially developed and has a great potential to provide rural population with much benefits that include access to information and educational material available in different languages and forms. Vernacular broadcasting has added opportunities to rural populations

due to their proficiency in their first language more than they are in Kiswahili and English that are largely used in major radio stations. The model targets rural audiences who are mostly concentrated in particular regions and speak a given vernacular language. This makes rural areas to be the focal points for vernacular broadcasting making the radio broadcasts regional, ethnic and not national.

Rural audiences are not regarded much by traditional media economic models to be sold to advertisers due to low purchasing power and prevalence of poverty. Therefore the penetration in terms of uptake of television and traditional media is still low and slow in rural areas as compared to urban areas. Therefore the role played by vernacular broadcasting to influence development in these rural areas cannot be overstated. It addresses a large section of rural population due to its proximity of language used and the material being broadcast. The centrality of rural population for government policy formulation, activities of non-governmental organizations that are concerned with improving the living conditions and standards of the underprivileged communities can be enhanced by the use of vernacular broadcasting.

Curiously, the real scale and magnitude of the Abakuria conflict does not get prominent coverage in the mainstream national media. What is normally reported is just some little mentions about cattle theft among the Abakuria and hardly any magnitude or impact of the so called cattle theft. It is therefore not clear how the mass media have assisted in the resolution of intra-ethnic conflicts and the potential shortfall of the vernacular mass media in the management the conflicts.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Every ethnic community in Kenya often undergoes internal disagreements that may escalate to some level of active conflict. However, in some cases and among some of the ethnic groups, the conflict escalates beyond just disagreement and flares up into full blown violence. One of the communities where such has been reported is among the Abakuria ethnic group. This problem of intra-ethnic differences has been determined to originate from clan factions and therefore several consultation meetings, initiatives and camps have been held with the view to fact find and bring lasting peace and harmony among the Abakuria clans as has been noted elsewhere in the thesis. These initiatives have brought in governmental as well as non-governmental players such as churches, politicians, NGOs and many others. Several roadmaps have also been tabled and resolutions made in regard to peace building, creation of harmony and conflict transformation. The efficiency of these efforts have been variable as they have acted largely as a stop gap and situational efforts that need to be continuously buttressed by more sustained and broad-based approaches to ensure lasting peace among members of this community under study. The efforts have mainly been geared towards fostering coexistence and harmony. The Kenya National Human Rights Commission (KNHRC), The National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC), among others have facilitated several consultative meetings which have brought together the local administrators, civic leaders, religious leaders, and political leaders as well.

Although there have been several attempts at resolving the Abakuria intra-ethnic conflict, the real scale and magnitude of the conflict rarely gets any prominent coverage in the mainstream national media and coupled with genuine lack of a vernacular mass media forum, these efforts aimed at finding solutions to the conflicts through the mass media approach have yielded very little success. Therefore the actual effect of the mass media is

largely unknown which is compounded by the fact that it is one of the communities in Kenya which have been without a vernacular mass communication medium which is exclusively dedicated to broadcasting in their language for information. Further, it is yet to be determined what enablers and inhibitors exist in the attempt to use the mass media to mediate intra-ethnic conflict resolution. It is these knowledge gaps that this study seeks to address and fill in order to mitigate the scale of the Abakuria intra-ethnic conflict.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

This study stems from the desire to investigate and prescribe a contextually suitable application of the media as a "ready to go" solution in the resolution of the Abakuria intra-ethnic conflict.

1.4.1 Main objective of the study

The broad aim of this study was to establish and describe a contextually suitable model for the potential use of local media (specifically vernacular radio) in the resolution of intra-ethnic conflict among the Abakuria people of South Western Kenya.

1.4.2 Specific objectives of the study

To realise the aim stated in the preceding sub-section, the specific objectives of the study were to:

i). Determine the source of information from broadcast media and their role in conflict resolution among the Abakuria

ii). Evaluate the existing broadcast media reportage of intra-ethnic conflict and how they affect intra-ethnic conflict among the Abakuria

iii). Identify the shortfalls in the use of existing broadcast media platform for resolving ethnic conflict among the Abakuria community

iv). Assess the suitability of vernacular broadcast media in the resolution of intra-ethnic conflict among the Abakuria.

1.5 Research questions

In light of the objectives stated in sub-section 1.4.2, the study will undertake to answer the following research questions:

i). What are the sources of information from broadcast media and their roles in conflict resolution among the Abakuria?

ii). How do the existing mass media reportage of intra-ethnic conflict affect resolution of the conflict among the Abakuria?

iii). What are some of the shortfalls in the use of existing broadcast media and how do they affect conflict resolution among the Abakuria ethnic group?

iv). How suitable is the vernacular broadcast media in the resolution of intra-ethnic conflict among the Abakuria?

1.6 Scope of the Study

Although the mass media is expansive in scope and its effects diverse, the content scope of this study only focused on the role of vernacular mass media in resolving the age-old intra-ethnic conflict among the Abakuria ethnic group as already described in the background of the study. In terms of geographical scope, the study covered only the Abakuria community living in Kenya as has been stated. Finally in terms of time scope, this study was conducted for 16 months starting January 2015 up to April 2016.

1.7 Limitation of the Study

The study's main limitation stems from its methodological approach as will be explained in Chapter three. In order to gain insight about the problem at hand, the study adopted a case

study approach. The trade-off is that the results obtained from this approach may be limited in generalizability. While the study hopes to come up with tangible proposals to the resolution or de-escalation of the Abakuria community conflict by use of vernacular broadcast media, the generalizability of such recommendations to other conflicts of different contexts   in different situations is limited.

Since this study involved people who have cyclically undergone traumatic experiences over a long period of time, it was anticipated that sampling these groups of people would not be easy and finding them as such was going to be difficult. These were however overcome by using the snowballing technique. Moreover, there is a possibility that some of them may not have given the true reflection of their experience for fear of societal reprisals.

1.8 Significance and Justification of the Study

Hopefully, this study is going to be beneficial to Kenya and even Africa at large. As a country, Kenya has, and continues to experience several conflicts, many of which have persisted for far too long. By their very chronic nature, these conflicts point to a systemic weakness in the current available mechanisms of conflict resolution between and amongst communities. Evidently, the findings will be useful in coming up with long lasting peace solutions and approaches to dealing with intra-community conflicts.

Furthermore, the study will also provide useful solutions to the Abakuria as a community since they have, and still continue to experience vicious intra-ethnic strife for a long period of time. This situation evidently has interfered with their normal lives and attempts to pursue their day to day lives in happiness and peace. It is evident that the age old traditional community mechanism among the Abakuria used for inter-clan conflict resolution, alongside the supplementary ones have miserably failed to broker peace, or enforce any

long lasting harmony and cohesion, a result of which has seen this specific nature of conflict continue and, or recur for ages.

A better understanding of these conditions would advance our appreciation of conflict dynamics in at least three ways. First, intra-ethnic conflict is an important phenomenon in its own right, leading to thousands of deaths and population displacements throughout the world. Secondly, conflict within homogeneous groups is intimately connected to conflict between heterogeneous groups. Intra-group dynamics such as extremist outbidding and flanking have frequently been noted as some of the largest obstacles to domestic peace in divided societies (Horowitz, 2015). A complete understanding of ethnic conflict processes will thus be impossible without a better grasp of the forces responsible for generating intra-ethnic cohesion and fragmentation. Finally, the study of intra - ethnic conflict provides a useful perspective on the nature of group identities, highlighting the mutable characters of group boundaries and the need for theory which moves beyond assumptions of fixed cleavages.

From the statement of the problem, it is very clear that the issue at stake is a very serious one because it has to do with peaceful co-existence among members of the same ethnic group. The significance of this study therefore cannot be overemphasized because there cannot be any meaningful development in a country if there is no peace among its disparate units. Because of their importance, studies about conflicts in general and intra-ethnic conflicts in particular have attracted the attention of scholars from different practitioner's disciplines in Kenya and beyond. These include conflict management scholars, sociologists, economists, political scientists, psychologists, journalists and many others. They also include scholars of Marxist orientation who see negative ethnicity as products of class and economic relations. There is also the need to examine more closely the interrelationship

between ethnicity, the mass media and conflict management, given that their concrete manifestation in the social process appear to have defied all solutions.

This study is also significant in that it is intended to come up with a "ready to go" prescription for the use of vernacular broadcast media in resolving or ameliorating a long-standing ethnic conflict in Kenya. Ethnic harmony is priceless as it forms the very foundation upon which other development campaigns for education, health, infrastructure and many more can be based. No society can develop amidst incessant violent conflict as we have witnessed among the Abakuria.

Additionally, this study will help elucidate the scientific literature on media effects especially about the role of media in intra-ethnic conflicts, which subject has not received much attention from previous media researchers, practitioners and stakeholders.

A close analysis reveals that vernacular mass media is a strategic communication initiative and approach designed for a specific audience in a specific manner—whether written, printed, broadcast, or spoken— and it is intended to reach and impact a large and homogenous audience in a manner that can be predetermined. This includes television, radio, advertising, movies, the Internet, newspapers, magazines, and so forth (Perse, 2008)

If this is the case, it therefore means that mass media delivered via vernacular is a significant force to the culture of those who share in that language, particularly in terms of their life and social interactions and collective aspirations as a people. Sociologists refer to this as a mediated culture, where media continuously reflects and re-creates the culture. Communities and individuals are bombarded constantly with mass media messages and these messages promote not only products, but moods, attitudes, beliefs, behaviour and a

sense of what is and is not important to them as a people. The study is expected to make modest recommendations on how the mass media, and specifically of broadcast nature using vernacular language, can be a useful tool in peace building and conflict resolution to a homogeneous people.

1.9 Organization of the Thesis

This thesis considers ethnic conflict and applies the interactive role of the mass media to tackle the intra-ethnic conflict among the Abakuria in Kenya. It consists of five chapters. Chapter One begins with a brief background on the centrality of ethnic conflict to international affairs today and offers an overview of the key theoretical definitions central to this topic. Consequently, this chapter devotes considerable attention to the necessary preconditions for intra-ethnic conflicts and concludes with a discussion regarding the relationship between institutions, political culture and democracy. Based on the theoretical perspectives in Chapter One the thesis applies Abakuria as a case study. The community lives across the Kenya-Tanzania border and are very much prone to intra-ethnic conflict yet, there appears not to be any major vernacular broadcast media worth consideration. It is essential to consider the viability of looking for modalities to enhance the role of mass media to manage the ethnic conflicts. Chapter two discusses the literature review. Chapter three presents methodology that guided the study while Chapter four deals with data analysis and the presentation of that data as it was gathered. Chapter five provides the discussion, conclusion and makes recommendations as well as offering other issues and viewpoints that may be considered for further studies in the future someday.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Throughout history, conflict has been associated with mankind. It ranges from international and intra-state to intra-personal levels. The reasons for its global occurrence before the later stages of the Cold War were largely based on the search and competition for real power. Although several administrative structures can be used to solve the problem of intra-ethnic violence, the mass media often plays a key role in today's societal conflict[19], by either taking an active part in the conflict and having a responsibility for increased violence, or stays independent and out of the conflict, thereby contributing to the resolution of conflict and alleviation of violence of any form. In communities where the level of literacy is low, the role of vernacular mass media may be more important than the mainstream national languages oriented mass media. Whichever role the vernacular mass media takes in a given conflict, depends on a complex set of factors, including the relationship the media has with the actors in the conflict and the independence and influence the media has to the power holders in society. It is exactly this complex situation that the thesis set to investigate with a view of finding out the role that the contemporary vernacular mass media interventions in communities prone to intra-ethnic conflicts play.

Therefore this chapter reviews the relevant literature on intra-ethnic conflicts, mass media and the linkage between mass media and the solution to intra-ethnic conflict with a view to identifying the data gap that needs to be bridged in order to enhance conflict resolution through the media and further attempts to contribute to the general understanding of the subject. It begins by presenting the domain of the study of media effects, and makes a further attempt to note the limitations inherent in focusing on the media as a prime mover

for effects. Despite these limitations, though, attempts to focus the study on how media effects occur so that as a society we can mitigate harmful effects and enhance positive ones. A basic assumption for this work is that if properly utilized, a strong independent mass media can contribute effectively to the cultivation, retention or creation of peace and stability in intra-ethnic conflict affected and threatened areas. It commences with the in-depth analysis of ethnicity and intra-ethnic conflict from a local perspective, followed by the mass media and intra-ethnic violence. This chapter also discusses theories of media reporting with reference to libertarian and social responsibility theories and attempts to highlight on the developed conceptual framework based on the social responsibility theory of media reporting. The entire literature review identifies data gaps at each stage of the review.

2.2 Ethnicity and Intra-ethnic conflicts

Ethnicity refers to a group of people with a common socio/cultural identity such as: language, ancestry, common worldview, religion and common cultural traits (Welsh, 2013; Huntington, 2015). Schermerhorn (2014) identifies an ethnic group as a "collectivity within a larger society having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood". It is used interchangeably with the term tribe[20]. Unfortunately, the early European writers used the term "tribe" to refer to a group of uncivilized people, as if it had a different meaning from the term "ethnic group". It must, however, be stated that the tenets associated with an ethnic group or ethnic identity are the same as those of a tribe. The features of identification with the group, as well as group solidarity inherently imply that ethnicity represents a "consciousness of difference" and a "mobilization around difference" (Eller, 2012:9). Members of the same ethnic grouping are expected to share commonalities

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[20]The term tribe has a derogatory characteristic

in their culture, which sometimes is not the case due to the existence of real or perceived divergence of interest, beliefs, aspiration or competition for certain attributes giving rise to intra-ethnic conflict (Mathews, O'Conner, Soul and Peters, 2014).

Despite knowledge of the existence of violence between ethnic groups (Horowitz 1985; Varshney 2001; Wilkinson 2004), intra-ethnic conflict is not one of the most often discussed issue in world. This persists despite the countless conflicts attributed to the similar ethnic groups resulting in the suffering and displacement of millions (Johanson and Merryl, 2015). Available literature indicate that intra-ethnic conflicts are attributed more to internal phenomena like dispute over ownership of land (Obono, 2009; Idowu, 2011; Oladoyin, 2013; Babajimi, 2014), elite competition for the ever scare economic and political resources (Albert, 1999; Oladoyin, 2001), tussles over ethnic leadership, power and influence (Akinteye, 1999; Babajimi, 2003) and use of derogatory words and terms to refer to a group (Babajimi, 2003). Intra-ethnic conflicts can also be bred by externally-induced factors and policies emanating from outside the ethnic group.

Indeed, the available qualitative literature on ethnic conflict has long recognized that intra-ethnic dynamics are a critical component of the processes that generate broader forms of collective violence. As Jinadu (2004) notes:

> Ethnic groups are oftentimes polarized among themselves, over, for example, strategies to pursue in competitive situations with other ethnic groups, over leadership succession, all leading to fractures and, in many cases, the emergence of sub -ethnic or even newly constructed ethnic groups within them. We, therefore, need to study intra - ethnic conflict, as a micro - level of analysis within the larger kaleidoscope of intra- ethnic relations and conflicts[21].

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[21]This conjecture is also supported by the sociological literature on perceptions of group threat, which consistently finds a positive relationship between the relative size of a group and the level of threat it is perceived to pose (King and Wheelock 2007; Meuleman, Davidov, and Billiet 2009)

This literature has developed several key insights into the nature of ethnic groups and the conflicts they experience. First, ethnic groups are generally not internally homogeneous, and cannot be expected to have uniformly distributed political preferences (see Kalyvas 2003). As Akinteye (1999) shows in his study of the Igbo -Ora in Nigeria, groups are frequently beset by cross-cutting political and economic cleavages that can form the basis for the mobilization of collective violence at the sub-group level. Such internal cleavages may be based on more narrow ethnic markers, but they may also be rooted in clan or tribe-based loyalties that do not map neatly onto ethnic boundaries, as Riphenburg (2005) discusses in the context of tribal politics in Afghanistan. Moreover, the salience of sub-group cleavages can be manipulated by opportunistic political entrepreneurs even in the absence of any overt pre-existing tensions (Fearon and Laitin 2000). As a result of these factors, there can be a great deal of internal variation in how strongly putative members of an ethnic group feel connected to their group identity. The second key insight to draw from literature is that ethnic groups are not static. Rather, the boundaries of ethnic group membership are the subject of constant contestation in which political entrepreneurs struggle to define membership in terms that will be favorable to their interests. The salience and composition of ethnic identity categories can therefore be expected to change substantially over time (Anderson 1991; Brass 1997).

These examples demonstrate that intra-ethnic conflicts are frequently nested in broader political struggles *vis-a-vis* the ethnic group. Faced with the pressure to compete for scarce social, political, and economic resources, intra-group divisions can become polarized. In the resulting context of mistrust and suspicion there can be strong incentives for political entrepreneurs to engage in 'flanking' behaviors, in which they attempt to maximize their base of support by adopting ever more extreme postures regarding the group's boundaries and their willingness to resort to violence to defend the group's "true" members (Caspersen

2008). These dynamics can generate a spiral of intra-group collective violence—ranging from urban riots to outright inter-communal warfare — along newly hardened sub-group lines. Of course, this outcome is far from inevitable. Although there is growing concern of deeply divided ethnic communities, and the way that conflict areas nurture crime, terrorism, disease and other threats to human security and peaceful coexistence (McGregory and Joseph, 2013), no-one has mapped the key indicators that signal the onset of violence.

It is impossible to accurately quantify human suffering due to ethnic fueled conflict. To take one indicator – it has been suggested that, in the last ten years, over two million people mainly men have died in intra- ethnic conflicts, more than two million have been orphaned and more than six million have been disabled or seriously injured[22]. The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) has analyzed over 600 intra-ethnic conflicts occurring since the year 2000. Of these, the majority were intra-clan, inter-religious, individuals-ego based, and a number of factors not related to ethnicity. Such conflicts exacerbate poverty, bring massive human suffering, displace substantial numbers of people and create enormous problems for the international and local communities (Morgan *et al*., 2016). One consequence is that while some conflicts have acquired global attention through exposure in the media, others have failed to receive significant attention through outright neglect.

In the past decades, great strides have been to identify cases of intra-ethnic conflict. Unfortunately, earlier studies generally aggregated the units of analysis into pooled country-years (Collier and Hoeffler 2004; Ellingsen 2000; Fearon and Lai tin 2003), which made the real intra-ethnic conflicts in localized geographical areas to be blurred. However, recent studies have been more focused towards greater disaggregation of real unit of study and

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[22]Again these official statistics by UNDP, UNHCR and other bodies but those that go unreported may be surpass the current statistics by magnitudes above the official values

therefore bring out more pertinent issues on intra-ethnic conflicts. Such studies have substantially deepened the quantitative analysis of intra-ethnic conflict by replacing country - years with units of analysis defined by individual groups, and sub-national geographic units (e.g. Buhaug, Cederman, and Rød 2008, 2009; Cederman and Girardin 2007; Cederman, Cunningham, Gleditsch, and Salehyan 2009; Cederman, Girardin, and Gleditsch 2010; Cederman, Gleditsch, and Weidmann 2012; Fearon, Kasara, and Laitin 2007; Hegre and Raleigh 2007; Urdal 2008; Weidmann 2009; Wimmer and Min 2009; Asal, Brown, and Dalton 2012; Fjelde and Nilsson 2013; Staniland 2014). However, while this literature has greatly expanded the understanding of the micro-level processes that underlie the emergence of intra-ethnic conflict, the project of disaggregation is not yet complete, as analysis of intra-ethnic violence remains almost entirely absent from the cross-national quantitative literature[23].

Many of the African intra-ethnic conflicts of recent times in which millions have died – be they the conflicts in the Congo, the renewed civil unrest among intra-ethnic groups in Angola, the intra-ethnic conflicts in Sierra Leone, Cote D'Ivoire, Guinea and Liberia – have passed almost without notice under the international ethno-political discourse(Staniland 2014). The intra-ethnic wars in the North and South Caucasus are in a similar category; hundreds of thousands of dead, dwarfing for example the deaths in the second intifada between the Palestinians and Israelis, but with little expressed international concern either from governments or civil society. The media's role in this therefore needs to be perceptively examined.

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[23]An important exception is recent work by Cunningham (2011) and Cunningham, Bakke, and Seymour (2012), which uses a random sample of 22 separatist ethnic groups to examine the consequences of intra-group divisions

However, efforts to engage in a systematic study of violence in Kenyan ethnic communities run into difficulty given the dearth of research on contemporary Kenyan history and politics. Most of the existing studies have relied essentially on content analysis of media reports in national newspapers and magazines, complemented largely with in-depth interviews carried out with leading actors in the chains of conflict and violence, opinion leaders, researchers, religious leaders and the leadership of women, youth and trade union organizations.

A number of meetings within the communities, elders' intervention, legal processes and government use of force have been deployed to quell some of the intra-ethnic conflicts in many countries across the world with very little success if any (Adelaar, Chang, Lancendorfer, Lee and Morimoto, 2003). Although some of these methods have been successful, there are more tendencies for recurrence of intra-ethnic violence because these methods provide short term solutions to an apparently long term problem. Currently most of the solutions that are being suggested to solve intra-ethnic conflicts are advocated to be bottom up approach by involving most members of the warring factions in the conflict situation using in some cases the mass media.

2.3 The mass media and intra-ethnic violence

2.3.1 Background of mass media

There is a prevailing presumption that the media have significant effects on almost all spheres and aspects of our daily life (Graber, 2009). The media has been observed to have stronger influence on people than hitherto believed (Bandura, 2002). Acquisitions of vital information about all facets of intra-ethnic conflicts have been advised because of its ability to empower communities through timely information that will help solve the problem at hand. In this case, the mass media as a unique and effective tool have been recommended.

Chapman *et al.* (2013) reported that the growth of rural mass media reflects both the improvements in information technologies and the shifting of paradigm towards a more participatory style of information and knowledge transfer. Kumar (2004) identified mass media as an avenue for participatory communication and as a tool relevant in both the economic, cultural and social development of human beings.

Scholars have suggested over time that analyzing media effects ought to be done along specific dimensions. Dimensions of media effects help us understand the type of media effect that is being experienced and the conditions that allow media to have any significant impact on the audience. There are several dimensions that have been identified and they include: cognitive-affective-behavioral dimension (Hellen and Gray, 2014); micro versus macro level dimension (Nathan, Johann, Gregory and McDean, 2015); intentional versus unintentional dimension (Bradly *et al.*, 2013); content dependent versus content irrelevant (Morrison *et al.*, 2014); short term versus long term dimension (Grabis, 2013); and reinforcement versus change dimension (Marvin, 2016). Cognitive effects are concerned with what people learn and their beliefs are structured in their mind and how needs for information are satisfied or not. Affective effects are concerned with the formation of attitudes, which are either positive or negative evaluation about something. Behavioural effects are concerned with observable actions linked with sustained media exposure. The most studied being the focus the behavioural effects weigh in on anti-or pro-social behaviour. Previous writers including McGuire (1986) and recently writers such as McGregory (2015) have been quite unanimous and noted that the most commonly mentioned media effects include: media effects on personal behaviour through public service announcements; media effects on ideology changes and lastly media effects on social control (Perse, 2011).

McGuire (2013) also points out that there are quite a lot of other unintended media effects that rarely get mentioned including: media effects on aggressive behaviour as a result of media violence; effects of media images on the social construction of our reality; media effects on stereotyping through media bias; effects of media on objectionable behaviours; and media effects on cognitive activity and style. Depending on the initial role of the media, these can affect the resolution of intra-ethnic conflicts. Another dimension of media effects focuses on the longevity to our exposure of the effects in terms of whether they are for a long term or short term. The long term versus short term media effect dimension helps us to discover the media effects process through analyzing how long they last and with what impact on us. Effects that result in change or any form or modification of behavior such as aggressiveness have been found to endure for a long time. The final dimension of media effects focuses on the altering or destabilizing role that media plays on its audience once the audience has been exposed to certain media content.[24] Studies have shown that media generally has an overall strong effect in reinforcing and stabilizing peoples' beliefs through selective media exposure.

The Kenyan mass media have played a significant role in economic, social, political and educational issues affecting the nation thus contributing immensely towards virtually all facets of conflict resolution. However, this has come with disgust especially in political issues resulting into violent conflicts (Ibrahim and Osiko, 2007). The invisible role of the media in Kenya cannot be assumed given its influential power. For instance, as has been pointed out, the mass media played a significant role during the 2007 general elections and the subsequent escalation of the violence that followed. Indeed, the media shaped national and global geopolitical public opinion, attitudes and practices towards various facets of the society in Kenya through their extensive coverage and broadcasts during this period entirely

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[24] Ibid

(UNDP, 2008). In addition, mass media have also played a critical role as a tool for social education and enlightenment by robustly supporting the civic education programs conducted by various civil society organizations (Mbeke, 2009) which have played a key role in conflict resolution and mitigation.

This literature review indicates that the mass media coverage of conflict, including conflict management in all its forms has revealed that the revolution in information technology from 1960s to the present has led to the need for a redefinition of what we think of as nexus between media and conflict. The other aspect of media in violent conflict especially in a democratizing institution is the use of opposition metaphors such as (us vs them). They can also engineer conflict response through what is termed as the CNN effect which argues that the media drives Western conflict management by forcing Western governments to intervene militarily in humanitarian crises against their will (Jakosben, 2000). In addition, the media can serve to shape both public opinion and government policy. Some of the perceived media shortcomings in its reporting and analysis of the Kenyan conflict were double standards reporting, misrepresentation, encouraging and propagating hate speech that elicited ethnic hatred and stirred animosity, absence of professional conduct, creating emotional appeal to audience through misrepresentation of facts and selection of songs being played before and during the conflict among others. Lastly, Heiber (2001) showed that the mass media effects on their audience depends on so much on various factors such as social class, ethnicity, social context, age, sex, personality, marital status, nationality, political party affiliation among others.

2.3.2 The role of media in the resolution of intra-ethnic violence

In order to objectively understand the nature and the role of media in peace and conflict management, it is important to understand the various ways through which the media

influences conflict and conflict management. Newbold (2015) points out that majority of scholars and researchers have concentrated on the role of media in economic, social and political issues affecting states with little attention being given to conflicts. Further, he posed that media impact on conflict management is an emerging area that has been under studied due to lack of multidisciplinary models and concepts that would view the media's role from the realm of peace and conflict.

History and even research have shown that media can incite people towards violence. Hitler used the media to create hatred for Jews (Vladimir and Schirch, 2007). Joseph Goebbels, Hitler's Minister of Propaganda, masterminded the most effective effort of mass persuasion, heavily relying on propaganda messages in motion pictures and radio broadcasting. Aware of the importance of media, Goebbels controlled the press school for journalists and had a great hold over radio broadcasting (Cole, 1998).

He induced the industry to produce affordable radio sets, installed loudspeakers in public places and sent what were referred to as "radio wardens" to monitor the use of those radios (Jowett and O'Donnell, 1999). Between 1933 and 1942, the German radio audience increased from 4.5 to 16 million (Thomson, 1997). The Nazis mastered the use of slogans and bold-coloured visuals, but most importantly perfected the use of town rallies arousing emotional frenzy and support for Hitler. Furthermore, the town rallies were then reproduced in Nazi newsreels and shown to audiences all over Germany. This kind of propaganda was exceptionally persuasive, as manifested by the historical persistence of the symbols such as the swastika in popular culture more than 50 years later (Jowett and O'Donnell, 1999).

The growing recognition of the crucial role the media can play in helping provoke conflict has led many to examine how the media can play a constructive role in resolving conflict.

This created considerable controversy – should journalism stay detached, even from horrific events unfolding around them, or should it take up the stance suggested by Martin Bell and become attached to a cause – even that of peace. The obvious problem with such an approach is that it might involve taking sides in a conflict – after all, conflicts require a solution that addresses the underlying problems and this means assessing the weight of the different claims in a conflict and seeking to resolve them. Peace is something more than the absence of war. The dangers of journalists taking sides in a conflict are obvious – professional independence is impossible to maintain, access to the other sides' combatants will disappear and journalists will become even more of a target than they already are.

One limitation of the discussion about peace journalism is that it speaks to only part of the reality of the modern media, where the media is an actor in its own right. Part of the problem with the debate about "peace journalism" is confusion about the different roles the media fulfils. The media is a place in which journalists convey ideas, information and stories to the listener, viewer or reader – in this way they represent a version of reality. It is sometimes said that the journalist acts as a vehicle, which conveys the different views, outlooks and perspectives experienced in a society. In this capacity there is fierce resistance to any attempt to encroach on the independence of the journalist carrying out this function, or any attempt to impose an ideological purpose upon them, however worthy. The media understood in this way is a structure that carries the debates of a society.

However, in addition to the representation of the groups they are reporting on – in this case parties to the conflict – journalists also present their own views and interests. In this respect the media itself becomes an actor in the conflict, for example when it takes an editorial position or when the media focus on certain issues or aspects of the conflict leads to the exclusion of others. The idea that the journalist sits outside of the events they are covering,

whatever their perspective on "peace journalism" is misleading. The media, in this sense, are themselves actors or agents in the conflict and their behaviour will inevitably have an effect on the way the conflict develops.

To use more abstract terms the media constitute a space in which the conflicts of a society can be articulated and are inevitably themselves actors in that conflict. Moreover the combatants in a conflict will usually relate to each other either on the battlefield or through the way they are represented in the media (and this latter, as is evident in many recent conflicts, may often be more important to them than the battlefield). To use sociological terms, the media is both a structure and an agency. The idea therefore that they can be simple instruments of any point of view – state or non-state – is profoundly misleading and policy towards the media in conflict has to take on board the sense in which they play both of these interweaving roles.

Policy makers therefore need to focus on the media's role in (re)constituting the public sphere of society – how that can be fostered and nurtured in such a way as to allow non-violent resolution of conflict. By public sphere it is meant that the range of communication outlets and media which enable a society to view the representations of itself. To function properly a public sphere must have free flowing access to information and enable the views of ordinary citizens to be heard. In the words of Jurgen Habermas it is "a discursive arena that is home to citizen debate, deliberation, agreement and action" (Gregory *et al*., 2014). It should not be assumed that conflict itself is wrong or can be avoided in any society. The clash of interests, needs and desires balanced against the allocation of scarce resources means that conflict itself is inevitable in any given society. Where the media can play a vital role in allowing a peace process to develop is by enabling the underlying conflicts in a

society to be expressed and argued through a non-violent manner. This requires the creation of a suitable media space in which this can happen.

The key question for policy makers and media participants alike is how to create a media framework and practice that can sustain such a public sphere in a conflict arena. Over time the public sphere has been constituted through a range of institutions which have changed through time. Media, such as newspapers, were part of this process from the eighteenth century onwards, but by the end of the twentieth century we have 'mass societies' constituted by mass media, principally broadcast media (more radio than television internationally, but supplemented by newspapers, cinema, internet and mobile phones – the increasingly converged world of modern communications). This is a complex situation that requires a careful and measured policy response to be handled effectively.

A number of organizations have begun considering how to create a situation in a conflict and post conflict environment that allows the media to play a constructive role in tackling conflict, taking account of its true role. It has been increasingly recognized that an effective media is an essential part of preventing violent conflict from breaking out, as well as being an important element in its resolution should it break out. There is an increasing number of attempts to produce a more comprehensive and coherent policy approach to this problem.

On the 5 and 6 October 2003, IMS convened a roundtable in Copenhagen to examine conflict reporting. It acknowledged that there was no consensus on the best approach to conflict reporting among media professionals. The roundtable considered how conflict reporting impacted on war and how such reporting could be improved. The focus was on recent conflicts and participants sought to explore the distinction between peace journalism

and conflict sensitive journalism through analyzing specific interventions on conflict reporting (Terry, Peter, Marl and Fred, 2007).

Some participants suggested that the best approach might be to examine what the professional responsibilities of journalists should be in a conflict arena. This would include avoiding portraying conflicts as a zero-sum game contested by two combatants, but rather disaggregating the various interests that clash. It also would involve seeking to humanize both parties – making it clear that sometimes (though not always) there are no simple villains and victims. Such journalism would try to look behind the positions that combatants take and identify their interests, which may create more common ground than is apparent. This kind of peace journalism would also seek to place the immediate fighting in a more long-term context and would highlight the profound long-term consequences of violence (Melone, 1997).

In recent years there has been a profusion of projects and initiatives designed to support and promote peace journalism of one kind or another. Most focus on professional training initiatives to promote better coverage of diversity issues or more actively encourage reporting on peace initiatives (John, 2014). The Canadian based Institute for Media Policy and Civil Society (IMPACS) suggests five kinds of peace intervention, including training, promoting positive images and providing fictional storylines that have a positive peace message. Some of these approaches are little more than applying the best techniques of professional journalism to the reporting of conflict. However, the very term "peace journalism" causes many journalists real concern. They worry that "peace journalism" implies that journalists are no longer covering stories, but becoming part of them. They argue that society needs information, and the exchange of ideas and opinions in the public sphere, and the media must be free to play the role it chooses in fulfilling that obligation.

Arguing that the media promotes peace suggests to them the sense of an ideologically committed journalism reminiscent of the old Soviet Union (which was always keen to promote "peace" on its own understanding of the term) (Himelfarb and Chabalowski, 2008). Some media organizations have argued that the very practice of good professional journalism is itself a form of conflict resolution – or at least is something that has strong parallels to conflict resolution. For example, Johannes Botes, a journalism and conflict resolution trainer, identified a number of crossover points between the work of journalists and the work of conflict resolution experts. Both give combatants a voice. Both approach conflict with an open mind and the ability to summarize vague aspirations in more concrete terms. Both spend time analyzing the conflict and try to understand motives and possible outcomes. Both try and give objective views of the causes of the conflict (Terzis and Melone, 2012).

What few people would deny is that in any conflict there are certain parameters on which all can agree. In conflict the provision of reliable information is crucial and is often difficult to provide. Even the international media can find themselves at the mercy of rumor mills and propaganda and the situation can be even worse for the local media. In the corresponding information vacuum, combatants will use information to cause the maximum confusion and to dehumanize their opponents. The media will become specific targets.

The provision of accurate information about a conflict is therefore a priority for all agencies and developing and maintaining a culture of professional journalism is important. Learning how to provide basic humanitarian information is vital. A range of NGOs and institutions concentrate on improving these basic skills in conflict areas, from the BBC World Service Trust (which also provides programme content) to the Institute of War and Peace Reporting (IWPR). Even if the media is physically secure from attack, it is likely to have to deal with

some kind of censorship – and the temptation for self-censorship in many circumstances will be strong. Moreover, conflict is very disruptive of the normal market conditions in which the media operate. Newspapers, in particular, will face serious production and distribution problems. In these circumstances the local media will need external support from the international community if they are to play a constructive role in conflict. Despite the volume of evidence that suggests that the media play an important role in the coverage of conflict, media planning by the international community is still haphazard. For example, nothing in the Dayton accords dealt with the importance of the media or placed any requirements upon parties to the agreement to respect the independence of the media. Such provisions as there were, were inserted at the subsequent Bonn conference.

In general it is still the case that while many governments recognize the importance of the media in a conflict and support media projects, there is very little coordination between governments. Historically there has been an undercurrent of tension between those who see an unfettered media market (based on the US model) as the best guarantor of democracy and human rights, and those who take the more "European" view that some degree of regulation and structure is necessary to foster a climate where peace and reconciliation are possible. More recently – in Iraq for example – that tension appears to have been resolved in favour of the mixed model with a regulatory element.

As has been noted, the media can be a crucial weapon in stoking and fanning conflict and wars. On the other hand the media can be a constructive tool in helping resolve conflicts and bring about peace. The quest for the media to be involved in conflict resolution has developed a conflict between the need for the media to remain objective without taking

sides and the need to be passionate about the cause of peace.[25] Many have called on the media to take the mantle of championing for peace thereby delving into the depth of the underlying causes for conflicts. Taking such a path will lead to analyzing the objectives of all the actors in the conflict, taking sides and finding ways of resolving the conflict. This puts journalists at an odd situation where professional independence is impossible to maintain, access to the other side's combatants disappears and journalists become a target.

As an actor and a party to the conflict the media provides the much needed space in which the conflict can be articulated within the society.[26] The media representation of the combatants will have an effect on how they carry themselves and relate to each other during the conflict. Therefore there is a need to strengthen media policy in order to create public sphere of the society where there is free flow of information and ordinary citizens can freely exchange views and ideas. This is crucial in nurturing a non-violent resolution of conflict. Whereas conflict is an extreme form of communication, the media can play a vital role in allowing a peace process to develop and thereafter flourish by enabling underlying conflicts to be expressed and argued through a non-violent manner.[27]

To achieve this requires the creation of a suitable media space within the society through the establishment of a media framework and practice that can sustain a public sphere in a conflict area. With the ever changing media landscape coupled with the proliferation of mass media technology a responsive and measured media policy is much needed. This will allow the media to play a constructive role in tackling conflict without losing its primary

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[25] Davison, W. P. (1974). *Mass communication and conflict resolution: The role of the information media in the advancement of international understanding*. Praeger Publishers.

[26] Wolfsfeld, G. (1997). *Media and political conflict: News from the Middle East*. Cambridge University Press.

[27] Ibid

role. Any attempt to prevent violent conflict from breaking out requires the presence of an effective and responsive media.

There have been several attempts towards creating such a framework that can enable the media to carry out its role fully. The International Media Support, an international non-governmental organization with its headquarters in Denmark within the media fraternity has spearheaded such initiatives with an objective of highlighting the important role played by the media in conflict situations and galvanizing support for journalists working in conflict prone areas. Its maiden conference in Copenhagen highlighted this by opening discussions on conflict reporting. Media practitioners who attended the conference and agreed that conflict reporting had a significant impact on war and there was need to improve it. A critical look at the professional responsibilities of journalists in conflict revealed a great need to report on various interests and positions of the warring groups and finding a balance, humanizing both parties in order to find a lasting solution. This is referred to as peace journalism where the media is fully involved and becomes part of the story being covered.

Much has been written about the role of media in fuelling and escalating conflict. Most scholars have now focussed on the role of media in conflict resolution. As seen earlier the media plays a crucial role when well utilised to de-escalate a conflict and bring about reconciliation. It is also true that when allowed in a process of conflict resolution, the media can be destructive. Communication technology has highly advanced and has enabled people to send and receive information on a touch of a button. Traditional media such as newspaper, radio and television are able to relay and broadcast to the entire world in real time making access to information from any part of the world quick and possible. The advent of social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter has led to the emergence of

citizen journalists who are able to relay both accurate and inaccurate news information to the whole world within a matter of seconds. Therefore without proper regulation, sound ethical standards, or professional supervision and regulation, there is a great tendency for an individual or agency to fabricate events, rewrite them and convey them to the rest of the world within a very short time. In a conflict situation in which each side presents its own narrative and grievances these actors can easily and disastrously take advantage of the media.[28]

State and non-state actors in a conflict situation can take advantage of the internet and cultivate hundreds of supporting virtual communities to help spread their messages.[29] As a new media platform the internet too can be a lethal weapon to send and spread hate messages from and to antagonistic groups. Through the Internet, actors can respond immediately to unfolding events, address challenges, and exploit advantages and loopholes. Actors that do not employ the Internet rob themselves of a highly useful tool for engaging in foreign policy and diplomacy.

Using the media to intervene in any conflict can have unintended consequences both positive and negative (Jakobsen, 2000). The media can act as a tool to provide useful information to citizens that motivates them to act against their own interests and those of their community. Therefore the sincerity of the media to positively contribute to the prevention, management, resolution or reconciliation of a conflict may have negative implications. For instance, in its quest to prevent violence from taking place, the media may carry out a campaign to create awareness among the public on the signs of the emerging

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[28] Ibid
[29] Gilboa, E. (2009). Media and conflict resolution: a framework for analysis. *Marq. L. Rev.*, *93*, 87.

conflict or violence. The result could be positive if the warning creates awareness and the necessary initiatives are taken to stop the drift towards violence. However, the result could be negative if the campaign produces apprehension that leads to escalation of the conflict behavior. The outcome of any media campaign is always to have an enlightened public especially in a conflict situation.[30] Failure to achieve this objective after a media campaign will always negate the efforts towards conflict resolution. In the process of resolving a conflict, the media will be instrumental in initiating the conflict resolution process by vigorously and deliberately mobilizing public support for the same. Often times, the mobilization occurs and helps the resolution process to gather momentum. On the contrary, if the coverage by the media creates stronger opposition to the process and leads to the blocking of the initiative, the negative effects will be an escalation of hostility and stalling of the resolution process. In the event the media tries to legitimize a conflict resolution process by building confidence, dramatizing efforts to reduce violence and begin mediation, creating unrealistic expectations, or presenting a balance of advantages and shortcomings of peace agreements the end result can be disastrous.

2.4 Shortcomings of the general mass media: need for vernacular mass media

Proceedings at the international Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda in Arusha, Tanzania, revealed and concluded that the 1994 genocide was as a result of deliberate choice by modern elite to foster hatred and fear and set the majority against the minority using implicit messages, misinformation and propaganda through the mainstream media (Van Schaack, 2008). The ruling of the tribunal was to the effect that the Radio Milles Collines contributed directly to the mass murder and convicted three senior managers of the radio station and

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[30]Gowing, N. (1997). *Media coverage: help or hindrance in conflict prevention?* New York: Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict.

sentenced them to imprisonment. As a result, media practitioners and conflict resolution specialists intensified the use of media for development and begun initiatives to mitigate conflict and promote reconciliation (Howard, 2015). This has led to the development of an approach known as Conflict-Sensitive journalism that reflects principles and practices of conventional libertarian media development while embracing insights from advocates of news media practice who are committed to conflict resolution often called Peace Journalism. This approach is committed to expanding news media practitioners' conflict consciousness without overt peace advocacy with far reaching conflict de-escalation. The need to take into account all local conditions and partners is central to Conflict-Sensitive Journalism which reiterates traditional journalism norms and skills as well as providing media workers with insight into conflict as a social process and establishes a new perspective on media's influence on conflict. Journalists are introduced to conflict-instigating concepts such as resource inequity, unresolved grievances and ignorance of shared interests or common ground. The end result is broadened capacity of journalists to analyze conflicts through local perspectives thus enabling them to produce more diverse stories including reports of potential conflict resolution opportunities. [31]

Indigenous media in most African countries have failed to play the crucial of being a balanced educator and information source that is relevant to the public's welfare over issues that are found to be root causes of conflicts. In Kenya, a highly contested election ignited a long standing frustration and distrust among citizens that led to the killing of more than 1,200 persons and property worth millions of dollars destroyed during the three months violence. The ethno-centrism of alarmist news reports and inflammatory talk show commentaries on vernacular or tribal language radio stations was unprecedented. Many local language journalists knew of no response other than to report their first emotion-laden

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[31] Ibid

impressions of the violent acts that were unfolding before them and opened their micro-phones to hateful callers who alluded to killing their ethnically different neighbors.

Sixty percent of Kenya's airwaves is filled with vernacular broadcasting and many have continued their focus on the violent surface symptoms of Kenya's deeper problems of colonial displacement from traditional lands and political corruption.[32] A USAID funded initiative sought to train vernacular language journalists and help raise their conflict sensitivity and make their media outlets positive contributors to community reconciliation and peace building. The inductees were introduced to conflict issues in various forums and roundtables, mentored in their reporting and funded to explore issues elsewhere in the country. More than five hundred journalists were trained who produced 3,300 stories directly related to conflict issues and reconciliation and inspired countless others. Their work explored the deep seated resentment in Kenya and individual and tribal access to land. The initiative expanded to include national media journalists working on all platforms including state media, radio talk show hosts, newsroom managers and the civil society. The initiative monitored the progress and outcomes of the program and analyzed the content of journalists' work for choice of story subject, diversity of voice, and inclusion of conflict resolution as a subject matter and the extent to which ordinary citizens became the focus of the stories.

Some media houses, especially the ethnic based FM radio stations, seemed to have encouraged hate speech that elicited ethnic hatred and animosity that burst into open post-election violence, (BBC, 2008). Among the stations that were most mentioned included

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[32]Kijana, E. (2012). A General Assessment of the Independent Ethnic Radio Broadcasting Stations in Kenya. *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, *3*(8).

Inooro FM, Kameme FM, Kass FM, and Lake Victoria FM (Abdi and Deane, 2008; KNCHR, 2008b). While mainstream media houses like KBC, Nation Media and Standard Group were much more cautious, FM radio stations especially those broadcasting in ethnic languages appeared to fuel ethnic hatred and animosity through the use of hate and unsavory language. For instance, KASS FM radio station broadcasting to Kalenjins in the former Rift Valley Province referred to their Kikuyu neighbours as foreigners while a popular Kikuyu radio station, Kameme FM, often referred to the Luo as fishermen (Mbeke, 2009; KNCHR, 2008b).

The focus group testing and community leader interviews showed that audiences captured by media providers who had been trained under the initiative obtained an increased understanding of conflict-igniting issues and a greater receptivity toward conciliation and resolution. The end result was the media coverage of the March 2013 election. The election was carried on calmly, with the media coverage being very restrained despite the political parties' attempts to appeal to tribalism during their campaigns. There was intense coverage of the election results that had been contested in court but the media coverage remained restrained and there was no election related violence reported. The media in Kenya embraced the need to strengthen the journalists' capacity to view their work through a conflict-sensitive lens and regularly put it into practice. The promoters of the initiative were convinced that Conflict-Sensitive Journalism contributed immensely to conflict de-escalation in Kenya by early 2013.

Vernacular media in conflict resolution can be crucial if they embrace Conflict-Sensitive Journalism which emphasizes the importance of local context as the determinant of successful outcomes. Unfortunately, there is very little research available in this realm.

2.5 Commonly applied models of media effects research

Research has revealed four commonly applied models of media effects emphasizing the different forces that act as the impetus for media effects.[33] Each model emphasizes a different aspect of media content or audience as the principal force that drives a distinct media effect and therefore no single model can be used to provide a complete explanation for media effects.

Direct Effects Model

The role of media content as the main driver of media effects is central to this model of media effects. This model perceives effects as taking place within a short time span after exposure, moderately even with all audience members and meeting the objective of the media producer. The models is concerned with effects that can be seen and are able to bring about change without reinforcing any existing beliefs or attitudes. These effects can take the form of behavioural change, cognitive abilities, having the power to lead the audience to take noticeable actions. The effects of political ads that have the power to make the audience vote for a particular candidate through the knowledge gained thus affecting the attitudes of the audience fall into this category of direct effect model (Kaid, 2004).

The model does not take into consideration the role played by the audience in the media effects process.[34] The media is taken to be too powerful for the audience to counter its power. The media is viewed as dictating to the audience who are seen as having no mental capacity to make independent judgment on the media messages thrown at them. The model works best with young children or persons lacking in knowledge and wholly dependent on the media for information. In situation where the audience is able to make independent

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[33]Perse, E. M. (2001). *Media effects and society*. Routledge
[34]Ball-Rokeach, S. J., & DeFleur, M. L. (1976). A dependency model of mass-media effects. *Communication research*. **3:** 3-21.

judgment on the media content, the model asserts that they are not able to resist the pull of some of the content. Understanding this model requires that we consider aspects that are central to media content with greater emphasis on those perceived more automatically by people, those that cause arousal and those that are realistically depicted.

There are several variables that determine how direct effects take place.[35] The structure and features of media content are said to stimulate the orienting response which is involuntary and automatic attention and very unrelated to the meaning of media stimuli. This is based on the natural human need to understand the immediate environment. Studies have found out that children's attention to a television screen is affected by shifts in scenes in a television program. For instance, when familiar objects appear on the screen, children find them very enjoyable thereby increasing their continued attention on the television screen and thus creating learning effects.

Media content can stimulate a variable of direct media effect of arousal.[36] Arousal is said to be an automatic, non-specific physiological response that is activated by the environment. The person experiencing the arousal has no control of the process. Arousal has been found to bring about cognitive, affective and behavioural effects due to its ability to attract greater attention from the audience. Larger television screens and images coupled with exciting media content such as violence and erotica are said to be the key drivers of arousal as a direct media effects.

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[35]Wagner, J. (1983). Media do make a difference: The differential impact of mass media in the 1976 presidential race. *American Journal of Political Science*, 407-430.

[36]Adelaar, T., Chang, S., Lancendorfer, K. M., Lee, B., & Morimoto, M. (2003). Effects of media formats on emotions and impulse buying intent. *Journal of Information Technology*, *18*(4), 247-266.

Realism is another aspect of direct media effects. [37]Various theories opine that when media content takes the form of real life situations it is likely going to have greater effects. The cultivation theory states that persons who are considered to be heavy consumers of media content are more likely to accept distorted depictions of reality to be true. On the other hand, the social learning theory asserts that people are more predisposed to acquiring new behaviours from media content that is presented as being more real.

It is clear that the direct effects models follows after the early models of the magic bullet or the hypodermic needle and scholars still don't find as having much to add to the study of media effects. Whereas this is the position from media effects scholars, the model cannot be ignored bearing in mind the technological advancement that has made it easier for people to access media content. Media content on today's technology has been made to look more real and with a passive audience, and stimulating media content this model cannot be ignored.

Conditional Effects Model

The conditional effects model carries after the received view or the limited effects model that places much emphasis on the role of the audience in the media effect process.[38] The audience's ability to take in what is being relayed by the media is based on selective exposure, attention, perception and recall ability of the audience. The audience is looked at as having the power to determine the media effect thereby disputing the fact that media effects are bound to take place regardless. The model is based on the assumption that different people react differently when exposed to the same media content. As much as we shall have effects, the effects are dependent on the individual audience member. The effects

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[37] Ibid

[38]Bandura, A. (2002). Social cognitive theory of mass communication. *Media effects: Advances in theory and research*, *2*, 121-153.

can be affective, and cognitive dependent on the selective processes that act as inhibitors of the intended media effects. The models reinforces the view that people will choose what media content to be exposed to dependent on what beliefs and attitudes they hold dear. Therefore media content that is consistent with their beliefs and attitude will find resonance with them.

There are several variables that determine how the conditional effects model occurs and which act as barriers or enhancers to media effects.[39] They include social categories, social relationships and individual differences. Social categories take after the observable aspects of a people in terms of demographics, race, age, religion, ethnicity, gender, educational level and many more. This variable divides people and in this case media audiences into broad groups on the assumption that persons in one group tend to think in a like manner. Therefore different media content will be directed to different groups based on their likes, preferences, interests, experiences and that one social group will react differently when exposed to the same media content as compared to another social group.

Social relationship variable looks on the existing connections and interpersonal interactions between individuals that make up the media audience.[40] This model takes on the assumption that the flow of mass communication takes a two-step flow. A person receives information that is interesting to him which he later passes it on the next person whom they have an existing social connection. Researchers have established that information flows from opinion leaders which is later passed on family members, friends, and later on co-workers. There is a landmine to media effects with the two step flow of information. First, media effects could be highly affected by people being influenced by media information that they have not had direct contact with, second, the media information that is being passed on

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[39] Ibid
[40] Ibid

could be distorted, and third, the personal influence that is exerted on the second recipient of the information could act as a huge inhibitor of media effects.

The individual differences variable focuses on the inherent differences that make up an individual differentiating one person from the next. The commonly looked into individual differences include personality, preferences, attitudes, mental states and gratification sought from the media. Personality is usually theorized as the set of beliefs, values, and preferences that predispose people to act, think, feel, and behave in consistent ways. A person's personality affects his selective exposure and attention thereby affecting the media effects process.

Cumulative Media Effects Model

The cumulative media effects model focuses on the power of media content to override any power of the audience to limit exposure to certain messages relayed by the media.[41] This model has two components that are very essential; one is the amount of media exposure and content analysis. This model occurs as a result of repeated exposure to media content which results in the audience taking up the media viewpoint as their own. The more observable media effects are affective due to emotional reactions and cognitive due to the change in belief and attitudes. The effects of this model are said to be enduring.

The power of the news media to direct the concerns of the audience into an issue worthy of public attention is called agenda setting (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007). This has been found to be as a result of cumulative media effects model. It is a cognitive effect where the media dictates what the audience is to think about. This has become more prevalent with the proliferation of more news channel who operate in a similar ways and tend to focus on

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[41] Perse, E. M. (2001). *Media effects and society*. Routledge.

similar issues and events. Furthermore these news channels have the same sources of their news and therefore there is a high possibility that whatever they choose to focus on can be turned into an agenda for the public to consider.

Another form of the cumulative media effects model is found in the traditional cultivation which results in the audience developing world view based on the media content.[42] This view is reinforced by the results of content analysis that have revealed that violent media content is prevalent and that persons exposed to such content especially during prime-time tend to develop a fear for crime. Cultivation scholars have found out that the effects of this kind of exposure results in enduring effects.

The cumulative effects model is affected by the type of media content being relayed. [43] The nature of the images and the issues that make up the agenda are the key issues that define what kind of effects will take place. The consistency of media content across different media outlets is also paramount in determining the media effect on the basis that selective exposure is not possible and therefore media messages ought to be consistent and not one short message on limited range of channels. Any change in the media content curtails the validity of the cumulative media effects model.

Cognitive-Transactional Media Effects Model

This model borrows so much from cognitive psychology applying the schematic processing of media information.[44] It focuses on how humans process environmental stimuli which affects how they learn and acquire new information. The central feature of this model is the

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[42]Cohen, J., & Weimann, G. (2000). Cultivation revisited: Some genres have some effects on some viewers. *Communication Reports*, *13*(2), 99-114.

[43] Ibid

[44] Ross, K., & Nightingale, V. (2003). *Media and Audiences: New Perspectives: New Perspectives*. McGraw-Hill Education (UK).

schema that is said to be a mental structure representing knowledge about a concept. Evidence has shown the existence of schemas that are found of every domain that the human brain can grasp and are all interconnected. Schemas play a crucial in media effects in the interpretation and understanding of media content specifically. In influencing media effects, schemas help in directing selective exposure, perception, attention and recall that are very relevant in cognitive effects. They help in the integration of new knowledge and pre-existing knowledge, help in making inferences about new situations, help in reduce uncertainty about what to think or how to act, and help the audience in going beyond the stimuli and make inferences of things not shown.

Schemas operate in controlled and automatic processing. Controlled processing requires individual-controlled mental activity which is goal-oriented and thoughtful mental action. Here the individual is in full control and chooses which schema to activate and where to direct it, in this case which media content is relevant. On the other hand, the automatic processing is an effortless, low-involved mental processing of environmental stimuli. In an automatic mode the mental schema is primed and is used to interpret the environmental stimuli thus influencing selective exposure, perception, attention and recall abilities of the audience. Priming has been found to be an unconscious short-lived media effect.

The controlled processing results in cognitive, conscious and fairly long term effects depending on the schema that is activated.[45] Whereas in the controlled processing the individual has control of what schema to activate, on the automatic processing media content takes charge and it can easily be primed to achieve the desired results. Producers and advertisers can prime effective media messages targeted at certain schemas that direct attention and influence the interpretation of and reaction to the stimuli. Studies have shown

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[45] Ibid

that audiences overexposed to messages that are pro and anti-social news stories on a radio affects the audience's reaction in games, their judgment about decency of an average person.

This models is dependent both on the media content and the role of the audience in the media effects process. Media content has the ability of being primed to achieve a certain media effect whereas an individual audience member can determine what schema to activate. Media content as a variable in this model has to have some salient features that would influence the effects desired. For instance the images that are displayed on the television must take on the visual cues of the audience. Studies have found that the audience pays more attention to people on television with more brightly coloured clothing and hair. On the same note aggressive ideas have the power of capturing the attention of the audience especially when they are more realistic. The content must also make the audience identify with the characters in the media content. This helps in increasing the salience of the actor and stimulating more thoughts related to the observed action.

The audience as a variable is important due to the need to activate certain schemas that are essential in cognitive effects and directing selectivity. That means media content and the audience have to work in consonance, where the media content that is primed is able to activate different schemas in the individual audience even where there is selective exposure. Social categories, social relationships, and individual difference variables are relevant to explaining the content of audience schemas. The individual approaching media with a definite has greater influence on the controlled processing and is very selective in their media use thereby able to reject media content that is not in consonant with their desired goals. For instance, persons who are more knowledgeable about the political landscape and are in interested in information on the political candidates tend to reject media content that

is primarily focused on candidates' personal lives and habits. Another important feature of the audience in this model is the people's emotional state of mind. It is said that a happy person is predisposed to see the good in other people which is also true with a sad person.

Table 2. 1: Comparing and contrasting the four common models of media effects

Models of Media Effects	Nature of Effects	Media Content Variables	Audience Variables
Direct	Immediate, uniform, observable Short-term Emphasis on change	Salience, arousal, and realism	Not relevant
Conditional	Individualized Reinforcement as well as change Cognitive, affective, and behavioural Long- or short-term	Not relevant	Social categories Social relationships Individual differences
Cumulative	Based on cumulative exposure Cognitive or affective Rarely behavioural Enduring effects	Consonant across channels Repetition	Not relevant
Cognitive-transactional	Immediate and short-term Based on one-shot exposure Cognitive and affective; behavioural effects possible	Salience of visual cues	Schema makeup Mood Goals

From: Perse (2001) - p51

2.6 Theoretical framework

In response to the ascendancy of ethnic conflict, scholars and journalists have developed theoretical explanations devoted to uncovering the source of this violence. One group of theorists identifies the centrality or nature of governance as the key variable predicating whether a society will succumb to ethnic conflict or not.

More specifically, the centerpiece of this theory relates to the breakdown of the state order, which in turn leads to a series of events culminating in ethnic conflict. In short, the feature that links these theorists together is the "structure of the situation" (Kaufman, 2001: 8).

Thus, ethnicity, nation and state are linked together from a structural perspective as the core concepts underpinning ethnic conflict. This perspective represents a dominant body of liberal thought as a number of prominent scholars have advanced parallel theories.

This section discusses theories of media reporting with specific reference to libertarian and social responsibility theory.

Libertarian Theory

Media under the liberal systems of government, such as that experienced in several countries have their critical roles and functions embodied in these countries' constitutions or fundamental laws. Primarily, the media is free from government controls and acts as a watchdog against government excesses besides basic functions of informing and entertaining. This emphasizes that a free and responsible media guards against government abuses of power through factual reporting, promotion of open debate, representation of diverse views and protection of individual rights (Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm, 1999). Libertarian theory advocates for media to be self-regulating in observance of strict code of ethics and professionalism in their reporting. To ensure this freedom is not abused in Kenya, the state through its legislative arm has set up a regulatory commission comprising of both media practitioners and government officials to oversee each other (Communication Authority of Kenya, 2008).

At times, the state also proposes or nominates a representative in major media houses' board of directors to represent its interests.

This press freedom as outlined by the libertarian theory can be utilized by journalists and opinion leaders to promote peace and conflict transformation. The demerit of this theory is that selfish individuals can exploit this freedom to breed and thereafter sow the seeds of

conflict without the consent of the media. Looking at the Kenyan situation during 2007 general election campaigns, major media houses such as Nation Media Group, Standard Group and the Royal Media Services, through analyzed reporting, created an impression that the country is polarized along ethnic lines (GoK, 2008). The social media, vernacular radio stations and gutter press reports were worse off. In this case, the media tried to portray that political parties in Kenya had their primary bases in particular ethnic groups or blocs. Thus media could have built the foundation of Post-Election Violence (PEV) through its influence and freedom of reporting as provided and espoused under the libertarian theory.

On the other hand, the Libertarian theory advocates for legitimate media freedom where the government has no or little control over the media. Under this condition, the government machinery cannot influence the direction or editorial powers to report on skewed messages in its favour. The media practitioners have the freedom to operate within the legal framework and objective reporting thus discouraging conflicts and promoting peaceful coexistence. For example, the media supported the process of initiating mediation efforts between ODM and PNU by calling for urgent settlement of the crisis in their editorials and commentaries (Mbeke, 2009).

Social Responsibility Theory

Social responsibility theory takes the position that the media needs to assume, sort of create a reasonable balance in taking   both moral and legal responsibilities for all that they publish for the general good of the society (Siebert *et al*, 1972). This theory creates a platform to make media reporting truthful, accurate and objective at all times. Credibility is the foundation of this theory, and to be credible, media practitioners must try as much as possible to be socially responsible, transparent, fair and balanced in reporting, while respecting the dignity, privacy and rights of all (Schudson, 2001). Under this theory, media

reporting tends to highlight injustices within the community and enlighten people on their rights and privileges. The predicament with this theory is that as people become more and more enlightened, the more they push for their rights through whatever means available, including use of violence. Thus, the implication of this theory is far reaching in influencing people to unite and rise against injustices *(ibid)*.

The Social Responsibility theory binds the practitioners to report objectively, truthfully and transparently as an obligation. The highlighted humanitarian crisis following the 2007/2008 PEV by media made the international community to intervene. As a result, this led to ending the conflict. For example, several world figures, including African eminent personalities, headed by Koffi Annan, a former United Nations (UN) Secretary General, were among the prominent personalities who intervened to negotiate and restore peace in Kenya. Additionally, the Media Council of Kenya (MCK) put out advertisements calling on Kenyans to shun violence and keep the peace as well as calling journalists to adhere to their established ethical standards (Mbeke, 2009). Similarly, MCK also called for peaceful co-existence and harmony between the rivaling ethnic groups and mobilized individuals, churches and the private and corporate sectors to provide relief assistance to internally displaced persons (IDPS) in former Nairobi, Central, Rift Valley, Western, Coast and Nyanza Provinces. These are some of the media initiatives that could be seen to promote peace under the social responsibility theory.

Social responsibility theory is equally attached to corporate social responsibility (CSR). The idea that apart from the legal or legislative requirements, corporations have a moral obligation towards the societal wellbeing has its roots embodied in social responsibility theory. Major media houses for instance Nation Media and The Standard Group organized for relief mobilization to assist the displaced persons during the PEV. NTV, KTN and Royal

media in collaboration with Kenya Red Cross (KRC) appealed to Kenyans to donate food, clothes and shelter to the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) during the aftermath of the 2007 election skirmishes in Kenya. This was a positive role played by the media towards promotion of peace, hence a practical application of social responsibility.

2.7 Conceptual Framework

The study focused on social responsibility theory to develop the conceptual framework. As has been pointed out, this theory postulates that a free and responsible media has the responsibility of reporting accurately, promoting open debate, representing diverse views, and protecting individual rights against abuse by government machinery. With the analysis of two variables; media reporting as an independent variable and conflict management (peace promotion or conflict de-escalation) as the dependent variable, the study developed the conceptual framework shown in figure 2.1.
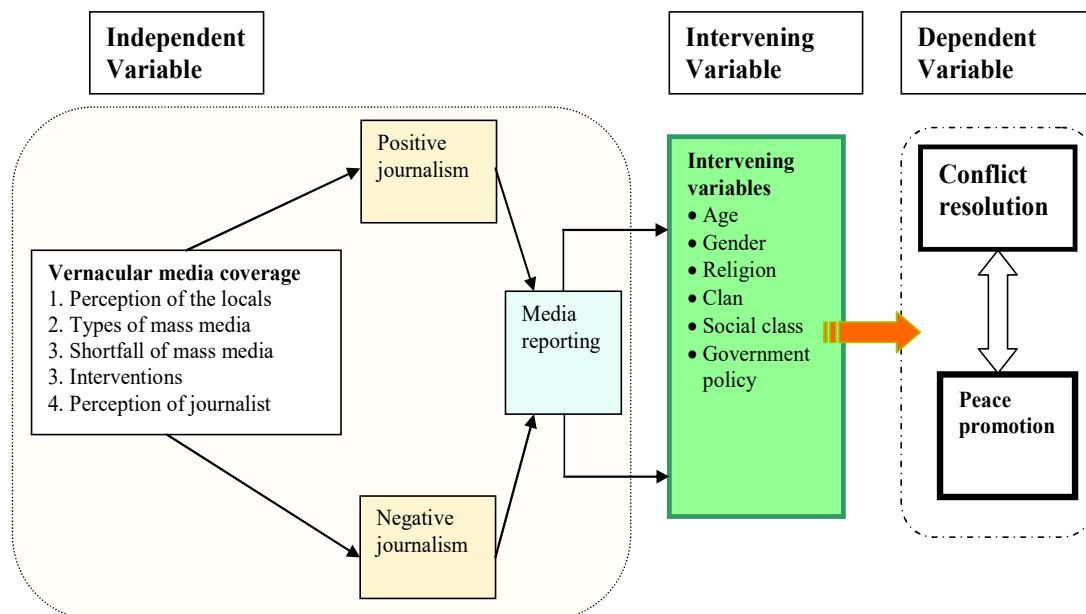
Figure 2. 1: Conceptual Framework for the study (Source: Researcher's own 2015)

According to the conceptual framework, media coverage is assumed to be greatly influenced by either subjective or objective reporting which determines the nature of coverage. Subjective reporting would involve sorting, analyzing and probably manipulation of reports to suit particular interests, while objective reporting involves facts, accurate and responsible report based on professionalism. All these are seen to take place within the media environment which represents the independent variable. However, their influential effect on individuals is based on factors such as gender, age, social status religion and residence. These human factors represent the intervening variable, which determine the strength of relationship between the independent and dependent variables. The ultimate cause of conflict is the dependent variable. It assumes two outcomes i.e. escalation or de-escalation as may be influenced by the media report. This media effect on conflict is what the study intended to establish.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Overview

This chapter provides an overview of the detailed description of the locale of the study, research design, sample size, sampling techniques, variables, instrumentation, and procedures for data collection, data analysis and interpretation. It also highlights the ethical considerations which were adhered to in the research.

3.2 Research Design

The study used a mixture of survey and qualitative methods of research design. The choice of these methods was influenced by the perceived varying degrees of opinions, views and perception of divergent respondents sampled. Creswell (2009) argues that qualitative research design is suitable in natural settings. Since the study mostly focused on respondents' perceptions of media and conflict management issues, qualitative approach gave more room for interpretation and understanding. Strauss and Corbin (1999) have further shown that those who use qualitative research obtain satisfactory results and appropriate answers to the central research questions being investigated. Therefore, this design was chosen because of its usefulness in obtaining an overall picture of the study.

3.3 Variables

This study used the independent, dependent and intervening variables as the three major variables to help the researcher to analyze and interpret the data. According to Gray (2009), an independent variable is the one that is used to explain or predict an outcome on the dependent variable; the intervening variable is the one that influences the relationship between the observed variables or independent and the dependent variables, while the dependent variable is one that forms the focus of research and depends on independent or

explanatory variable. In this study, the independent variable is the approach of media coverage and reporting of intra-ethnic conflict situations. The dependent variable is the outcome of the media reports with regard to a conflict which would assume two outcomes i.e. escalation or de-escalation. In this study the main issue under focus will be conflict resolution. Intervening variables are thus the effects of media reports on human factors which ultimately determine the course of conflict. The identified human factors are delimited to gender, age, social class, religion and residence.

3.4 Site of study

The study was conducted in Kurialand in Migori County (Appendix 6). The generic term Abakuria as has been variously used throughout this thesis literally means and purely refers to "The people of Kuria". The Abakuria are what can be called an ethnic as well as a linguistic entity traversing two East African countries. They reside in the Tarime and Serengeti districts of Mara region in Northern Tanzania, and the larger Kuria District which today is divided into Kuria East and Kuria West in Migori County in what was formerly called Nyanza Province in Kenya. However, this study is only applicable to the Abakuria resident in Kenya who straddle the larger Kuria District. Kuria West comprises the Bagumbe and Bakira clans while Kuria East is composed of the Nyabasi and Bwirege clans. According to the census results from the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics conducted in the year 2009, Kuria East had a population of 81,883 persons with 13,513 households spread across two divisions of Kegonga and Ntimaru, while Kuria West had a population of 174,293 persons with 28,257 households spread in two administrative divisions of Mabera and Kehancha. Therefore, the study area has a total population of 256,176 with 51,770 households.

As noted previously, they are mainly agro-pastoralists who practice crop and animal husbandry. It is mainly this practice of animal husbandry which has for a very long time become a good recipe to this conflict as will be discussed in the findings later on. Kurialand covers an approximate area of 3,328 km^2 and is located on a plateau with a cool and temperate climate that is considered one of the best climates in the world (Watson, 2008). Kurialand has two political constituencies represented by members of parliament in the Kenyan National Assembly: Kuria East and Kuria West.

An estimated 90 percent of the entire land area in the region is arable and can be classified as high potential. However, the poverty level in the area stands at 41% as per (KNBS, 2009). Ninety five percent (95%) of this population is rural based while 5% is urban. The main economic activities comprise farming, dairy and some commerce.

Purposive sampling was used to select four administrative Divisions in the sub county as sample units based on the intensity of the violence as previously reported and also through information obtained on the ground. As a result, four divisions selected i.e. Mabera, Kegonga, Ntimaru and Kehancha formed the basis for selecting the study units. Subsequently, one sub-location was identified from each location from which the sample population was derived.

3.5 Study population

Target population is defined as all the members of a real or hypothetical set of people, events or objects to which a researcher wishes to generalize the results of the research study (Gall, Borg and Gall, 2003). The population from which the study sample was drawn was varied. Within the context of the study, population comprised residents of Kuria East and West Districts and media practitioners. Kumar (2011) defines study population as the bigger

group or residents of a community about whom the study is concerned while the sample as a subgroup of the population which is the focus of the enquiry and is selected carefully to represent the study population. According to the 2009 National Census, region had a population of 256,176 with a population density of 269 people per km^2 with age distribution of 0-14 years 41.5 %, 15-64 years 55.7%, and above 65 years 2.9% (KNBS, 2009).

3.6 Sampling Technique and Sample Size

Sampling means selecting a given number of subjects from a defined population as being representative of that population. Any statements made about the sample should also be true of the population (Orodho, 2002). It is however agreed that the larger the sample the smaller the sampling error (Gay, 1992). The study employed mixed sampling techniques approach. The strategy combined both stochastic (stratified simple random), and non-stochastic (purposive and snowball) sampling approaches. Convenience sampling was used in selection of administrative divisions, locations and sub-locations as follows; the first level of sample involved the selection of four identified divisions of the study area; the second level involved selection of one location in each of the sampled divisions while the third level involved the selection of sample population from three sub-locations, one each from the sampled locations.

The various categories of samples were derived from previous media reporting and victims of intra-ethnic conflicts. In the selection of the samples, the area of study influenced the sample size. In the area of media practitioners, the researcher used simple random sampling and identified six media personalities. They were drawn from media houses including Citizen, NTV and KTN. The researcher chose one media personality for every sampled sub-location.

For the victims and the perpetrators of the conflicts, the researcher used snowball sampling by identifying one another who in turn identified others. In total, 178 victims and 150 other volunteers were interviewed to gain insightful information on the conflicts and possible solutions to the conflicts including the causes, effects, alleged perpetrators and peacemaking mechanisms. This accounted for 88% of the targeted respondents.

The researcher used 162 respondents drawn from 12,795 people in the four sampled sub-locations. The sample size was computed using sample size formula as prescribed in Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) as follows: $n = z^2 (pq)/d^2$

Where:

n = the desired sample size

z = Standard normal deviation (at 95% = 1.96)

d = the acceptable range of error (0.05)

p = the estimated percentage of locals who face intra-ethnic conflicts (12% estimated based on media statistics)

q = the estimated percentage of locals who do not face intra-ethnic conflicts (88% estimated based on media statistics).

Based on the calculations, the desired sample size was 162 victims of ethnic conflicts. To ensure a more balanced view, similar number of the general public who have never been victims were also sampled. The sub-location distribution was worked on based on the weight proportion of the population size of each sub-location as presented in Table 3.1.

Table 3. 1: Sample Size drawn from study area

Serial number	Division	Total population	Sample size
1	Mabera	61,231	52
2	Ntimaru	44,123	38
3	Kegonga	36,123	31
4	Kehancha	49,119	42
	Total	190,596	162

3.7 Research tools and instruments of data collection

Data were collected using different methods namely; observation, interviews, questionnaires both structured and unstructured, focus group discussions, and Participatory Vulnerability Analysis (PVA). Tools for data collection were based on the indicators to be assessed, and the objectives of study. Such tools included questionnaires both structured and unstructured, observation checklists, interviews, focus group discussions, and Participatory Vulnerability Analysis (PVA). The study relied on both primary and secondary sources of data. Other groups that were interviewed included the NGOs, and district/government departments. The following data collection tools/instruments were used:

3.7.1 Questionnaires

Primary data were collected from some of the victims of previous episodes of active conflict as identified by snowballing and other techniques in the period between November 2015 and February 2016 using questionnaires. The semi-structured questionnaires were provided to the victims (Appendix 1) and government officers who are directly involved with conflict matters (Appendix 2).

3.7.2 Interviews

Interviews were used to complement the questionnaires in order to ensure getting first-hand information and reduce ambiguity in responses. The researcher used both structured interviews and semi structured interviews. These were designed to target key informants

such as heads of NGOs, CBOs, the media practitioners and opinion leaders in the various regions within the study area(Appendix 3).

3.7.3 Focus Group Discussion

This method has been widely used in generating data. Authors like Patton (1990) suggest that it as advantageous for generating data in homogeneous groups of participants and as such was very relevant. Therefore focus group discussion was appropriate as the subjects of the study are homogenous. Each group discussion was guided by structured checklist, of course allowing flexibility in raising questions (Appendix 4). An interpreter was used to translate the sessions into the local language while conducting the interview in order that they clearly understand and respond sufficiently to the questions and to avoid distortions. This allowed group dynamics and some quality control since they hear each other's responses and stimulate one another during the sessions.

3.7.4 Observation check list

The researcher collected media reports both print and electronic from a database kept and maintained from the mass media fraternity and with the help of media practitioners and conflict researchers to analyze the content from the year 2010 up to 2015. Therefore, the study relied heavily on documented cases of intra-ethnic conflict reported in the newspapers, television stations, radio stations and magazines. Much of this information was also obtained from the internet sources that host the media houses. Non-participant type of observation was also applied throughout the research period, including making reflections and introspections aimed at collecting information that would not necessarily require interviews.

3.7.5 Participatory vulnerability assessments

The researcher held one participatory community vulnerability analysis in the study area (Appendix 6). It included a minimum of 10 adult men and women drawn from the targeted areas. Members were mainly drawn from the four divisions and comprised men and women who are knowledgeable and possess more insights about the intra-ethnic conflicts as the case in point.

3.8 Validity and reliability of the instruments

The survey was piloted with the help of four victims. This involved around 20 interviews. The researcher sat with each respondent while they were keying in their answers to observe how they coped with the violence as they have witnessed it before. They interpreted questions and answered any queries. In addition they were asked if they felt that any aspect of the questionnaires were problematic. This piloting was particularly helpful in refining and fine tuning the questionnaires and interview schedules ahead of the actual data collection. The questionnaires were pilot tested in Mabera and Masaba divisions. This ensured that the conditions for the research remain the same due to the geographical location that is similar to the areas which were selected for the study. Piloting ensured that ambiguities in the questionnaires and interview schedule were ironed out before they are administered to the respondents.

3.8.1 Reliability of research instruments

Reliability of measuring instruments refers to the instrument's ability to yield consistent results each time it is applied. It is concerned with the extent to which the researcher can depend confidently on the information gathered through various sources of data, adopted for the study. It can also be seen as a measure of the degree to which a research instrument yields consistent data after repeated trials, Mugenda and Mugenda, (2003). Reliability refers

to the reproducibility of a measurement. You quantify reliability simply by taking several measurements on the same subjects.

In order to be valid, a test must be reliable; but reliability does not guarantee validity. All measurement procedures have the potential for error, so the aim is to minimize it. In this study, the enumerators that were used in data collection were trained on how to administer the questionnaire in order to reduce enumerator bias in data collection (Cramer, 2011).

The reliability of an instrument is usually expressed as a coefficient. The reliability coefficient varies between values of 0.0 and 1.00, 1.00 indicates perfect reliability, which is practically never attained. A rating of .00 indicates no reliability. Reliability coefficient shows the extent to which an instrument is free from error variance, Mugenda and Mugenda, (2003). The closer the reliability coefficient obtained is to 1.00, the more the instrument is free of error variance and is hence a measure of the real differences among the subject in the dimensions assessed by the instrument. In order then to establish the reliability of the instrument in the present study, the split – half approach which is preferred by most researchers was employed. The questionnaires were administered to 60 respondents drawn from the six areas.

Split half technique was used to obtain X and Y scores. X distribution will take the odd positioned items, whereas Y distribution will take even positional items. From these the reliability coefficient was calculated. The reliability coefficient of 0.5 and above was accepted as a good measure of reliability.

3.8.2 Validity of the instruments

Validity is the degree to which results obtained from analysis of the data actually represent the phenomenon under study (Best and Khan, 1993). It is the accuracy and meaningfulness

of inferences, which are based on the research results. Validity refers to the agreement between the value of a measurement and its true value. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (1999) the validity of research is concerned with the extent to which that data measures what it is supposed to measure. To test the validity of the research instruments, the questionnaires were prepared and submitted to the other researchers for cross checking and also to assess the reliance of the content. The questionnaires were pre-tested through a pilot study that was conducted in February 2014; the findings were modified to free them from any ambiguity.

3.9 Data collection methods

The data were collected by the researcher with the help of three research assistants who all hail from the community but from different clans. This decision was strategically made to uphold neutrality during the duration of the research. The research assistants were trained by the researcher on how to conduct the exercise before going to the field. Data were collected at designated times in sampling units. In some instances the data collection was done at the convenience of the respondents. The respondents were assured that strict confidentiality would be maintained in dealing with the responses. Each of the respondent was given about three days to fill in the questionnaires after which the filled-in questionnaires were collected.

3.10 Data Analysis

After all the data had been collected, the researcher conducted a "data cleaning" exercise, which involved identification of incomplete or inaccurate responses, that were corrected to improve the quality of the responses. After data cleaning, the data were coded and entered in the computer for analysis using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 21.0. This research yielded both qualitative and quantitative data. Qualitative data

were analyzed qualitatively using content analysis based on analysis of meanings and implications emanating from respondents' information and documented data. Qualitative data provides rich descriptions and explanations that demonstrate the chronological flow of events as well as often leading to serendipitous (chance) findings. On the other hand, quantitative data were analyzed using various statistics including measures of central tendency and dispersion. Specific analysis for each objective is provided in Table 3.2. The results of data analysis were presented using frequency distribution tables and bar graphs.

Table 3. 2: Data analysis procedure

Objectives	Measuring scale	Data analysis procedure
i). To establish the perception of the general audience about existing vernacular mass media in management of intra-ethnic conflicts among the Abakuria ethnic group	Ordinal	• Frequencies • Percentages • Chi-square Spearman Rank Correlation analysis
ii). To determine the types of vernacular broadcast media and how they have affected intra-ethnic conflict among the Abakuria	Nominal	• Frequencies • Percentages Spearman Rank Correlation analysis
iii). Determine the shortfalls in the use of existing vernacular broadcast media for resolving the Abakuria intra-ethnic conflict	Scale	• Frequencies • Percentages Regression analysis
iv). Determine suitable interventions to maximise the potential or ability of vernacular broadcast media in intra-ethnic conflict resolution	Scale	• Frequencies • Percentages Regression analysis
v). To examine the perception of pressmen, religious leaders, peace and conflict practitioners on the role of vernacular broadcast media in management of intra-ethnic conflicts among the Abakuria ethnic groups	Nominal	• Frequencies • Percentages Frequency, percentage and chi-square (χ^2) test

3.11 Ethical Issues

The researcher received an invitation to present and defend the final research proposal for this study from the School where he was registered as a doctoral student (Appendix 11). Thereafter a letter of clearance to proceed with the study from the University College upon

successfully defending the proposal was issued (Appendix7). A Research Permit was then sought giving a written authority to carry out this research in Migori County within which the Abakuria community is domiciled, from the Government of Kenya through the parent Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (Appendix 8). Since the research dealt with sensitive issues that had the potential to discredit the image of some particular media houses and involved engaging in-depth with participants who are perceived to have greatly suffered from, or instigated the conflict one way or the other, directly or indirectly, their rights to confidentiality and privacy were reassured by the researcher as this was paramount. The researcher therefore employed Informed Consent (Appendix 9) which involved thorough explanations of the purpose of the research, and guarantees of confidentiality in the preamble of questionnaires and also before and during interviews as well.

The overarching principle of ethics in research is that the respondent must always have to give their informed consent (Chopra, 1998; Gray, 2009). To uphold the principle of anonymity, recorded data was given anonymity in the study, where requested or deemed appropriate.

The study emphasized and respected participant's freedom of acceptance or refusal to be interviewed and also of withdrawal from interview at any time or stage. Special attention to building cooperation over time, and if possible even spanning beyond the duration of the study was observed. Clear information was given to outline these assurances. The study endeavored as much as possible to comply with national policy guidelines on fundamental ethical principles regarding protection of human participants in any academic research such as this one. Finally, the researcher developed a Participant Information Sheet (Appendix 10) in which he clearly introduced himself and highlighted the need for and the nature of the study including offering a sneak preview of its objectives.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Organization of the chapter

This chapter presents an analysis of the data that was gathered using the tools of research discussed in chapter three. First section 4.2 provides information on the response rate of the respondents. Section 4.3 then presents and discusses the background information of the respondents including; age distribution, gender distribution, and level of formal education attained, occupation, and social status. Three main types of respondents are presented here, the local community members who have been victims of the conflict one way or the other, general members of the community and media practitioners. Opinion leaders were too few to make any meaningful discussion in this section and therefore their insights, though useful, are only incorporated in the discussion section. Section 4.4 presents information concerning the perception of the general audience about existing vernacular mass media in management of intra-ethnic conflicts among the Abakuria ethnic groups. Section 4.5 describe the types of vernacular mass media and how they have affected intra-ethnic conflict among the Abakuria while section 4.6 determined the shortfalls in the use of existing vernacular mass media for resolving or de-escalating the Abakuria intra-ethnic conflict. Section 4.7 determined suitable interventions to maximise the potential ability of vernacular media in intra-ethnic conflict resolution. The final section 4.8 examined the perception of pressmen, religious leaders, and peace and conflicts practitioners on the role of vernacular mass media in management of intra-ethnic conflicts among the Abakuria ethnic groups. Tables and figures were used to summarize and illustrate the findings of the study.

4.2 Response rate

The study targeted a sample size of 336 respondents. All the respondents were issued with questionnaires but those who duly filled in and returned were 311 representing 92.6% response rate. The researcher only considered the duly filled in questionnaires for analysis. The response rate was found to be suitable for analysis and making interpretations and conclusions for this study. The response rate for each category of the response is presented on Table 4.1. The highest response rate was among the media practitioners followed by the public and the lowest was from among the victims.

Table 4. 1: Response rate for the respondents during the study

Respondents	Total	Returned	Response rate (%)
Victims	162	144	88.9
General public	162	152	93.8
Media practitioners	15	15	100
Total	336	311	

4.3 Socio-economic characteristics of the respondents

4.3.1 Gender distribution of the respondents

The distributions of the respondents based on the gender differences are presented in Table 4.2. Among the 144 victims sampled in this study, 68.8% were males while the remaining 31.2% were females. From the 152 members of the general public sampled; 54.9% male and 45.1% females. Although only 15 members of the media practitioners were sampled, about 53.3% were observed to be males and the remaining 46.7% were females. These results indicate that most of the victims of the intra-ethnic ethnic violence were males.

Table 4. 2: Gender of the respondents studied in Kuria Districts

	Violence victims		General public		Media practitioners	
Gender	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Male	99	68.8	82	54.9	8	53.3
Female	45	31.2	70	45.1	7	46.7
Total	144	100	152	100	15	100

4.3.2 Levels of education of the respondents

Levels of education of the respondents studied in Kuria District among members of the Abakuria Community are presented in Table 4.3. About two-thirds (68%) of the victims sampled had attained either secondary or tertiary levels of education, followed by those with primary level of education (16%). Meanwhile one third of the general public each had attained either secondary level of education or tertiary level of education with another 14% having primary level of education. Among the media practitioners, 53% had tertiary levels of education and the rest had university level of education. Nonetheless, about 7-8% of the victim of the conflicts and the general public sampled during the study did not have any formal education.

Table 4. 3: Levels of education the respondents studied in Kuria District

	Violence victims		General public		Media practitioners	
Level of	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
None	11	7.6	13	8.6	0	0.0
Primary	23	16.0	21	13.8	0	0.0
Secondary	45	31.3	52	34.2	0	0.0
Tertiary	53	36.8	57	37.5	8	53.3
University	12	8.3	9	5.9	7	46.7
Total	144	100	152	100	15	100

4.3.3 Age distribution of the respondents

Table 4.4 depicts the age distributions of the three categories of respondents during the study. Majority of the victims of the ethnic conflicts (36.1%) were aged 36−50 years, which was followed by those aged over 26−35 years while those aged > 50 years were the least

among the sampled respondents. On the contrary, majority of members of the public were aged 26−35 years (35.5%) followed by those aged 36-50 years (31.6%) and 15-25 years (21.7%) with those aged below 15 years being only 2%. Most of the members of the media practitioners were aged 36-50 years (53.3%) followed by those aged 26-36 years (26.7%) while the least was members aged > 50 years (6.7%) with none being of the ages below 15 years. The present results reveal that most of the sampled respondents were aged 31−45 years, which is still regarded as youthful age.

Table 4. 4: Age distribution of the respondents studied in Kuria District

Age	Violence victims		General public		Media practitioners	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
< 15 years	4	2.8	3	2.0	0	0.0
15-25	29	20.1	33	21.7	2	13.3
26-35	45	31.3	54	35.5	4	26.7
36-50	52	36.1	48	31.6	8	53.3
> 50 years	14	9.7	14	9.2	1	6.7
Total	144	100	152	100	15	100

4.3.4 Marital status of the respondents

Marital status of the respondents is shown in Table 4.5. Most of the respondents regardless of the respondents category were married (66-76%) compared to those who are single (14-20%) while widows and widowers were few among the respondents (< 7%).

Table 4. 5: Marital status of the respondents studied in Kuria District

Marital	Violence victims		General public		Media practitioners	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Single	21	14.6	29	20.1	3	20.0
Married	110	76.4	107	74.3	10	66.7
Widow	9	6.3	4	2.8	1	6.7
Widower	4	2.8	2	1.4	1	6.7
Total	144	100	152	100	15	100

4.3.5 Income levels of the respondents

Income levels of the respondents were varied (Table 4.6). Based on the responses, most of the conflict victims and members of the public were earning monthly incomes below Kshs. 10,000, followed by those earning Kshs. 10,000−20,000. Most of the media practitioners were earning Kshs 20,001 to 50,000 followed by those earning Kshs 51,000 to 100,000.

Table 4. 6: Income levels of the respondents studied in Kuria District

Income	Conflict victims		General public		Media practitioners	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
<10,000	73	50.7	71	49.3	0	0.0
10,001-20,000	43	29.9	52	36.1	1	6.7
20,001-50,000	18	12.5	18	12.5	7	46.7
50,001-100,000	7	4.9	6	4.2	4	26.7
> 100,000	3	2.1	5	3.5	3	20.0
Total	144	100	152	100	15	100

4.4 Sources of information from mass media and their roles in conflict resolution among the Abakuria

The first objective of the study was to determine the sources of information from the mass media and how they contribute towards conflict resolution among the Abakuria community. This objective was formulated based on the research questions "*What are the sources of information from mass media and their roles in conflict resolution among the Abakuria*".

The data presented here highlight on the information mainly from the questionnaires and interviews from the three categories of the respondents.

The researcher first inquired from the victims, members of the public and from the media practitioners whether they believe that there are intra-ethnic conflicts within the community. Based on the responses: 100% of the conflict victims (n = 144), 92.5% of the public (n = 152) and 93.3% of the media practitioners (n = 15) indicated presence of intra-ethnic conflicts among members of Abakuria ethnic group. When subjected to Chi-square test, there was no significant differences in the responses (χ^2 = 1.114, df = 2, P = 0.322) indicating that there was a unanimous response to the knowledge of the existence of intra-ethnic conflict among the Abakuria community members.

The frequency of occurrence of intra ethnic conflict in the region as stated by the respondents is provided in Table 4.7. The frequency of responses were subjected to Chi-square test and it was established that there were significant differences in the nature of responses among the respondents (χ^2 = 17.114, df = 6, P = 0.0322). There were higher proportions of the victims of conflicts and members of the public who believed that there were more frequent intra-ethnic conflicts in the area than known in Kenya (about 85% for each respondent). However, the media practitioners appeared to have a different opinion where majority attested that the intra-ethnic conflicts were less frequent (42.3%). About 22% attested that they are frequent with almost a similar proportion stating that these conflicts are very frequent.

Table 4. 7: Frequency of occurrence of the intra-ethnic conflicts among Abakuria ethnic group

	Percentage frequency		
Frequency of	Victims (n =	Public (n =	Media practitioners (n =
More frequent	60.6	52.1	23.5
Frequently	25.4	32.2	22.1
Less frequent	14.0	14.2	52.3
Never	0.0	1.5	2.1
Total	100	100	100

Information concerning the nature of intra-ethnic conflicts among the Abakuria ethnic community from the victims of the conflicts are provided in Figure 4.1. The responses of the victims of conflicts were varied and when the response frequency were tested they were found to be significantly different among the respondents (χ^2 = 41.114, df = 9, P = 0.0001). The most common nature of conflict among the victims of conflicts was found to be arguments (97.4%), quarrels (96.4%), disagreements (79.8%) verbal abuses (72.2%) and killings (71.2. Other less frequent conflicts were mockery (27.3%), hostilities (26.2%) and fights (25.0%) that each attracted the attention of less than 30% of the victims of conflicts
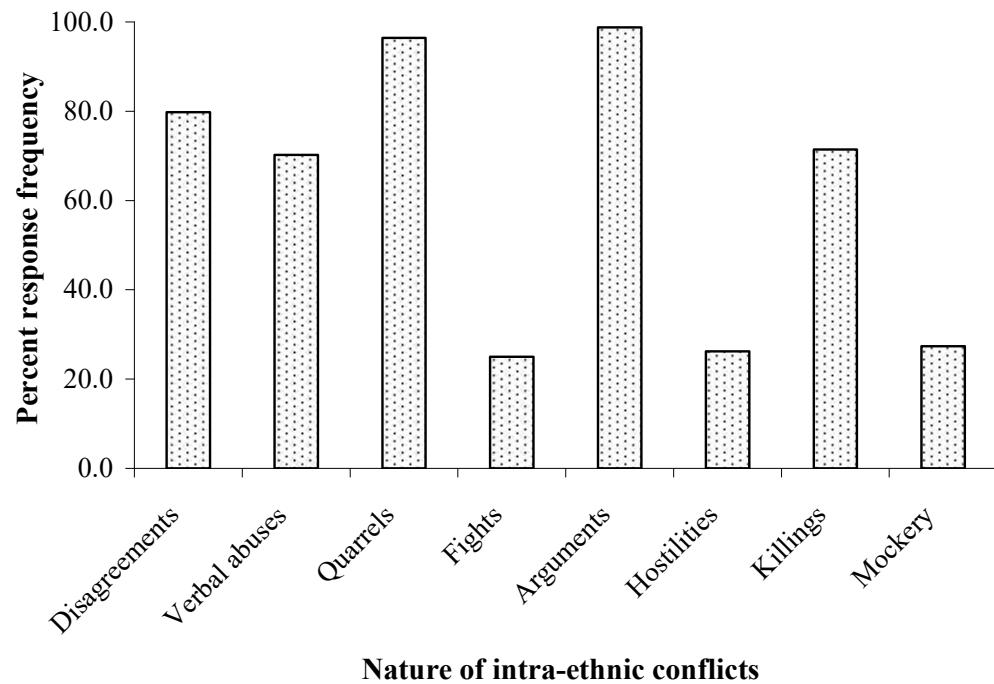
Figure 4. 1: Knowledge of the victims of conflicts concerning the nature of intra-ethnic conflicts among the Abakuria ethnic group

The researcher then determined from the victims of conflicts some of the causes of intra-ethnic conflicts. The causes of the conflicts' conflicts are shown in Table 4.8. Most of the victims of conflicts (> 50%) reported the occurrence of the intra-ethnic conflicts was due to anger, disagreements, poor quality of services and poor communication, which was reported by over 90% of the respondents.

Table 4. 8: Cause of intra-ethnic conflicts among the Abakuria ethnic group as stated by the victims of conflicts

Causes of conflicts	Frequency (n = 144)	% Frequency
Fear	29	20.1
Negative emotions	56	38.9
Jealousy	25	17.4
Anger	75	52.1
Frustrations	94	65.3
Disagreements with community	97	67.4
Drunkard behaviour	37	25.7
Theft	7	4.9
Resources conflicts	132	91.7
Political affiliations	9	6.3

The researcher then determined from the media practitioners the causes of intra-ethnic conflicts (Table 4.9). Majority of the members of the media practitioners believed that the main causes of intra-ethnic conflicts was fear, negative emotions, anxiety, frustrations, disagreements, excessive drinking, political reasons and fight for resources.

Table 4. 9: Causes of intra-ethnic conflicts among the Abakuria ethnic group as stated by the media practitioners

Causes of conflicts	Frequency	% frequency
Fear	12	80.0
Negative emotions	8	53.3
Jealousy	2	13.3
Anger	2	13.3
Anxiety	10	66.7
Frustrations	14	93.3
Disagreements	7	46.7
Drunkard behaviour	7	46.7
Theft	11	73.3
Political affiliations	10	66.7
Resource conflict	15	100.0

The researcher also asked the respondents the methods that would be suitable for solving the intra-ethnic violence within the community (Figure 4.2). Based on the responses of the

victims of the conflicts, the general public and the media practitioners: the most common methods that was advocated was dialogue, civic education and through mass media.
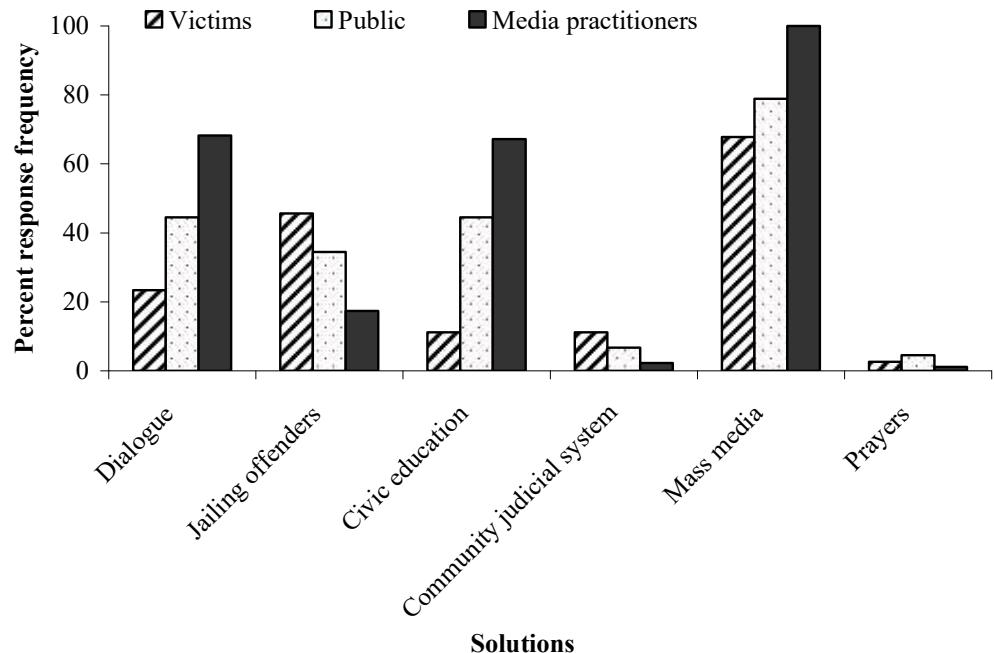
Figure 4. 2: Suitable methods for solving the intra-ethnic conflicts among members of the Abakuria community

Given that the use of mass media was advocated by all the three categories of the respondents, the researcher then determined the responses concerning the mass media. The sources of mass media where the local community members and victims of the violence received information are shown in Figure 4.3. There were no differences in the sources of information for the victims and members of community (χ^2 = 1.3232, df = 6, P = 0.4232). The main sources of information among the respondents were radio with about 80% listeners followed by TV registering about 40% viewership and newspapers attracting about 20-25% readership while internet was the least mass media source of information with less than 8% of the audience.
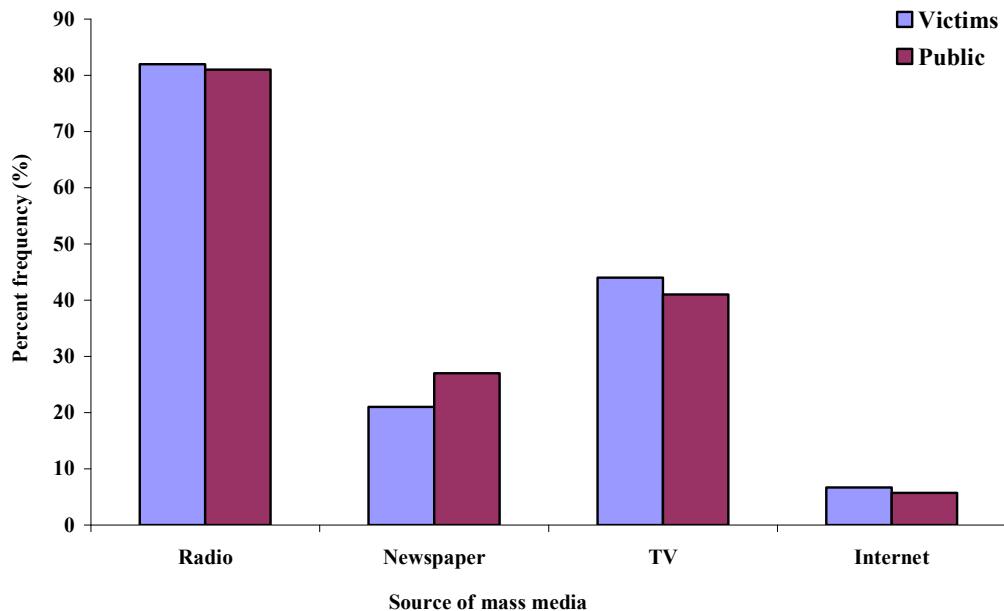
Figure 4. 3: The preferred sources of information from the mass media by members of the public and conflict victims from the Abakuria Community

The calculated rank percentages of the mass media types for conveying information from the aforementioned mass media is shown in Figure 4.4. The highest ranked mass media that convey most information to the local community members was radio with a calculated % rank of about 67% followed by TV which attracted about 23% ranked scores, newspaper with about 7% and internet with a rank % of about 5%. The differences in response between members of the public and the victims of the violence were similar.
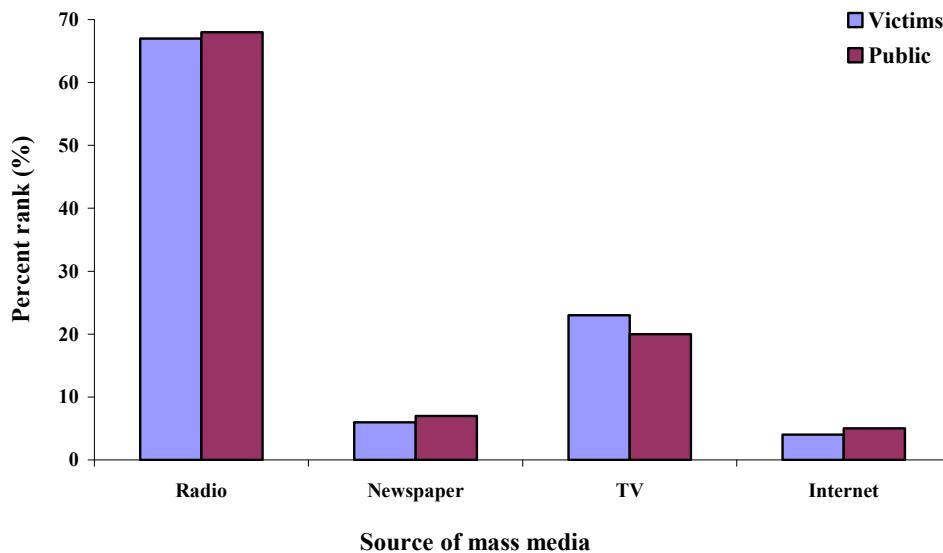
Figure 4. 4: Calculated rank percentages of the mass media types for conveying information to the respondents

Nevertheless the researcher determined the frequency of obtaining information about the intra-ethnic conflicts from the aforementioned mass media and the results are as presented in Table 4.10. The most frequent mass media for obtaining information was radio followed by TV while newspaper was low and internet least preferred.

Table 4. 10: Frequency of obtaining information on conflicts in the mass media

	Mass	Very	Frequen	Not sure	Less	Not at
Victims	Radio	12	15	20	95	2
	Newspaper	3	11	9	89	32
	TV	4	5	13	97	25
	Internet	2	6	12	83	41
General	Radio	14	14	25	88	11
	Newspaper	4	8	10	98	32
	TV	4	7	14	103	24
	Internet	1	6	15	86	44

The ranked frequency of obtaining information about intra-ethnic conflict from the different mass media by the respondents was also evaluated (Figure 4.5). Although radio received the

highest rank in terms of conveying information about intra-ethnic violence, it obtain approval rating of only 3.2% from the victim and members of the public among the Abakuria Community, which was followed by the rank scores from the TV (2%) and the lowest being from the internet (0.5%).
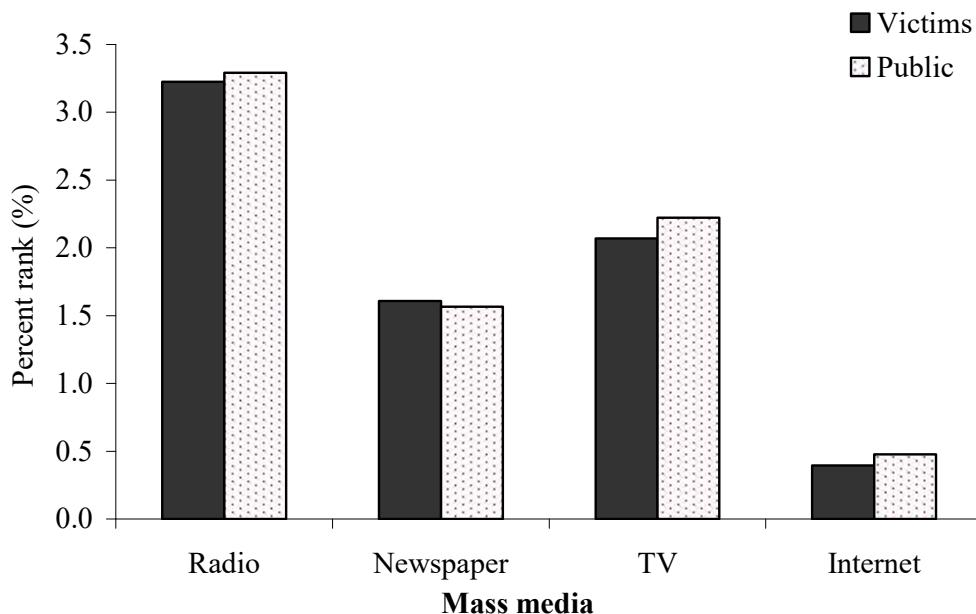
Figure 4. 5: Ranked frequency of obtaining information about intra-ethnic conflict from the different mass media channels

The researcher also determined the most favorite type of mass media from where information on intra-ethnic conflict are broadcasted is shown in Figure 4.6. Among the mass media sampled, Radio Citizen, Citizen TV and NTV were the most preferred kinds of mass media from where the information on intra-ethnic conflict is obtained from. There were also up to 20% of the respondents who sought information on the mass from the Kisii ethnic community – Egesa FM and another 3-5% of the respondents who obtained information from the Luo FM stations: Ramogi FM and Victoria FM as this ethnic group can understand both the Kisii and Luo languages with a degree of certainty.
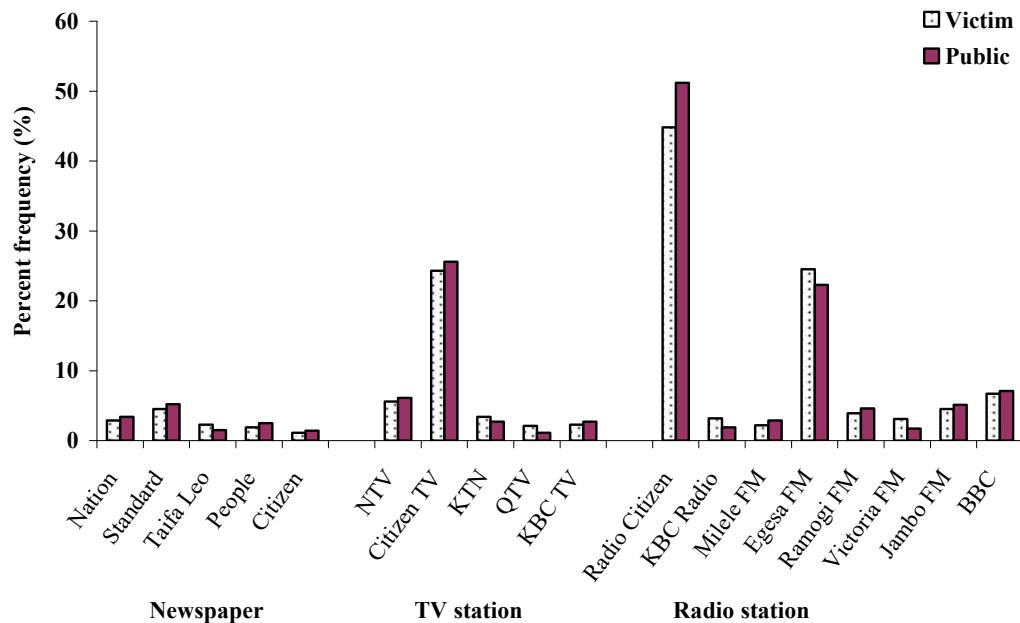
Figure 4. 6: The most preferred type of mass media among the respondents

The respondents were also asked to determine where they obtained information on conflict management among the Abakuria and only 3% of the public, 2% of the victims and 5% of the media practitioners indicated that they obtained such information from the mass media. In terms of each mass media contribution to the resolution of the intra-ethnic conflict, the results are as shown in Figure 4.7.
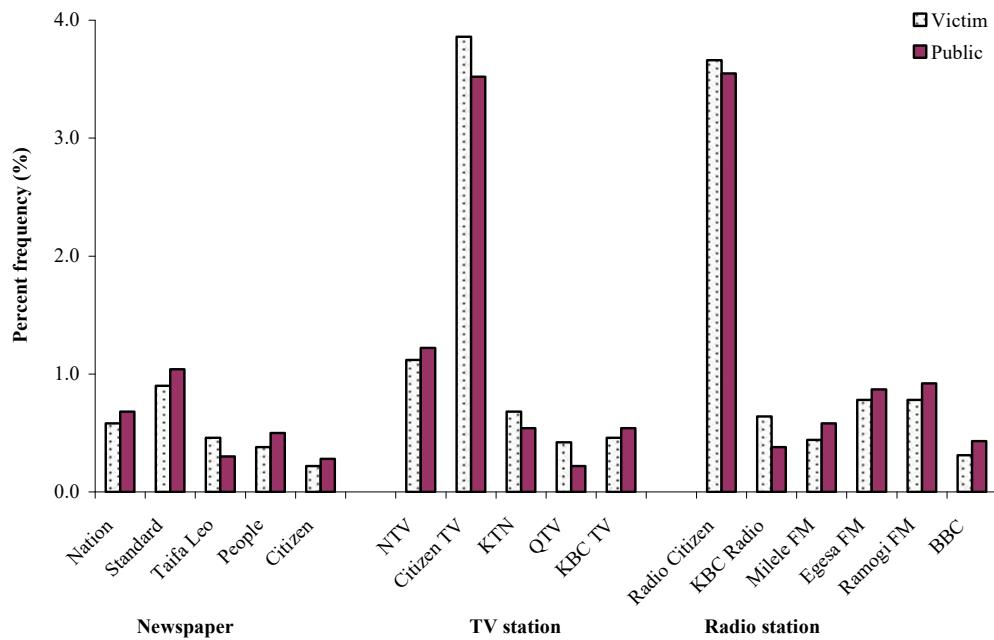
Figure 4. 7: Rank percentages of specific mass media contribution to the conflict resolution among the Abakuria community

The result in table 4.11 indicates that 46% of the respondents thought factuality was the reason for relying on the mass media for news on conflict while 29% answered balance was the reason, 12.2% and 22.2% of the general public and victims respectively responded fair coverage was their reason, while on 7% were undecided or had no reason.

Table 4. 11: Reasons responsible for audience preference

Variable	General public (n =152)		Victims (n =144)	
	Frequency	% frequency	Frequency	% frequency
Factuality	71	46.7	67	46.5
Balance	45	29.6	41	28.5
Fair coverage	20	13.2	32	22.2
Non partisan	19	12.5	24	16.7
Educative	31	20.4	18	12.5
Don't know	11	7.2	10	6.9

The overall rank on how the mass media helps in solving intra-ethnic conflicts is provided in Figure 4.8. Overall response on how the media help in solving intra-ethnic violence was generally low among the respondents. A relatively higher percentage (14.2%) of the

respondents agreed that the mass media was indeed useful in proper decision-making such as avoiding conflicts. Although up to 10% of the victims of conflicts stated that mass media helped them to avoid arguments, only 2.5% stated that they can help in solving conflicts and another 8% believed that they are useful in preventing death related to the intra-ethnic conflicts.
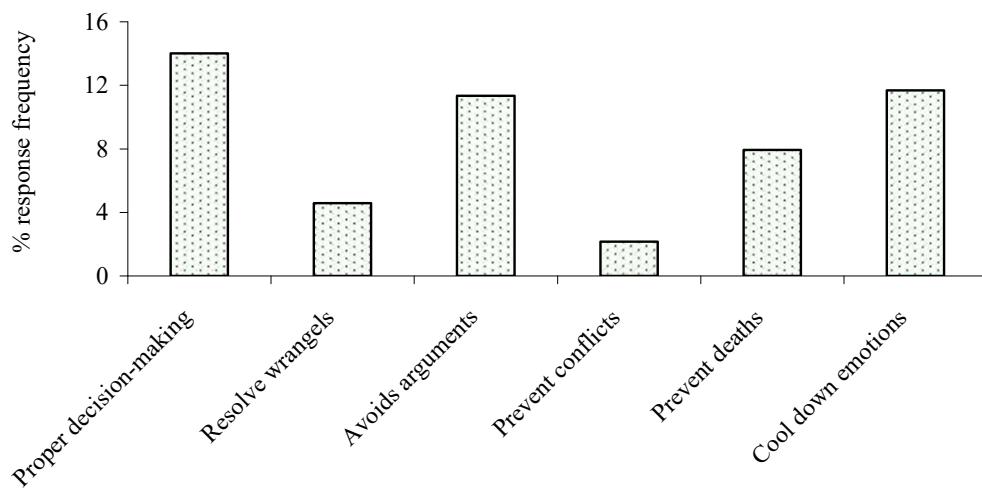
Figure 4. 8: Role of the mass media in conflict management among the Abakuria community

4.5 Mass media reportage of intra-ethnic conflict and how they affect conflict resolution among the Abakuria

The second objective of the study was to determine the existing mass media reportage of intra-ethnic conflict and how they have affected intra-ethnic conflict among the Abakuria. This was formulated as a research question stating: "*How do the existing mass media reportage of intra-ethnic conflict affect solution of intra-ethnic conflict among the Abakuria?*"

First the researcher determined from the victims and the local community members how they could classify the content of the media coverage based on a recall of the last 7 days

they have been in contact with the mass media. The results are as shown in Figure 4.9. Based on the responses, majority of the respondents believed that the media content is dominated by politics, followed by sports and food security issues with very few able to pinpoint any cases of intra-ethnic conflicts coverage in the media.
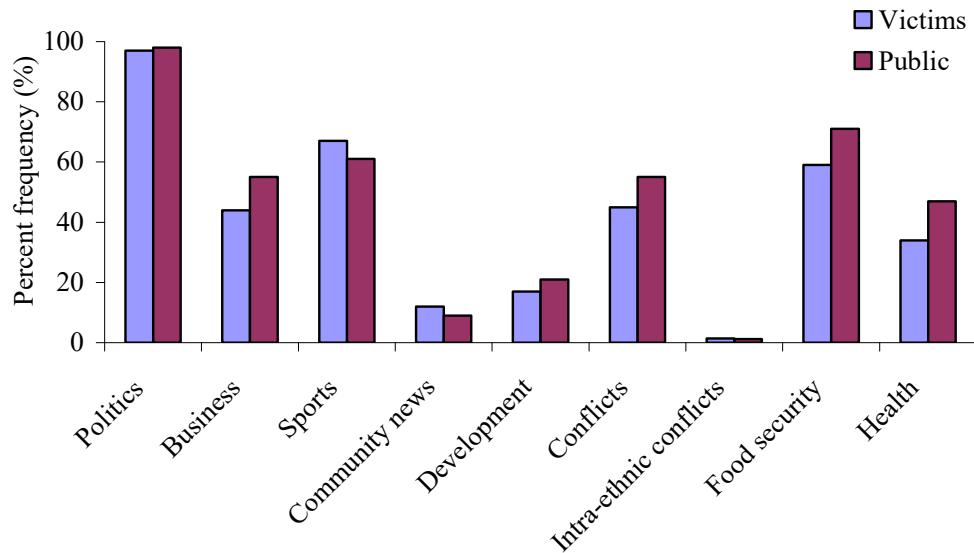
Figure 4. 9: Content of the media coverage as attested by the victims and the local community members

The researcher analysed the content of 9012 reports from the various mass media sources from the years of January 2010 to December 2015 and reported the following as shown in Figure 4.10. The results indicate that most of the mass media report covered mainly issues on politics, business, community news which are mainly political, health and to some extent issue of conflicts[46].

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[46]An in-depth analysis of these media reports was further conducted and it was established that most of the so called conflicts were mainly politically driven conflicts over resource and over 95% of these conflicts were cross border conflicts or conflict among communities of cattle rustling and ownership of resources
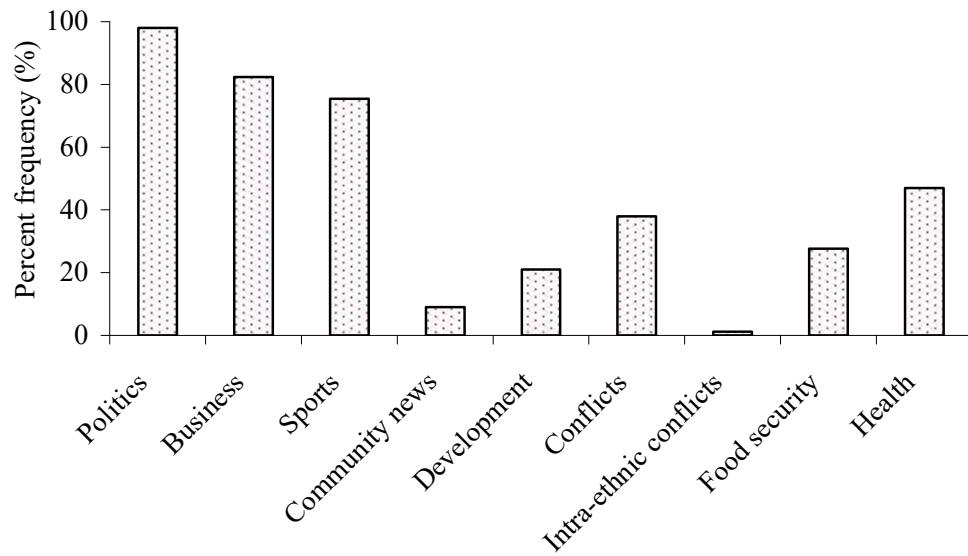
Figure 4. 10: Content of the media coverage based on 9012 reports from the various mass media sources from January 2010 to December year 2015

The same media content was analysed to give a clear picture of the patterns of specific mass media coverage relating to general conflicts and specifically the intra-ethnic conflicts among the Abakuria Community (Figure 4.12). Citizen Radio and TV had the highest coverage of conflicts followed by KTN and NTV while other media did not have much more frequent coverage of conflicts. However the proportion of those media reports on conflicts among the Abakuria was found to be highest (13.3%) in Egesa FM, 7.3% of the media content in Ramogi FM, up to 5.1% of the media coverage in Kiss 100 FM and 4.2% of the media content in KBC TV with ranging between 1.8 to 2.9% in KTN, Citizen TV and NTV[47].

Table 4. 12: Patterns of media coverage of general and intra-ethnic conflicts

Media	Frequency of conflict coverage	Frequency of covering intra-ethnic conflict	Coverage of Abakuria intra-ethnic violence	Percentage coverage of Abakuria conflicts
NTV	2342	411	12	2.9

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[47]The latter three mass media of KTN, NTV and Citizen TV are referred to as national mass media TV stations and have very large coverage in the country

Citizen TV	3455	523	14	2.7
KTN	2944	502	9	1.8
KBC TV	3112	402	17	4.2
Citizen Radio	4867	789	23	2.9
Kiss 100 FM	2112	138	7	5.1
Ramogi FM	1003	109	8	7.3
Egesa FM	789	88	12	13.6

The researcher also analysed the total time the mass media reported the Abakuria intra-ethnic conflict between 2010 and 2015 based on the information provided by the media practitioners and extensive content of the media obtained by the research group. The results showing the duration in hours of mass media coverage of intra-ethnic conflicts among the Abakuria Community is presented in Table 4.13. Based on the duration of the media coverage, Citizen Radio, Egesa FM, Ramogi FM, and Citizen TV devoted up to 884 hours, 861 hours, 781 hours and 531 hours of conflicts in the media duration to coverage of the conflicts. Based in the coverage of the Abakuria ethnic conflicts; highest duration of coverage was obtained in Citizen Radio, Ramogi FM, NTV and KBC TV devoted up to 58 hours, 28 hours, 25 hours and 17 hours respectively.

Table 4. 13: Duration in hours of mass media coverage of intra-ethnic conflicts among the Abakuria

Media	Duration of covering intra-ethnic conflict	Duration of coverage of Abakuria intra-ethnic violence	Percent duration of the coverage of Abakuria conflicts
NTV	571	25	4.4
Citizen TV	531	14	2.6
KTN	323	12	3.7
KBC TV	554	17	3.1
Citizen Radio	884	58	6.6
Kiss 100 FM	221	11	5.0
Ramogi FM	781	28	3.6
Egesa FM	861	13	1.5

The media practitioners and the key informants were asked to rank the role of the content of the mass media on the resolution of the intra-ethnic conflict on the Abakuria ethnic community. The results are as shown in Table 4.14. Based on the collated results from the media practitioners and the local community key informants, the existing media content play minor roles in the management of intra-ethnic conflicts among the Abakuria based on the response of 58.3% and 50% of the media practitioners and key informants respectively. Only 8% of the media believed they play a major role with another 17% who believed that the role could be major.

Table 4. 14: Role of the mass media content coverage of intra-ethnic conflicts among the Abakuria community

Media	Media practitioners (n = 12)		Key informants (n = 12)	
	Frequency	%frequency	Frequency	%frequency
Very major	1	8.3	0	0.0
Major	2	16.7	1	8.3
Not sure	0	0.0	1	8.3
Minor	7	58.3	6	50.0
None at all	2	16.7	4	33.3

The victims of the ethnic conflicts and the local community members ranked the contribution of the mass media content towards the resolution of intra-ethnic conflicts among the Abakuria. The results are as shown in Figure 4.11. Generally the role of the mass media content resulted in very low level of conflict resolution among the Abakuria ethnic community (1.6% to 6.7%). Based on the collated results from the mass media analysed, Egesa FM, Ramogi FM, and Citizen resulted in 6.7%, 4.2% and 3.1% collated rank contribution to the solution of intra-ethnic conflicts. Other mass media contents had low level of contribution to the resolution of the intra-ethnic conflicts.
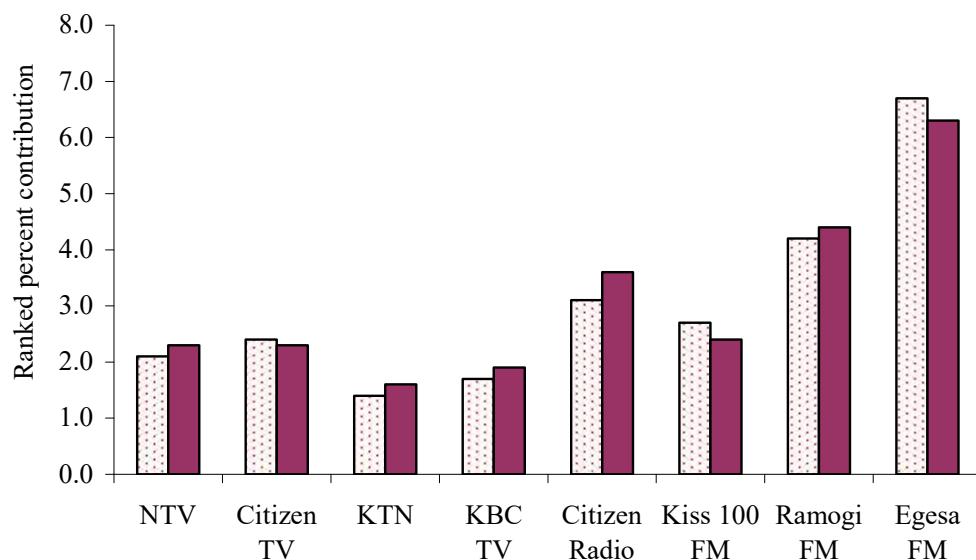
Figure 4. 11: Ranks on the role of specific mass media content on resolution of intra-ethnic conflicts among the Abakuria community

Finally, the media content between 2010 and 2015 were analysed to determine their contribution to conflict resolution among the Abakuria ethnic community. The results are as shown in Figure 4.12. Generally the role of the mass media content did very little to resolve the intra-ethnic conflict among the Abakuria ethnic community (0.6% to 5.2%). Based on the collated results from the mass media analysed, Egesa FM, Ramogi FM, and Citizen resulted in 5.1%, 3.5% and 2.6% collated rank contribution to the solution of intra-ethnic conflicts in the Abakuria community. Other mass media such as the content from KBC TV contents had low level of contribution to the resolution of the intra-ethnic conflicts.
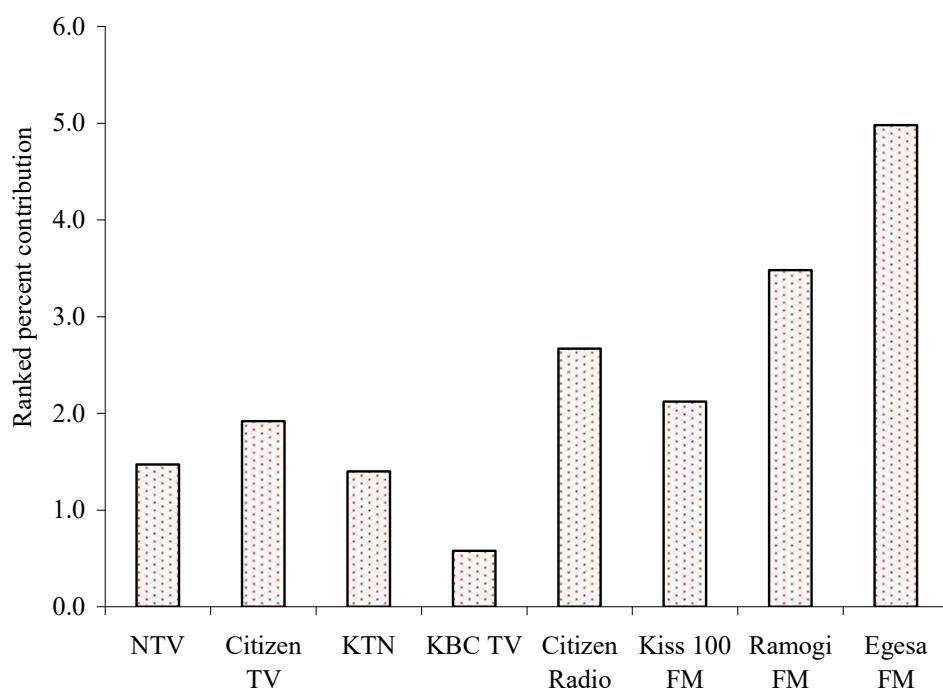
Figure 4. 12: Role of specific mass media content coverage of intra-ethnic conflicts among the Abakuria community based on the researcher's analysis of the mass media content on resolution of intra-ethnic conflict.

4.6 Shortfalls in the use of existing broadcast media for resolving the ethnic conflict among the Abakuria

The third objective of the study determined by the researcher was the shortfalls in the use of existing mass media for resolving the ethnic conflict among the Abakuria ethnic. This was formulated in the form of a research question stating "*What are the shortfalls in the use of existing broadcast media and how does it affect conflict resolution among the Abakuria intra-ethnic group*?"

First the researcher inquired whether the respondents perceived the existing mass media to provide accurate information on conflict communication among the Abakuria community. About 95% of the victims of previous episodes of violence, 98% of the local community members and 80% of the members of the media practitioners indicated that the existing mass media are not up to the task of providing accurate information on conflict resolution within the community. Asked to expound on the shortcoming of the media to provide accurate information, the responses are as shown in Table 4.15. The main reason why accurate reporting of the conflict among the Abakuria was found wanting by the local community members was because the existing media focused more of their attention on other issues to the detriment of the local content, which was attested by majority of the victims of the violence, local community members and the media practitioners. The other reason that elicited more positive response from the respondents were biasness in media coverage by the local community members and lack of local contents in the media content of the existing mass media channels that the local community members have access to.

Table 4. 15: Shortcomings of the existing mass media in providing accurate information on Abakuria ethnic conflict

Reasons	Victims (n = 144)		Local community members (n = 12)		Media practitioners (n = 12)	
	Frequency	%frequency	Frequency	%frequency	Frequency	%frequency
Focus on other issues	112	77.8	132	86.8	12	100.0
Media bias	78	54.2	81	53.3	1	8.3
Language barrier	11	7.6	7	4.6	1	8.3
Lack of local content	44	30.6	59	38.8	6	50.0
Negligence	34	23.6	43	28.3	2	16.7

The researcher inquired the nature of programme that the respondents feel should feature prominently in the mass media that would be useful in resolving the conflict and the response are as shown in Figure 4.13.
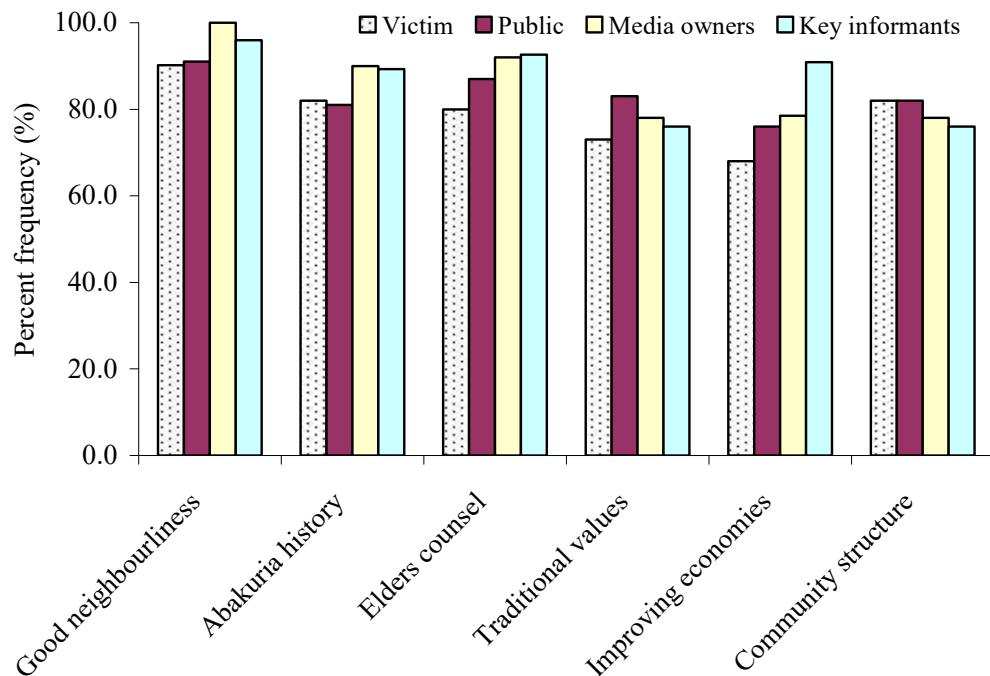
Figure 4. 13: Nature of programmes that the respondents feel should feature prominently in the mass media

Nature of language used by the mass media when conveying solutions to the conflicts was also determined by the researcher (Figure 4.14). Most the respondents (77.8%) felt that the mass media were using professional language, followed by those who believed that the

mass media used complex language in transmission (44.6%) while other indicated that the mass media used simple and informal language that could also be understood by many. Only 1% of the respondents felt that the mass media used language that could easily be understood by the local community members.
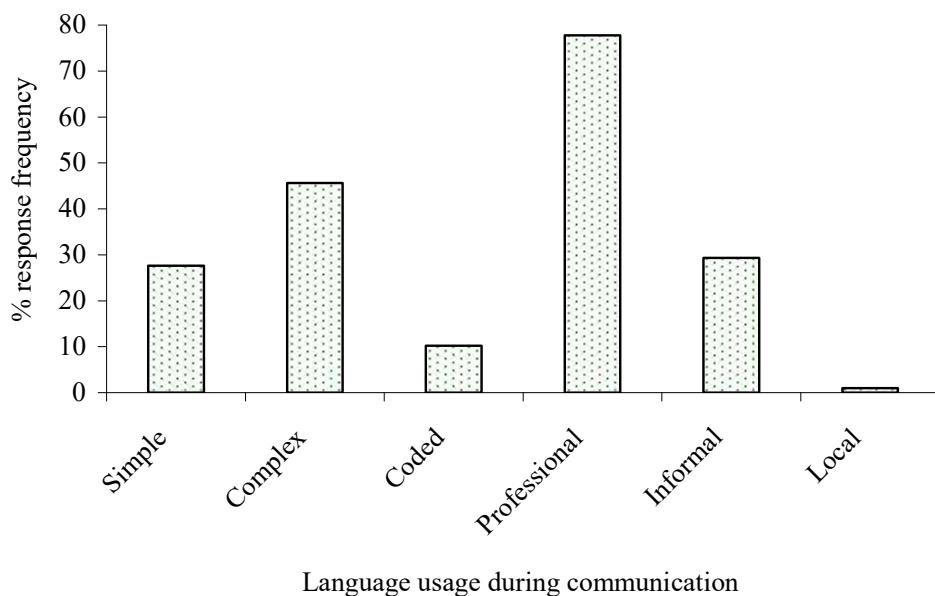
Figure 4. 14: Nature of language usage by the mass media when conveying solutions to intra-ethnic conflict

The extent to which mass media withhold information about conflicts about intra-ethnic conflicts was also sought and the results as shown in Table 4.16. Based on the results of the table, large majority of the past victims of the ethnic conflict believed that the mass media largely withhold information and therefore may not be providing adequate information about the conflicts.

Table 4. 16: Extent to which mass media withhold information about conflicts on intra-ethnic conflicts

Extend to which the media withhold information	Victims (n = 144)		General public (n = 152)	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Very large extent	88	61.1	97	63.8
Large extent	34	23.6	29	19.1
Not sure	10	6.9	13	8.6
Small extent	9	6.3	9	5.9
Very small extent	3	2.1	4	2.6
Total	144		152	

There was need to establish aspects of improving media sector so as to improve the intra-ethnic conflicts among the Abakuria (Figure 4.15). The coverage of mass media was reported as the most important factor among the respondent, followed by content improvement. The least factors were professionalism and corporate social responsibility with 13.3%.
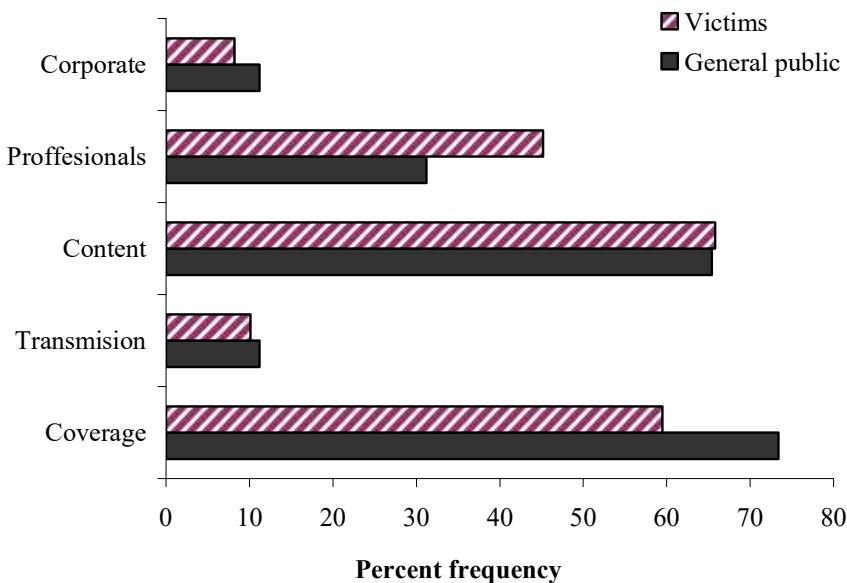
Figure 4. 15: Aspects of improving the media sector in order to resolve intra-ethnic conflicts among the Abakuria

4.7 Vernacular mass media intervention in intra-ethnic conflict resolution among the Abakuria

The final objective of the study was on the suitability of vernacular mass media in the resolution of intra-ethnic conflict among the Abakuria ethnic group. This was formulated in the form of a research question stating "*How suitable is the vernacular mass media in the resolution of intra-ethnic conflict among the Abakuria ethnic group?*"

The respondents who are mainly the local community members and the victims were asked if they know about the existence of vernacular mass media in Kenya. The results indicate that 100% had knowledge of the existence of vernacular mass media. Asked whether the vernacular mass media was necessary for the community the response are as shown in Figure 4.16. Most of the respondents believed that vernacular broadcast media intervention is now more important than ever before as a tool for intra-ethnic conflict resolution and also serves as a community platform for engaging in dialogue with each other.
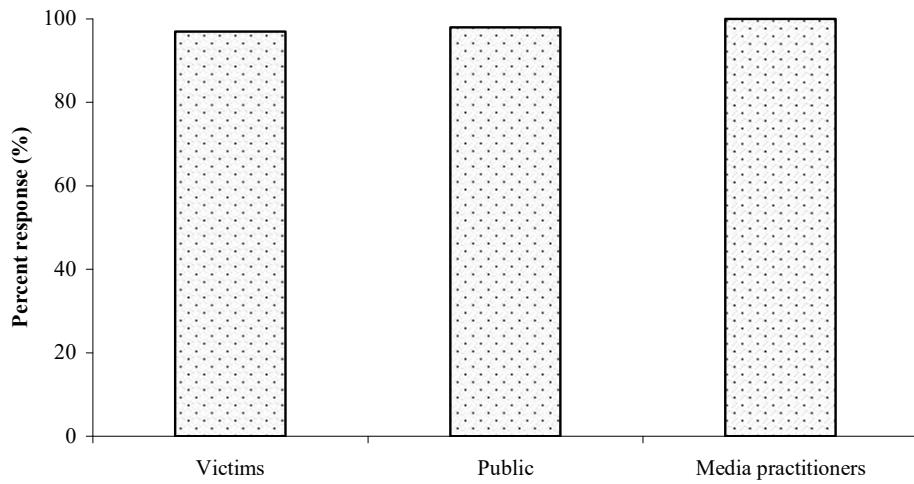
Figure 4. 16: The vernacular mass media as being necessary for the community

The respondents were asked to rate suitability of vernacular mass media and 100% indicated that they are suitable for the community. The local community members were asked to rate their preference for a vernacular media station and the results are as shown in Table 4.17. The results from both the victims and the general public indicate that majority of the local community members had preference for vernacular stations.

Table 4. 17: Rating of the agreement for establishment of a vernacular broadcast media station by the local community members

Rating	Victims (n = 144)		General public (n = 152)	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	107	74.3	133	87.5
Agree	33	22.9	16	10.5
Not sure	2	1.4	2	1.3
Disagree	1	0.7	1	0.7
Strongly disagree	1	0.7	0	0.0
Total	144		152	

Some of the programmes that the local preferred to be aired in the Abakuria vernacular mass media are as shown in Table 4.18 below. These were captured in vernacular but translated into English for audience understanding

Table 4. 18: Programmes that the locals preferred to be aired in the Abakuria vernacular broadcast media

	Victim (n = 144)		Public (152)	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Good neighborliness	138	95.8	144	94.7
Abakuria history	124	86.1	136	89.5
Elders counsel	137	95.1	124	81.6
Traditional values	133	92.4	145	95.4
Improving economies	123	85.4	121	79.6
Community structure	82	56.9	102	67.1
Conflict management	102	70.8	133	87.5

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study was to evaluate the contemporary vernacular mass media intervention in communities prone to intra-ethnic conflicts using the Abakuria ethnic community as a case study. The study specifically examined: the sources of mass media information to local community members and their perceived roles in conflict resolution among the Abakuria; the existing mass media reportage of intra-ethnic conflict and how they have affected intra-ethnic conflict among the Abakuria; the shortfalls in the use of existing mass media for resolving the ethnic conflict among the Abakuria community; and lastly the suitability of vernacular mass media in the solution of intra-ethnic conflict among the Abakuria ethnic group. This chapter presents the summary of findings, discussion, conclusions and recommendations of the study.

5.2. Summary of findings

The study evaluated the contemporary vernacular mass media intervention in communities prone to intra-ethnic conflicts. In doing this, it relied mainly on primary data generated from experiences of the community members and victims of the previous violence as well as from secondary sources of data by critically analyzing some sample newspapers, radio, television, internet and news agencies reports during the last five years in the area of study. The study also relied on some published books and journals to give adequate background to the topic under study. The study also extensively reviewed what it considered as related and relevant literature on intra-ethnic conflict, and the role of mass media in solving such conflicts.

In the process the study discovered certain critical gaps that are yet to be filled which among other things have to do with the role of the media in the resolution of intra-ethnic conflicts, as well as the consequences of media reportage on such and related topics.

As a background for critical analysis of the role and pattern of mass media reportage of these conflicts and its effects on the addressing of intra-ethnic conflict among the Abakuria community, the study made an attempt to chronicle and classify the major conflicts that took place between the years of 1990 and 2013 into various categories. The purpose of this was to lay a sound foundation for the analysis of patterns and forms of media coverage in order to ascertain the role of the mass media on the various violent intra-ethnic conflicts under study. While analyzing the mass media reportage of the various intra-ethnic conflicts in the past three decades among the Abakuria, the study found out that the media reportage was greatly influenced by ownership, geographical and political-ideological tendencies to the detriment of the ethics guiding the journalism profession to genuinely solve the conflicts. It was also discovered that the traditional and age old patterns of viewing and reporting news cannot be adopted by the modern day media professionals when reporting intra-ethnic conflicts in this contemporary period. In the process it was also revealed that a perceived lack of sensitivity in the way media normally reports intra-ethnic conflicts which has brought about adverse effects and even the escalation of these conflicts. The study argues that bearing the influence of the mass media in mind, the media owe certain cardinal and indisputable obligations to the society- such obligations as encouraging the preservation of public order, peace and security for any meaningful solutions to intra-ethnic conflicts to be realized. The study further argues that the principle of social responsibility is limited when it comes to intra-ethnic conflict reportage which is a relatively new area in journalism practice in Kenya today.

Therefore, it requires a much deeper understanding and appreciation of the latter day nature and dynamics of intra-ethnic conflict before the mass media professionals and operatives can be socially responsible and subsequently contribute to the resolution of the various intra ethnic strife and the resultant violence. The study suggests that most of the intra-ethnic violence that has bedeviled this community for the longest time can therefore be adequately addressed by deploying a vernacular broadcast media channel that is specific only to its cause.

5.2 Discussion

5.2.1 Sources of mass media information to community members and their perceived roles in conflict resolution among the Abakuria

The Realist school of thought sees intra-ethnic conflict as a disturbance of the status quo within the society. The conflict management approach consequently focuses on the methodology of bringing this disturbance to an end, primarily through coercion and diplomacy, but as described in The Challenge of Confidence-Building in South Asia (1994), other instruments may also be used. For the Realist school, there might still be a number of predisposing causes to conflicts, but the aim is not to transform the conflicting societies through systemic changes in order to reduce the risk for new conflicts. As part of conflict management Michael (1988), Zuckerman (2009) and most contemporary peace researchers follow the theoretical and practical line of seeking to transform conflicts and societies to reduce the likelihood of new violent conflicts erupting. This is done with a view to some of the power relation perspectives from the Realism school.

First, the study established that the local community members indeed knew of the existence of the intra-ethnic conflicts which agree with earlier studies in this community that there are reported cases of intra-ethnic violence (e.g. Marwa, 2001; Kungu *et al.*, 2015). According to

Ibukun (1997), conflict is a difference between two or more parties that results in mutual opposition. Hence, before a conflict could occur, there must be a group, some contest over an interest and a disagreement. Conflict is therefore, an inevitable phenomenon in any organization including among the victims of conflicts themselves.

Based on the previous studies, the community has intermittently experienced organized and violent inter-clan cattle raids with teams of raiders being composed of all the clans but sometimes disguised as coming from respective clans. For several years now, the clans in Abakuria have known no lasting communal peace as the conflict sometimes escalates to a near genocide. Beginning as common inter-clan cattle rustling, the situation normally degenerates and takes the dimension of revenge and counter revenge. Gradually the cattle raiders from respective clans become glorified and accorded the status of heroes. After every successful raid, they receive the moral support from their clansmen and are urged to go on with more raids. Progressively, a blanket of intra-ethnic anger, hatred and sentiments often begins to engulf the community and the matter continues and if left to flourish becomes difficult to address (Fleisher, 2010).

When a conflict develops, one of the first variables affecting the outcome is whether the participants' attitude is cooperative or competitive, productive or destructive. The role of the mass media, Gamble (1996:246) suggests, is to transform the conflict from a competitive to a cooperative one and from a destructive to a productive one, by reducing the likelihood that their comments will elicit anger, defensive and belligerent emotions from the groups and using a cooperative problem solving communication approach. This approach makes participants satisfied with procedures and outcomes, making them believe that no one loses, everyone wins. This way, there is mutual understanding and respect among the feuding groups. The mass media should express their ideas and feelings on the conflict

constructively, without resorting to attacks, insults, or negative evaluation of the groups. The media should focus on the issues, the situation and not personalities and be willing to listen and react to what the people are saying as legitimate. Finally, the media should define the conflict, its nature, causes and consequences on the groups and national development, without over-intellectualizing the conflict, but suggesting possible ways that the conflict can be resolved to the acceptance and benefit of all concerned. Gamble further suggests that the mass media should give accurate, unbiased and comprehensive reporting that gives all parties equal opportunity to explain their point of view and assumptions through feedback mechanisms, discussion programmes, documentaries and interactions that provide opportunity for role reversal, so that those in conflict can understand one another. Above all, the media should avoid misconceptions, misperceptions, and inaccurate, sketchy and disruptive communication; instead build bridges of cooperation without any form of demonstrated hesitancy or subjectivity.

There were discernable cases of conflicts among the three categories of respondents. Higher proportions of the victims of conflicts and media practitioners believed that there were more frequent intra-ethnic conflicts compared to the general public. The most common nature of conflict among the victims was found to be arguments, quarrels, disagreements, deaths and verbal abuses, which were all attested by more than 50% of the victims of conflicts. Other less frequent conflicts based on the responses of the members of public were hostilities and fights that each attracted the attention of less than 30% of the victims of conflicts.

The study has revealed that there is very low presence and contribution of the general mass media and media strategy for the prevention, resolution and management of intra-ethnic conflicts. Although conflicts are ubiquitous and perennial among the Abakuria community, media executives may not perceive conflicts as a threat, and develop programmes in support

of government efforts. Even though most of the locals preferred to get information from the various media stations, they did not allocate slots and airtime for the transmission of messages or programmes concerning conflict management even when the crisis was bound. Obviously the role of the mass media in the management of the conflict is ad-hoc passive and reactionary. The personnel selected and trained on conflict management with outside support, are powerless and do not make editorial decisions. Those trained are often moved to other beats. As a result, mass media programmes during the conflict were limited to news, which are short-lived. There is not enough time for the curious audience to comprehend and internalize messages. The information that finally gets to the public may not be the truth as perceived by the participants to the conflict, owing to the gate keeping function of the media owners. The lack of information or database for conflict analysis and intervention planning was the bane of the mass media. Research on audience predisposition and propensities for conflict is valuable when anticipating, resolving or managing conflicts. The capacity of the media institution to undertake audience research, environmental surveillance, panel studies, opinion surveys and ethnographic studies was not strengthened in this direction. As a result, there was inadequate feedback mechanism between and among the key parties to the conflict.

5.2.2 Mass media reportage of intra-ethnic conflict and how they have affected ethnic conflict among the Abakuria

From conflict resolution theories, socio- psychological theories and the findings from this research, it shows that to obtain a genuine reconciliation and sustainable peace, the broader population has to change gradually its perception and attitudes and evolve a common identity as a community, which is more resilient than the differences in identities behind the conflicts. It also became apparent that eliminating the root causes for conflict and building a common vision for a future sustainable peace is a process, which does not happen

immediately but involves several steps. The focus group interviews did provide a number of significant findings, which are useful in our search for models to support content.

One of the relevant areas when working with media in conflict prevention and peace building is to support programming of content in the vernacular media channels. An analysis of the above sampled newspapers and news magazines headlines, editorial, news analysis and commentaries, advertorials, special columns, cover stories and news broadcasts reveals that mass media can create conflict, escalate conflict or deescalate conflict through their pattern of reportage.

The study also set to explore the nature of communication used between the past victims of this conflict and media staff or practitioners with the aim of suggesting ways to resolving it at an interpersonal conflict level between the members as a community. Initial results indicate low frequency of communication between the victims of conflicts and media staff during conflicts. Communication among respondents normally entails integrating or linking together people to accomplish a collective set of tasks. Yet, Leeper (2006) stated that communication mechanisms used by respondents differ in their degree of formality -that is, in their degree of pre-specification, conventionality, and rule-boundedness. Explicit communication among the respondents is therefore necessary in part because individuals within an organization have only partially overlapping goals. Thus, one of the aims of communication is to insure that the disparate individuals come to share the same goals. But even if these aims were achieved, and their goals were identical, the input-output dependencies among individuals require that their efforts be sequenced and interrelated efficiently. In this study there was ample evidence that communication among respondents occurred in Abakuria ethnic group aimed at solving problems of conflict resolution within the area. However, the lower proportions of respondents attesting then existence of

communication among them in the phase of several methods of communication points to gloomy picture of low inter-professional communication in solving problems of conflict resolution. Perhaps because of the controversy of identifying cases of physical abuses among the respondents in many countries (Briere and Elliot, 2004; Backer, Rogers and Sopory, 2008), it was difficult for these respondents to effectively communicate information on conflict resolution among themselves. In terms of functional characteristics, formal and informal communication systems seem best suited to different types of activities.

The finding reveals that radio is the main source of disseminating conflict information in Kenya. This is due to their ability to reach even the most remote corners of the nation, inexpensive broadcasting and cheap to acquire as compared to other mass media, thus eliminating the barrier of media illiteracy to spreading news, information or propaganda. With an exceptionally high illiteracy rate, especially in rural areas, respondents' attitudes are influenced by the radio broadcasts appealing to them on the basis of their ethnic identities. These findings collaborate with the findings of the study by Forges (1999).

In this study, it was also found that formal nature of communication was used for communicating conflict resolution information within the groups and among the respondents. Formal communication is often treated as the residual category in dissemination of information (Robinson *et al*., 2004) and that could explain its frequent usage during communication in Abakuria ethnic group. According to this perspective, formal communication is that which remains when rules and hierarchies, as ways of coordinating activities, are eliminated. More positively, formal communication needs to be spontaneous, interactive and rich with a coordination of feedback (Ouellet, 2003), through organism communication networks (Olguer, 2005), or by clan mechanisms (Northouse and Northouse, 1980) are alternate ways of describing coordination by formal communication.

Meaning formations are prepackaged and then shipped intact to a recipient; courses of action are pre-computed and then executed without modification. Information is often exchanged interactively, through meetings and conversations, and courses of action are worked out in the context of the circumstances into which the actions must fit. At the formal end of the dimension, coordination is also accomplished by adherence to common rules, regulations, and standard operating procedures, through pre-established plans, schedules, and forecasts, and through memos, management information reports, and other standardized communications (Morrison and McConnell, 2006). These formal coordination mechanisms have in a communication that is specified in advance, is unidirectional, and is relatively accurate, which could explain their undue preference by the respondents in Abakuria ethnic group. According to Cliver (2005), outward communication channels are ones that "can overcome different frames of reference or clarify ambiguous issues to change understanding in a timely manner" (p. 560). In order of decreasing richness, they consider (1) face-to-face communication, (2) telephone, (3) personal documents such as letters, (4) impersonal documents, and (5) numeric documents.

It has been generally agreed that the nature of communication influences the formality of communication in it (Koni 2012). In conveying message by the respondents, written forms of communication were found to be common with some differences noted among the respondents on the modes of conveying the information on conflict resolution to the other respondents. It has also been noted that forms of communication themselves may partially determine the formality of a communication event.

At the heart of what is termed outward dimension of communication is its *ad lib* nature. Conversations take place at the time, with the participants, and about the topics at hand.

None of these characteristics - timing, participants, or agenda - is scheduled in advance during outward mode of communication.

Moreover, during its course the communication changes to take into account the participants' current interests and understandings. In this sense, communication therefore is interactive but initiated by the professional, with all participants in the communication being able to respond to what they perceive to be the current state of affairs, including the communication up until that point and their perception of the other participants' reactions to it (Leeper, 2001). Through this feedback mechanism, outward communication can be more effective than formal channels, as participants in the conversations elaborate or modify what they have to say in order to deal with someone else's objections or misunderstandings, Ibid.

Language choice during dissemination of information was found to be significant during the study with respondents referring the use of respondents ' language and sometimes coded language to communicate with other respondents . There are both structural and functional characteristics of communication occasions that cause the language of communication to be more or less formal hence preferred mode of communication. Among structural characteristics, the nature of the relationship among the participants and their social roles influences its formality.

Research findings lend support to these hypotheses. For example, when work groups are engaged in more complex tasks - that is, tasks that are varied, lack routine procedures, and require group members to think through solutions - they are far more likely to communicate directly with other group members and to have more scheduled and unscheduled meetings to coordinate their activities (Van de Ven, 1976). Daft and Lengel (11804) have shown that organizational members prefer rich and interactive media, such as face-to-face meetings, when they have value conflicts and other disagreements to work out. And Argote (1997) has shown that when groups with greater task uncertainty do engage in meetings and

unscheduled communication to coordinate their activity, they are more successful in performing their work than if they rely on standard procedures. In sum, we have argued that informal communication supports organizational and group coordination, especially under conditions of uncertainty. Coordination is an example of a production function of groups. When people work in groups within respondents they must achieve three goals to be successful: production, group maintenance, and member support. That is, they must actually accomplish productive work -- write the reports, make the decisions, construct the software, allocate the budgets, defend clients, or do whatever the particular group is assigned to do. In addition, groups must achieve two social goals. First, they must sustain themselves over time, and most groups have life spans of multiple projects. To sustain themselves, groups have to recruit and socialize members, keep them happy enough so that they want to maintain membership, garner external resources, and do the sundry other activities that insure the group's continuing survival. The second social goal that the group must attempt to achieve is to support the needs of individual group members so that they feel satisfied with their work, their relationships, and their membership in the group. By most criteria, a team whose members are unhappy with their work and hostile toward each other would be deemed a failure, even if they accomplished their tasks. In scientific research teams, for example, scientists must feel that they are making useful contributions and that their contributions are being recognized; such teams often break up if this recognition is not forthcoming (Kraut, Galegher, and Egido, 2008).

Apart from audio forms of communication, respondents also recommended other non-audio forms of communication were also used as key channels of communication. Newspaper and magazines formed the basis of written form of communication that comprised the print media. Comparatively lower numbers of the residence obtained their conflict resolution information from newspapers and magazines, where more male were reading newspaper

than female probably because males would afford them and were more literate than females. This is highly anticipated because most audience obtaining information from newspaper and magazines must be literate, which was better in males than females. It is thus presumed that since the area had less than 5% of the respondents being totally illiterate, it is anticipated that more people would be able to read and comprehend the content of the information within those print media.

Other factors could also come into play, which may include limited access to the print media information due to the cost of such information. In areas where most are poor and the cost of the newspaper being higher, made most residents to purchase other items as viable opportunity costs. It is thus quite determinate and logical that newspaper and magazines are more lavish to vast majority of the rural populace. Thus, most of those who seemed to be able to buy these literature, had regular jobs that guaranteed them decent and better pay packages that enabled them to save some income to purchase newspapers and magazines. Such kinds of people are rarely found in the rural areas where opportunities for decent employment are quite trifling.

True communication is designed to achieve a mutual understanding of the meaning of the message (information, ideas, opinions, feelings) that each person intends to convey, in exactly the way they want the message to be received. These methods are in line with Riley (1965) communication model to reach larger audience. The model indicates that the communicator who is the conflict resolution respondents , send messages of conflict resolution in accordance with the expectations and actions of other persons and groups within the same social structure and the receiver benefits from the messages - in the communications process sends feedback to the communicator who is also a member of a

primary group. Both the communicator and receiver of the message are part of an overall social system.

The information gathered through communication among the respondents was found to be useful in helping them to manage financial resources mainly through proper budgeting as well as help them to make better decisions concerning the conflict resolution information in homes. There is reason to think that communication among respondents is particularly useful in supporting the social functions of groups. This is because respondents are less explicit in regulating social relationships than they are in regulating other aspects of work procedures. For example, personnel communication guides frequently describe the bureaucratic procedures for annual performance appraisals when information is disseminated, but they neither attempt to regulate the *ad hoc* personal judgments that communication make of the people reporting to them. A vast literature in communication psychology suggests that relatively unstructured and informal communication is at the basis of social processes, such as person perception and liking, which underlie group maintenance and member support (Gibson and Hanna, 1992).

However, in this study it was hard to establish from the respondents whether the nature of communication used by the media had enhanced conflict resolution. This implies that the nature of communication that were used to disseminate the conflict resolution information have not actually benefited the intended beneficiaries. The other possible reasons could be that the nature of communications being used to pass the conflict resolution information is not suitable. The researcher also established up to 23.4% of the respondents stated that they do find the nature of communication among professional appropriate. The roles of the conflict resolution information were quite important to the local residents. Even though the roles of these information were not far reaching because of the low percentage of people accessing them, and the low frequency of obtaining them, nevertheless they were of

paramount importance to the local residents. If majority of the locals can be able to acquire these conflict resolution information then most of the residents was able to better their lives in conflict resolution issues.

5.2.3 Shortfalls in the use of existing mass media for intra-ethnic conflict resolution among the Abakuria

In an attempt to determine the shortfalls in the use of existing mass media for resolving the conflict among the Abakuria, it was established that the existing media are not up to the task of providing accurate and timely information on conflict resolution within the community as established in other studies elsewhere (Wanyande, 1995; Wiehe, 2006; Weaver, 2007; Wimhurst, 2010; Wolff, 2014). This is because the existing media focused more of their attention on other issues to the detriment of the local content, which was attested by majority of the victims of the conflict previously, community members and the media practitioners. The other reasons that elicited more positive response from the respondents were perceived bias in media coverage by the local community members and lack of local content in the broadcasts by the existing media channels that the community members have access to. The nature of language used by the media when conveying solutions to the conflicts was foreign and complex that could not be understood by many.

This created a problem of understanding the information being conveyed by the mass media, which concurs with studies by Ross and Nightingale (2003).

The study also determined that majority of the past victims of the ethnic conflict believed that the mass media largely withhold information and therefore may not be providing adequate information about the conflicts. As a result the coverage of conflict by the mass media was found wanting among the respondents, followed by content improvement. The least factors were professionalism and corporate social responsibility.

Because of the mercantilist approach to programming, the mass media's profit-motive overrides its social responsibility function in such a way that there are inadequate programmes that encourage a two-way communication between the people and the government, and between the mass media and the people. Creative programmes that are community oriented and designed to bring community reactions and perceptions are inadequate, not integrated and do not have a multi-sectoral approach. The technical and financial requirements needed to support mass media involvement in conflict prevention; resolution and management are lacking or inadequate.

As was noted from the interviews with key informants in the field during the research, a snapshot of the traditional inter-clan dispute resolution mechanism among the Abakuria is here below briefly espoused. The researcher found this significant because, in spite of this well laid out indigenous system of dispute resolution being in existence, conflict still abounds. Indeed its areas of jurisdiction covers management of all clan affairs ranging from naming of age groups and age sets, presiding over ritual offerings to appease the gods, circumcision for both males and females and conflict management among others. This therefore further strengthens the case for a search of more workable intra-ethnic dispute resolution platform among the Abakuria.

5.2.4 Vernacular mass media intervention in intra-ethnic conflict among the Abakuria ethnic group

Culture critics have long recognized that conventional old mass media such as national newspapers, TVs often serve the interests of institutions instead of local communities (Arato and Gebhardt, 1990; Marx, 1998; Habermas, 1999; Adorno and Horkheimer, 2012). Old media are often thought of as centrally produced and discrete commercial objects that are

sent outward to be purchased and consumed. In the public sphere, these objects become ''mass culture.'' Conceived in this way, mass mediated objects are understood as having a limited ability to interact with the dynamic processes of lived experience. Because their production is distanced from the individuals that consume them, they are not typically available to local communities as a means to express their own interests. Vernacular mass media, may have the potential to be more empowering than media objects because they offer network locations where local agents can express themselves. At the same time, the technologies that create these locations are typically produced, maintained, and funded by institutions. As a result, the discourse that emerges from these is a hybrid between local and institutional interests.

In the past decade, Kenya has witnessed a significant shift in its media landscape, especially the rapid growth of vernacular radios. While this increase may be applauded as one of the many efforts the country has made to reinforce democratic liberties (Cottrell and Ghai, 2007) accommodating ethnic differences has been daunting. Indeed, there are at least forty-two different ethno-linguistic groups in Kenya, most of which are confined within specific administrative boundaries such as Nyanza province (Luo majority), Central province (Kikuyu majority) and Rift Valley province (Kalenjin majority. Kenya's vernacular radios have been at the height of debates as to whether or not they strengthen conflict resolution at the expense of national self-determination (Somerville, 2009; Jamal and Deane, 2008). This uncertainty may shed light on the thorny relationship that has characterized the state and the Kenyan media (Odhiambo, 2002). The state has always been wary of the media, especially those broadcasting in vernacular languages. However, the winds of change that accompanied political revolutions in the 1990s, such as the restoration of multi-party politics in 1992, encouraged media growth despite the presence of repressive regulations that targeted the media (Throup and Hornsby, 1998). The increasing commercial focus of

many of the broadcasts, especially in the last few years, continues to question media content and their role in conflict situation. Major advertising companies are progressively taking control of news content, forcing media houses to kill the stories that they do not like, even if the stories are newsworthy. The media that have failed to bow to the pressure of these corporations have seen their revenues drop to record low, due to insufficient advertisement that covers the main costs of operation. In this way, the corporations are increasingly taking control over the role of monitoring media content that was once held by the government.

In terms of vernacular radio broadcast, the Royal Media Services, owned by an affluent businessman Samuel Macharia, controls the majority of the radio market, with about twelve different radio stations, most of which are vernacular radios. The company also runs TV stations. During the 2007/08 conflicts, a number of vernacular radios were criticized for fanning inter-group polarization that led to one of Kenya's worst ethno-political conflicts since independence (Jamal and Deane, 2008), affirming the challenges of inter-group accommodation in vernacular radios during conflict situations (Onguny, 2012). The conflict also forced the Kenyan government to impose a temporary ban on all live media broadcasts under the umbrella of public safety (Zuckerman, 2009; Somerville, 2009; Jamal and Deane, 2008). Given the magnitude of the conflicts, the international community was forced to intervene, through the former UN Secretary General Dr. Kofi Annan, to ascertain the way forward for a country that was now regarded incapable of handling its internal affairs. While it is yet to be determined whether or not vernacular radios instigated the 2007/08 conflicts, a host of literature supports that media discourses significantly influence public's attitudinal changes (Gower and An, 2009), particularly in political processes (Entman, 2010). The question, therefore, is not did vernacular radio frames have implications on the 2007/08 conflicts, but rather, why did the conflict shift from electoral discourse to embrace ethnicity? A number of studies have shown that negatively framed

political messages are more likely to produce significant attitudinal shifts amongst members of the public compared to positively framed messages (Barker and Knight, 2000). The central claim is that political communication is, above all, controlled rhetoric with well-calculated end-results. Recent patterns of violent ethno-political conflicts in the sub-Saharan Africa seem to support this assumption. Rwandan genocide was partly and heavily blamed on Radio Television Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM, French for a Thousand Hills Free Radio and Television), which was in operation only for one year, that is between July 1993 until July 1994, and Kangura press for allegedly spreading hate messages that led to inter-group killings (Thomson, 2007). It is also believed that the 1993 conflicts in Burundi were partly linked to the tone embraced by the TŽmoin- Nyabusorongo (Kaburahe, 2004). La Voix du Patriote was also seen as one of the catalysts of civil war in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) (Frere, 2009). The events of the 2007/08 elections in Kenya and the move by the International Criminal Court (ICC) to confirm charges against Kass FM (broadcasting in the Kalenjin language) talk show host, Joshua arap Sang, for allegedly committing crimes against humanity by facilitating the spread of inter-group hatred, also point to this growing concern (Onguny, 2012). In light of the foregoing debates, this study uses the intra-ethnic conflicts among the Abakuria as an entry point and media framing as an analytical framework to examine how vernacular mass media influence the patterns of intra-ethnic conflicts in Kenya. It hypothesizes that, absence of vernacular mass media among the Abakuria has hindered the achievement of effective conflict resolution because the masses cannot obtain information that will help in cooling the tempers and educating them on the dangers of the conflicts.

The media landscape today is dominated by regional and/or community vernacular radio stations which are very popular and unique to each region or ethnic group. These stations have overshadowed conventional radio stations with national outreach. The popularity of

vernacular radio stations can be explained by the fact that 81 per cent of Kenyans aged 15 and above use vernacular as their main language while at home (Odhiambo, 2002). This is even higher in rural areas. Their popularity cuts across all social classes and age groups and genders.

In the previous chapter, the roles that different media have played during conflict escalation in two prominent cases were analysed. In this section, an attempt is made that will paint the broader picture of possible vernacular mass media interventions, their timing, targets, internal and external actors, and will go in depth in areas of intervention in post-conflict situations. Support for vernacular mass media content, which contributes to conflict resolution, is one possible area for targeting media support. There are also others which play significant roles in affecting the media's potential in conflict prevention.

A key question – theoretically as well as in practical media – is the choice of media we want to support in order to increase the chance for conflict mitigation. Perhaps useful tools for this decision-making process are a categorization of the different types of media according to their accountability to society, editorial independence and their professional standards in programming. One could alternatively have systematised them according to technical distribution, ownership behind the production of content or income generation, but I have focused on defining the de-escalating nature of media according to characteristics which I believe have important roles to play a role in conflict prevention and peace-building.

In terms of suitability of the vernacular mass media in the resolution of intra-ethnic conflict among the Abakuria, the study established that all the members of the community wanted to have an established vernacular radio station which points to how important such a tool is to this society and the community in general.

1. There is need for a media structure in place, which can reach the broader population through relevant channels. The media structure should itself be easy to control, simple to use, efficient in its audience outreach and favourable to the parts of the population who are the most likely supporters of the community's interests.

2. There is need for a media legislation, which can efficiently restrict the media's freedom of expression from being used to criticize the rulers' conflict escalation.

They can punish media and journalists who violate these restrictions and can limit the access to information and the establishment of new media.

3. The leaders need to have loyal managers and editors in place in the relevant media, who do not guard their own professional ethics or actively defend the media's standards of impartiality, diversity and editorial independence.

4. The leaders are best helped by journalists without solid journalistic education, professional experience and professional pride, who are willing to produce programmes or articles, which are rewarded by the representatives of the rulers.

5. Finally, the leaders are keen to have media content supporting the rationale behind the leadership's strategy for entering into violent conflict.

The kind of media needed for the leadership to impact popular attitudes in order to be supportive towards alleviation of violent conflict illustrate the areas which media interventions must seek to neutralize in their efforts to prevent conflict and build long lasting peace.

In other words, the potential fields for media interventions are:

a. Media structure

b. Media legislation

c. Ethical standards

d. Journalists' capacity

e. Media content

5.3 Conclusion

Most contemporary intra-ethnic conflicts occur at the local level, and this pattern is likely to persist in decades to come. The great majority of conflicts are likely to persist in the near future. The sources of contemporary conflicts include strong cultural and socio-economic elements, and, therefore, it is difficult to resolve them. This work argues that evolutions in vernacular or locally owned communication methodology can significantly alter the media's role in conflict resolution. Regional mass media and news networks allow new actors, primarily the local community members and individuals, to actively participate in conflict resolution. New technology has brought a lot of challenges to states, but at the same time it has provided the states with new mass media approaches and formations that can reach many local community members to enable them accomplish their goals. The media's role is especially enhanced by the radio, TV, cell phones, and the other online social networks, even though the current study did not find more evidence for involvement of the latter in communication. These results are of interest to the local level, where the expected results are perceptual and the main strategy is using violence to maximize sympathetic and supportive media coverage. This study also concludes that despite the critical, growing importance of the vernacular mass media to conflict resolution and mediation, scholars and practitioners have not yet adequately addressed the effective role of the mass media in these areas. Particularly lacking is extensive research on the roles and effects of vernacular mass media in helping to resolve issues around intra ethnic conflict situations. The main reasons for the weaknesses are difficulties and deficiencies inherent in multidisciplinary research and the lack of suitable tools for analysis. This work attempts to fill the gap with a new framework for analysis based on an innovative integration of theories and models from

several scholarly fields. Multidisciplinary research is the only effective way to understand the actual and potential positive and negative contributions of the media to conflict resolution and reconciliation. Looked at this way, it becomes apparent that the media can both help and hinder conflict resolution, and it is important to uncover the conditions determining the outcome. If these conditions are exposed, it would be easier to maximize the media's positive contributions and minimize negative contributions. The peace journalism approach has adopted a highly simplistic and probably unrealistic approach to the media's effects. Systematic application of the framework proposed in this thesis to case studies at different levels may promote the badly needed knowledge and understanding of the various ways in which the media influence the beginning, evolution, and termination of existing and future international conflicts.

The proposed framework is very comprehensive and requires prioritizing of research projects. Immediate attention should be given to the highly neglected areas. Thus, the first priority should be to investigate functions and dysfunctions of the local media because they directly affect people engaged in conflict and conflict resolution. The next priority should be to focus on the reconciliation phase. This stage is crucial because successful reconciliation is the best guarantee against the resurrection and reemergence of conflict and violence. The third priority should be to focus on the roles and functions of the new media. This effort is especially challenging because of the constant and rapid developments in communication technology. Research in this field must resemble research in computer science. It has to be fast, dynamic, and highly sensitive lest published research results become obsolete.

5.4 Recommendations

Bearing the findings of this study in mind and the reality of the ever recurrent intra-ethnic violence among the Abakuria and other communities in Kenya in the past decades and the attendant effects on national development, peace and security, all the relevant institutions in Kenya should perform their functions responsibly to ensure the conflict is resolved. Since the national mass media mostly do much of their reporting of conflicts from a distance, the study recommends setting up of a vernacular radio station for the Abakuria ethnic community. If indeed this envisaged vernacular radio station is set up, it must be involved in deliberate, sustained and sustainable peace-making through its reportage, messaging and programming for a peaceful and tolerant Abakuria society. Therefore, to ensure long lasting peace, cohesion, intra-ethnic harmony, communal unity and social equilibrium for national development in an ideologically divergent yet socio-culturally homogeneous and conflict prone ethnic community like Abakuria, the following strategies have been suggested as ways of strengthening the capacity of the mass media to manage intra-ethnic or communal conflicts in the area:

i). Community leadership should endeavour to give proper teachings and interpretations of their cultural tenets and dogmas to their members in the mass media in order to avoid perceived injustices that may cause intra ethnic conflict

ii). Involvement and commitment of media executives and players to conflict prevention, resolution and management, so that they can design, develop and transmit appropriate messages and programmes related to peace building and intra ethnic cohesion.

iii). Advocacy for policy support and commitment to a proactive and transformational approach to broadcast media programming and rendition.

iv). Proper management of conflict resolution can be achieved by proper sharing of the information among respondents. It is recommended that respondents should

undergo further training on the best way to share the information and further disseminate it to the local residents for consumption.

v). More local community information centers should be opened by the respondents and by the relevant government agencies -especially the Ministry of Information and Communication, the Directorate of National Values and National Cohesion in the Office of the President, and also the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) - as this proved to be a very vital source of information for most of the people who want information that will help to manage and resolve intra-ethnic conflict.

vi). More educational literature materials on peace issues should be provided and located at centralized and strategic places or common visitation points so that more local residents are better enabled to read, understand and internalize their contents. If possible this should be written in the specific vernacular languages or dialects so that they are able to reach a vast majority of people who are in dire need of the information.

vii). Institutionalization, which includes, provision of funding arrangements, annual budgetary allocation to conflict management and resolution initiatives, basic infrastructure and organizational modification, such as setting up a conflict management team or desk, assigning staff, training and retraining them on conflict management, reporting and mass communication and providing them with adequate equipment and transportation support. Institutionalization also involves, building of an interdisciplinary and multi-sectoral constituency by involving professional groups, Non-governmental Organizations, community leaders, the private sector, labour and the media practitioners in programming. It requires the integration of mass media programmes so that all groups in society have the first hand opportunity to learn about conflicts, their causes, consequences and ways of

living harmoniously in a pluralistic society. Above all, it requires the involvement of the mass media in research, policy formulation and monitoring of agreements and promises made by government, politicians, volunteer groups, peace ambassadors and other private sector institutions operating in the area.

viii). For effectiveness and support, the media should form a strategic alliance with donor agencies, NGOs, the private sector and related county and national government ministries and agencies to facilitate funding for more research, procurement of equipment, training, information exchange and sponsorship of some vernacular media programmes and activities. This is because; the financial and technical requirements for an effective and all round mass media support to conflict management and mitigation efforts are beyond the capacity of the mass media players alone.

ix). There should be a mass media advisory committee on conflict management at the local, county and even national levels, to advise governments, coordinate the activities of the mass media and set standards for the mass media reporting and engagement with issues relating to intra ethnic conflict.

x). The mass media should establish more vigorous and regular feedback mechanisms and put effective programmes in place to create a two way communication channel between the government and the people.

xi). The national and local or community media organizations should progressively think of being sustainable and engage more reporters on full time basis and not rely on mostly on stringers and correspondents who are paid based on the number of stories aired as they have done over the years.

5.5 Contribution to knowledge

This study has made the following contributions to knowledge:

1 That there is a strong correlation between escalation and de-escalation of intra-ethnic conflict by the nature of mass media reportage, coverage and messaging.

2 That bearing the enormous power and influence of the mass media, particularly broadcast media, if these attributes were harnessed and employed positively, they can certainly act as good facilitators for the conflict resolution process in Kuria land. Therefore, in times of active violent conflict, the media inevitably have an additional social responsibility regarding what to report, what not to report, when to report it and how to report it.

3 The study has equally brought out the fact that issues of protracted incidences of intra-ethnic conflicts have a very wide area of research in Kenya, Africa and other third world countries indeed. While much has been written on their causes or origins and the way forward, no serious attention is given to the study of the effects of media reportage and coverage of intra-ethnic conflicts and the implications for resolutions of such intra-ethnic conflicts.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Questionnaire for victims of intra-ethnic conflict

Instructions

This form should be completed by a victim of a previous intra-ethnic violence episode whether or not you think there is violence. Interviews should take place in private, without partner, their family members, or other people present.

Biographical Form

Residence_____

Gender: Male [   ]   Female [   ]

Levels of education: None [   ]   Primary [   ]   Secondary [   ]

Tertiary [   ] University [   ]

Age: < 15 years [   ]   15-25 [   ] 26-35 years   36-50 [   ]

> 50 [   ]

Marital status: Single [   ]   Married [   ] Widow [   ]   Widower   [   ]

Income levels: <10,000 [   ]   10,001-20,000 [   ]   20,001-50,000 [   ]

>100,000 [   ]

Section B:

Do you believe that there are intra-ethnic conflicts within the community?

Yes [   ]   No [   ]

If yes, indicate the frequency of occurrence of intra ethnic conflict in the region

Very frequent [   ]   Frequent [   ] Less frequent [   ]   Never [   ]

What is the nature of intra-ethnic conflicts among the Abakuria ethnic community?

Disagreements [ ]   Verbal abuses [ ]   Quarrels [ ]   Fights [ ]

Arguments [   ]   Hostilities [   ] Killings [   ] Mockery [   ] Others

(Specify)………………

Can you briefly state some of the causes of intra-ethnic conflicts in the community?

Fear [   ]   Negative emotions [   ] Jealousy [   ] Anger [   ] Frustrations [   ]

Disagreements with community members [   ] Drunkard behaviour [   ] Theft [   ]

Resources conflicts [   ]   Political affiliations [   ] (Specify)………………

Can you identify the methods that are suitable for solving the intra-ethnic violence within the community?   Dialogue [   ] Jailing offenders [   ] Civic education [   ]

Community judicial system [   ]   Mass media [   ]   Prayers [   ]

What are the preferred sources of mass media you?   Radio [   ]

Newspaper [   ]   TV [   ]   Internet [   ]   Others (Specify)……………

Kindly rank the media type you have chosen based on a scale of 1 to 5 where; 1 Least preferred, 2 Slightly preferred, 3 Not sure of preference, 4 Preferred, 5 highly preferred

To what extent do you obtain information about the intra-ethnic conflicts from the aforementioned mass media? Very frequent [   ] Frequent [   ]

Not sure [   ]   Less frequent [   ]   Not at all [   ]

What is the most favorite type of mass media from where information on intra-ethnic conflict are broadcasted?   Daily Nation [   ]   Standard [   ] Taifa Leo [   ]

The People [   ]   Citizen [   ]   NTV [   ]   Citizen TV [   ]   KTN [   ]

QTV [   ] KBC TV [   ] Radio Citizen [   ]   KBC Radio [   ] Milele FM [   ]

Egesa FM [   ] Ramogi FM [   ]   Victoria FM [   ]   Jambo FM [   ] BBC [   ]

Others (Specify)……………

Which mass media do you obtain information on conflict management for the Abakuria ethnic community?

Daily Nation [   ]   Standard [   ]   Taifa Leo [   ] The People [   ] Citizen [   ]

NTV [   ]   Citizen TV [   ]   KTN [   ]

QTV [   ] KBC TV [   ] Radio Citizen [   ]   KBC Radio [   ] Milele FM [   ]

Egesa FM [   ] Ramogi FM [   ]   Victoria FM [   ]   Jambo FM [   ] BBC [   ]

Others (Specify)……………

What are some of the reasons for the preference of the above stated mass media?

Factuality [   ] Balance [   ]   Fair coverage [   ]   Nonpartisan [   ] Educative [   ]

Others (Specify)……………

Kindly give your ranking on how mass media help in solving intra-ethnic conflict in the Abakuria community……………. (%)

How do the mass media help in solving intra-ethnic violence for the Abakuria Community?

Proper decision-making [   ] Resolve wrangles [   ]

Avoids arguments [   ]   Prevent conflicts [   ]   Prevent deaths [   ]

Cool down emotions [   ]   Others (Specify)……………

Based on a recall for the last 7 days, can you classify the content of the mass media in terms of coverage: Politics [   ] Business [   ] Sports [   ]   Community news [ ] Development [   ]

        Conflicts [   ]   Intra-ethnic conflicts [   ] Food security [   ]

Health [   ]   Others (Specify)……………………….

Kindly indicate the extent to which you agree with that the mass media content coverage has a role in on the resolution of the intra-ethnic conflict on the Abakuria ethnic community

        Very major [   ]   Major [   ]   Not sure [ ] Minor [   ]

None at all [   ]

Kindly using a percentage, rank the contribution of the mass media content of the following towards the resolution of intra-ethnic conflicts among the Abakuria

  Mass media   Rank (%) contribution

  NTV

  Citizen TV

  KTN

  KBC TV

  Citizen Radio

  Kiss 100 FM

  Ramogi FM

  Egesa FM

  KBC Radio

  Other (Specify)…………..

Do you perceive the existing mass media to provide the accurate information on conflict communication?   Yes [   ] No [   ]

Do you perceive the existing mass media to provide the accurate information on conflict communication?   Yes [   ] No [   ]

What are some of the reason why you think that accurate reporting of the conflict among the Abakuria community is not correctly captured?

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Do you know the existence of vernacular mass media in Kenya?

Do you think that vernacular mass media was necessary for the community? Yes [   ] No [

]

Kindly rate your preference for a vernacular media station for the community

Strongly agree [   ]   Agree [   ]   Not sure [   ]   Disagree [   ] strongly disagree [   ]

Appendix 2: Questionnaire for other members of the public

<u>Instructions</u>

This form should be completed by members of the general public whether or not you think there is violence. Interviews should take place in private, without partner, their family members, or other people present.

Biographical Form

Residence_____

Gender: Male [   ]   Female [   ]

Education level: None [   ]   Primary [   ]   Secondary [   ]

                              Tertiary [   ] University [   ]

Age: < 15 years [   ] 15-25 [   ] 26-35 years   36-50 [   ]

                              > 50 [   ]

Marital status: Single [   ]   Married [   ]   Widow [   ]   Widower   [   ]

Income levels: <10,000 [   ]   10,001-20,000 [   ]   20,001-50,000 [   ]

                              >100,000 [   ]

Sources of information from mass media and their roles in conflict resolution among the Abakuria

Do you believe that there are intra-ethnic conflicts within the community?

Yes [   ]   No [   ]

If yes, indicate the frequency of occurrence of intra ethnic conflict in the region

Very frequent [   ]   Frequent [   ] Less frequent [   ]   Never [   ]

What is the nature of intra-ethnic conflicts among the Abakuria ethnic community?

Disagreements [   ]   Verbal abuses [   ]   Quarrels [   ]   Fights [   ]

Arguments [   ]   Hostilities [   ] Killings [   ]   Mockery [   ]   Others

(Specify)………………

Can you briefly state some of the causes of intra-ethnic conflicts in the community?

Fear [   ]   Negative emotions [   ]   Jealousy [   ]   Anger [   ]

Frustrations [   ]

Disagreements with community members [   ]   Drunkard behaviour [   ]

Theft [   ]

Resources conflicts [   ]   Political affiliations [   ] (Specify)………………

Can you identify the methods that are suitable for solving the intra-ethnic violence within the community?   Dialogue [   ]   Jailing offenders [   ]   Civic education [   ]

Community judicial system [   ]   Mass media [   ]   Prayers [   ]

What are the preferred sources of mass media you?   Radio [   ]

Newspaper [   ]   TV [   ]   Internet [   ]   Others (Specify)……………

Kindly rank the media type you have chosen based on a scale of 1 to 5 where; 1 Least preferred, 2 Slightly preferred, 3 Not sure of preference, 4 Preferred, 5 highly preferred

To what extent do you obtain information about the intra-ethnic conflicts from the aforementioned mass media? Very frequent [   ]

Frequent [   ] Not sure [   ] Less frequent [   ]   Not at all [   ]

What is the most favorite type of mass media from where information on intra-ethnic conflict are broadcasted?   Daily Nation [   ]   Standard [   ] Taifa Leo [   ]

The People [   ]   Citizen [   ]   NTV [   ]   Citizen TV [   ]   KTN [   ]

QTV [   ] KBC TV [   ] Radio Citizen [   ]   KBC Radio [   ] Milele FM [   ]

Egesa FM [   ] Ramogi FM [   ]   Victoria FM [   ]   Jambo FM [   ] BBC [   ]

Others (Specify)……………

Which mass media do you obtain information on conflict management for the Abakuria?

Daily Nation [   ]   Standard [   ] Taifa Leo [   ] The People [   ]   Citizen   [   ]

       NTV [   ]   Citizen TV [   ]   KTN [   ]

QTV [   ] KBC TV [   ] Radio Citizen [   ]   KBC Radio [   ] Milele FM [   ]

Egesa FM [   ] Ramogi FM [   ]   Victoria FM [   ]   Jambo FM [   ] BBC [   ]

Others (Specify)……………

What are some of the reasons for the preference of the above stated mass media?

Factuality [   ] Balance [   ]   Fair coverage [   ]   Nonpartisan [   ] Educative [   ]

Others (Specify)……………

Kindly give your ranking on how mass media help in solving intra-ethnic conflict in the Abakuria community……………. (%)

How do the mass media help in solving intra-ethnic violence for the Abakuria Community?

Proper decision-making [   ] Resolve wrangles [   ]

Avoids arguments [   ]   Prevent conflicts [   ]   Prevent deaths [   ]

Cool down emotions [   ]   Others (Specify)……………

Based on a recall for the last 7 days, can you classify the content of the mass media in terms of coverage: Politics [   ]   Business [   ] Sports [   ]   Community   news   [   ]

Development [   ]   Conflicts [   ] Intra-ethnic conflicts [   ] Food security [   ]

Health [   ]   Others (Specify)…………………….

Kindly indicate the extent to which you agree with that the mass media content coverage has a role in on the resolution of the intra-ethnic conflict on the Abakuria ethnic community

Very major [   ]   Major [   ]   Not sure [   ] Minor [   ]

None at all [   ]

Kindly using a percentage, rank the contribution of the mass media content of the following towards the resolution of intra-ethnic conflicts among the Abakuria

Mass media	Rank (%) contribution
NTV	
Citizen TV	
KTN	
KBC TV	
Citizen Radio	
Kiss 100 FM	
Ramogi FM	
Egesa FM	
KBC Radio	
Other (Specify)…………	

Do you perceive the existing mass media to provide the accurate information on conflict communication?   Yes [   ] No [   ]

What are some of the reason why you think that accurate reporting of the conflict among the Abakuria   community   is   not   correctly   captured?

………………………………………………………………………….

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Do you know the existence of vernacular mass media in Kenya?

Do you think that vernacular mass media was necessary for the community?

Do you think that vernacular mass media was necessary for the community?

Yes [   ] No [   ]

Kindly rate your preference for a vernacular media station for the community

Strongly agree [   ]   Agree [   ]   Not sure [   ]   Disagree [   ] Strongly disagree [   ]

Appendix 3: Questionnaire for media practitioners

Instructions

This form should be completed by media practitioners whether or not you think there is violence. Interviews should take place in private, without partner, their family members, or other people present.

Biographical Form

Residence_____

Gender: Male [   ]   Female [   ]

Levels of education: None [   ]   Primary [   ]   Secondary [   ]

                                   Tertiary [   ] University [   ]

Age: < 15 years [   ] 15-25 [   ] 26-35 years   36-50 [   ] > 50 [   ]

Marital status: Single [   ]   Married [   ]   Widow [   ]   Widower   [   ]

Income levels: <10,000 [   ]   10,001-20,000 [   ]   20,001-50,000 [   ]

                                   >100,000 [   ]

Research specific questions

Do you believe that there are intra-ethnic conflicts within the community?

Yes [   ]   No [   ]

If yes, indicate the frequency of occurrence of intra ethnic conflict in the region

Very frequent [   ]   Frequent [   ]   Less frequent [   ]   Never [   ]

What is the nature of intra-ethnic conflicts among the Abakuria ethnic community?

Disagreements [   ]   Verbal abuses [   ]   Quarrels [   ]   Fights [   ]

Arguments [   ]   Hostilities [   ]   Killings [   ]   Mockery [   ]   Others

(Specify)………………

Can you briefly state some of the causes of intra-ethnic conflicts in the community?

Fear [   ]   Negative emotions [   ]   Jealousy [   ]   Anger [   ]

Frustrations [   ]

Disagreements with community members [   ]   Drunkard behaviour [   ]

Theft [   ]

Resources conflicts [   ]   Political affiliations [   ] (Specify)………………

Can you identify the methods that are suitable for solving the intra-ethnic violence within the community?   Dialogue [   ]   Jailing offenders [   ]   Civic education [   ]

Community judicial system [   ]   Mass media [   ]   Prayers [   ]

What are the preferred sources of mass media you?   Radio [   ]

Newspaper [   ]   TV [   ]   Internet [   ]   Others (Specify)……………

Kindly rank the media type you have chosen based on a scale of 1 to 5 where; 1 Least preferred, 2 Slightly preferred, 3 Not sure of preference, 4 Preferred, 5 highly preferred

To what extent do you obtain information about the intra-ethnic conflicts from the aforementioned mass media? Very frequent [   ]

Frequent [   ] Not sure [   ] Less frequent [   ]   Not at all [   ]

What is the most favorite type of mass media from where information on intra-ethnic conflict are broadcasted?   Daily Nation [   ]   Standard [   ] Taifa Leo [   ]

The People [   ]   Citizen [   ]   NTV [   ]   Citizen TV [   ]   KTN [   ]

QTV [   ] KBC TV [   ] Radio Citizen [   ] KBC Radio [   ] Milele FM [   ]

Egesa FM [   ] Ramogi FM [   ] Victoria FM [   ]   Jambo FM [   ] BBC [   ]

Others (Specify)……………

Which mass media do you obtain information on conflict management for the Abakuria?

Daily Nation [   ]   Standard [   ] Taifa Leo [   ] The People [   ]   Citizen   [   ]

NTV [   ]   Citizen TV [   ]   KTN [   ]

QTV [   ] KBC TV [   ] Radio Citizen [   ] KBC Radio [   ] Milele FM [   ]

Egesa FM [   ] Ramogi FM [   ] Victoria FM [   ]   Jambo FM [   ] BBC [   ]

Others (Specify)……………

What are some of the reasons for the preference of the above stated mass media?

Factuality [   ] Balance [   ]   Fair coverage [   ]   Nonpartisan [   ] Educative [   ]

Others (Specify)……………

Kindly give your ranking on how mass media help in solving intra-ethnic conflict in the Abakuria community……………. (%)

How do the mass media help in solving intra-ethnic violence for the Abakuria Community?

Proper decision-making [   ] Resolve wrangles [   ]

Avoids arguments [   ] Prevent conflicts [   ] Prevent deaths [   ]

Cool down emotions [   ]   others (Specify)……………

Based on a recall for the last 7 days, what are content of the mass media in terms of coverage: Politics [   ]   Business [   ] Sports [   ]   Community   news   [   ]

Development [   ]   Conflicts [   ] Intra-ethnic conflicts [   ] Food security [   ]

Health [   ]   Others (Specify)……………………..

To what extent has the mass media content coverage played a role in on the resolution of the intra-ethnic conflict on the Abakuria ethnic community?

Rank the role of the content of the mass media on the resolution of the intra-ethnic conflict on the Abakuria ethnic community: Very major [   ] Major [   ] Not sure [   ]

Minor [   ] None at all [ ]

Do you perceive the existing mass media to provide the accurate information on conflict communication?   Yes [   ] No [   ]

What are some of the reason why you think that accurate reporting of the conflict among the

Abakuria   community   is   not   correctly   captured

……………………………………………………………………….

…………………………………………………………………….

…………………………………………………………………….

…………………………………………………………………….

Do you think that vernacular mass media was necessary for the community? Yes [   ] No [

]

Kindly rate your preference for a vernacular media station for the community

Strongly agree [   ]   Agree [   ]   Not sure [   ]   Disagree [   ] Strongly disagree [   ]

Appendix 4: Interview Schedule with key informants

Biographical Form

Residence_____

Gender: Male [   ]   Female [   ]

Levels of education: None [   ]   Primary [   ]   Secondary [   ]

Tertiary [   ] University [   ]

Age: < 15 years [   ]   15-25 [   ] 26-35 years   36-50 [   ]

> 50 [   ]

Marital status: Single [   ]   Married [   ]   Widow [   ]   Widower   [   ]

Income levels: <10,000 [   ]   10,001-20,000 [   ]   20,001-50,000 [   ]

>100,000 [   ]

Research specific questions

Do you believe that there are intra-ethnic conflicts within the community?

Yes [   ]   No [   ]

If yes, indicate the frequency of occurrence of intra ethnic conflict in the region

Very frequent [   ]   Frequent [   ]   Less frequent [   ]   Never [   ]

What is the nature of intra-ethnic conflicts among the Abakuria ethnic community?

Disagreements [ ]   Verbal abuses [ ]   Quarrels [ ]   Fights [ ]

Arguments [ ]   Hostilities [ ] Killings [ ]   Mockery [ ]   Others

(Specify)………………

Can you briefly state some of the causes of intra-ethnic conflicts in the community?

Fear [   ]   Negative emotions [   ]   Jealousy [   ]   Anger [   ]

Frustrations [   ]

Disagreements with community members [   ]   Drunkard behaviour [   ]

Theft [   ]

Resources conflicts [   ]   Political affiliations [   ] (Specify)………………

Can you identify the methods that are suitable for solving the intra-ethnic violence within

the community? Dialogue [   ] Jailing offenders [   ] Civic education [   ]

Community judicial system [   ]   Mass media [   ]   Prayers [   ]

What are the preferred sources of mass media you?   Radio [   ]

Newspaper [   ]   TV [   ]   Internet [   ]   Others (Specify)……………

Kindly rank the media type you have chosen based on a scale of 1 to 5 where; 1 Least

preferred, 2 Slightly preferred, 3 Not sure of preference, 4 Preferred, 5 highly preferred

To what extent do you obtain information about the intra-ethnic conflicts from the aforementioned mass media? Very frequent [   ]

Frequent [   ]   Not sure [   ]   Less frequent [   ]   Not at all [   ]

What is the most favorite type of mass media from where information on intra-ethnic conflict are broadcasted?   Daily Nation [   ]   Standard [   ] Taifa Leo [   ]

The People [   ]   Citizen [   ]   NTV [   ]   Citizen TV [   ]   KTN [   ]

QTV [   ] KBC TV [   ] Radio Citizen [   ]   KBC Radio [   ] Milele FM [   ]

Egesa FM [   ] Ramogi FM [   ]   Victoria FM [   ]   Jambo FM [   ] BBC [   ]

Others (Specify)……………

Which mass media do you obtain information on conflict management for the Abakuria?

Daily Nation [   ]   Standard [   ] Taifa Leo [   ] The People [   ]   Citizen   [   ]

NTV [   ]   Citizen TV [   ]   KTN [   ]

QTV [   ] KBC TV [   ] Radio Citizen [   ]   KBC Radio [   ] Milele FM [   ]

Egesa FM [   ] Ramogi FM [   ]   Victoria FM [   ]   Jambo FM [   ] BBC [   ]

Others (Specify)……………

What are some of the reasons for the preference of the above stated mass media?

Factuality [   ]   Balance [   ]   Fair coverage [   ]   Nonpartisan [   ] Educative [   ]

Others (Specify)……………

Kindly give your ranking on how mass media help in solving intra-ethnic conflict in the Abakuria community……………. (%)

How do the mass media help in solving intra-ethnic violence for the Abakuria Community?

Proper decision-making [   ] Resolve wrangles [   ]

Avoids arguments [   ]   Prevent conflicts [   ]   Prevent deaths [   ]

Cool down emotions [   ]   Others (Specify)……………

Based on a recall for the last 7 days, can you classify the content of the mass media in terms of coverage: Politics [   ]   Business [   ] Sports [   ]   Community   news   [   ]

Development [   ]   Conflicts [   ] Intra-ethnic conflicts [   ] Food security [   ]

Health [   ]   Others (Specify)………………………

To what extent has the mass media content coverage played a role in on the resolution of the intra-ethnic conflict on the Abakuria ethnic community? Very major [   ]

Major [   ] Not sure [   ] Minor [   ] None at all [   ]

Kindly rate your preference for a vernacular media station for the community

Strongly agree [   ]   Agree [   ]   Not sure [   ]   Disagree [   ] Strongly disagree [   ]

The government should increase funding support for local media organizations working to improve intra-ethnic conflict

Rank the role of the content of the mass media on the resolution of the intra-ethnic conflict on the Abakuria ethnic community   Very major [   ] Major [ ] Not sure [   ]

Minor [   ] None at all [   ]

5) It is important for the government to consult regularly with organizations across the country that works on intra-ethnic conflict

6) Intra-ethnic conflict is defined as "Any act against one's intra-ethnicity that results in, or is likely to result in physical, intra-ethnic or psychological harm or suffering to the victim whether occurring in public or in private life"

7) How would you rate your knowledge of intra-ethnic conflict?

- Very poor

- Poor

- Fair

- Good

- Very good

8) How would you rate your knowledge of Government policies, programs, benefits and services concerning intra-ethnic conflict (e.g., how they work, how to apply, what are the eligibility criteria)?

- Very poor

- Poor

- Fair

- Good

- Very good

9) Name the areas where you think more legislation are required to deal with intra-ethnic conflict?

…………………………………………………………………………………….

…………………………………………………………………………………….

…………………………………………………………………………………….

…………………………………………………………………………………….

10) Do you know the name of any organization?

A) Working for intra-ethnic conflict in your community

…………………………………………………………………………………………….

…………………………………………………………………………………………….

…………………………………………………………………………………………….

…………………………………………………………………………………………….

B) Working for intra-ethnic conflict in your region of the country

…………………………………………………………………………………………….

…………………………………………………………………………………………….

…………………………………………………………………………………………….

…………………………………………………………………………………………….

…………………………………………………………………………………………….

C) Working for intra-ethnic conflict at national level

…………………………………………………………………………………………….

…………………………………………………………………………………………….

…………………………………………………………………………………………….

…………………………………………………………………………………………….

11) In order to control intra-ethnic conflict priorities in the scale of 1-10 areas where you think further action is needed:

- Change in peoples attitude towards gender difference
- Social and physical security
- Employment opportunities
- Access to education and training in order to get better employment
- Income support
- Access to child care
- Access to other services and benefits
- Better recognition of unpaid work time
- Better recognition of skills, experience and credentials

12) What are your main sources of information on gender equality issues and the situation of women and men in Kenya?

- Newspapers
- Radio
- TV
- Internet

- Magazines aimed at women
- Other magazines
- Books
- Friends
- Family
- Women's organizations
- Coworkers
- Educational institution
- Government sources
- Religious institution
- Other

13) Which do you think is the most effective method of sensitizing legislators, advisers, and other parliamentary staff on gender issues, in particular dealing with violence?

- By organizing training seminars on violence against women for this target group
- By distributing information on violence against women at national, provincial and local law making bodies
- By advocacy using media and other means
- Other methods (please describe them)

Appendix 5: Community vulnerability assessment (CVA)

1. Do you feel that it was helpful to be asked questions about intra-ethnic conflict?

2. Was there a way we could have asked the questions that would have been more helpful?

3. To what extent has the mass media content coverage played a role in the resolution of the intra-ethnic conflict among the Abakuria ethnic community?

Based on a recall for the last 7 days, what are the content of the mass media in terms of coverage?

4. Was any of the information provided to you about intra-ethnic conflict helpful to you or anyone else?

5. Do you feel that you have been able to better protect yourself because of conversations about intra-ethnic conflict with your counselor?

6. Do you feel that you have been able to better protect your children because of conversations about intra-ethnic conflict with your counselor?

7. How can we be more helpful in dealing with intra-ethnic conflict in your family?

Appendix 6: Map showing the area occupied by the Abakuria of Kenya
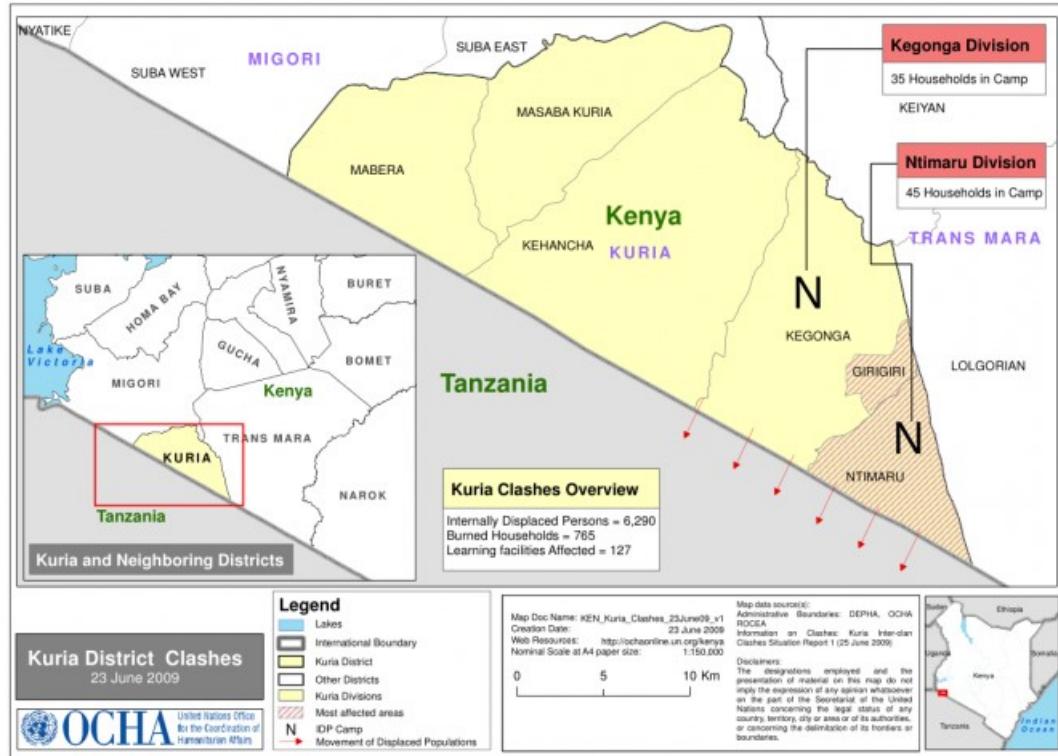
Source:

https://www.google.com/url?sa=iandrct=jandq=andesrc=sandsource=imagesandcd=andcad
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2009andpsig=AFQjCNFCLCS9jzqApX5CFLagXOVVRgBwEAandust=144351122128988
5

Appendix 7 : Letter of Acceptance into full Doctoral Candidature

RONGO
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

Goldmine of Knowledge and Innovation

(A constituent College of Moi University)

P.O. BOX 103-40404
RONGO, KENYA
Email: dean-infocoms@ruc.ac.ke
Tel no: 0770308264

15th April,2014

Dear John Oluoch,

REF: **DECISION ON DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY PRESENTATION**

Following the presentation of your proposed research topic for the degree of Doctor Philosophy at the School of Information, Communication and Media Studies held on the 2nd of April 2014, I am pleased to inform you that the Graduate School Committee has accepted your proposed research into full candidature.

You are hereby advised to submit four bound copies of your proposal of 30 pages by 28 April, 2014 to the Chair, Infocoms Postgraduate Committee. You are also expected to submit the first chapter of your thesis to your assigned supervisor(s) one month thereafter.

Best Regards,

Chairman, Infocoms Postgraduate Committee

Appendix 8: Research Permit

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY
State Department of Education

Telephone: (059) 20420
Fax: 05920420
When replying please
quote

COUNTY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION
MIGORI COUNTY
P.O. Box 466-40400
<u>SUNA – MIGORI</u>

REF: MIG/CDE/ADMN./1/VOL.II1/80

DATE: 18th December, 2014

Oluoch John Osicho
Rongo University College
P.O. Box 103
Rongo

RE: <u>RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION</u>

Following your application for authority to carry out research on *"Evaluating the Contemporary Vernacular Broadcast Media Intervention in Communities Prone to Intra-ethnic Conflict in Kenya"*. I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Migori County** for a period ending 31st December, 2015.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit one hard copy and a soft copy of the research report/Thesis to this office.

Thank you.

Asyago B. A. (Mrs.)
County Director of Education
MIGORI COUNTY

Appendix 9 : Informed Consent Form

I wish to confirm that I have read and fully understood the participant information sheet and the nature and purpose of this research study has been fully and clearly explained to me by Mr. John Oluoch who is a postgraduate student at Rongo University College, Kenya. I understand that all the audio recording done of, and with me during this study will specifically be used for the purposes of enabling the researcher to clearly get information that he may have missed during the oral face to face interview.

I understand clearly that all the information that I will provide will be treated with utmost confidentiality and will also be used for the purposes of the research study only.

During the study, I undertake that I shall be availble for all the relevant activities of the study as well as freely give information to facilitate further actualisation of the study. I also hereby understand that while the information gained during the study may be published, I will not be identified anywhere during or after the study through my real names.

I am also fully aware that I can choose to withdraw from the research study at any time or as I may wish, and without any penalty and prejudice whatsoever.

Signature of the participant……………………………………………………

Date……………………………………………………………………………

For further information contact :

John Oluoch   Tel : 0724512546

Email : joluochmu@yahoo.com

Appendix 10 : Participant Information Sheet

Rongo University College

P.O. Box 103-40404

RONGO

My name is John Oluoch, a postgraduate student at Rongo University College, which is a constituent College of Moi University in Kenya. I am enrolled in the Department of Communication and Media Studies, School of Information, Communication and Media Studies. I am studying for a course leading to a Doctor of Philosophy degree in Communication Studies. The study intently seeks to evaluate the contemporary vernacular broadcast media intervention in communities prone to intra-ethnic conflict in Kenya: a case of the Abakuria community.

I wish to kindly request you to help me undertake and successfully go through this study by filling in a questionnaire which seeks your honest views on the various key issues as outlined therein. The study also further requires that I conduct a face to face oral interview with you get even a deeper understanding and highlighting some of the issues relevant to my research work. Your kindest participation in this study is extremely essential to me as it will enable me to get a very clear picture of the current and even past issues relating to the subject under study.

As a matter of confidentiality, you will not be identified anywhere in the entire study report. As a matter of fact, you will remain anonymous in all the verbal and written records and reports that you participated in during the research. All the information from this study will be treated strictly as private and confidential and will be used for the research purposes only.

For further information, please feel free to contact me either in person or through:

Phone number: 0724512546

Email: joluochmu@yahoo.com

Appendix 11:   Letter of Invitation to Defend Final Research Proposal

RONGO
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

Goldmine of Knowledge and Innovation

(A constituent College of Moi University)

P.O. BOX 103-40404

RONGO, KENYA
Email: dean-infocoms@ruc.ac.ke
Tel no: 0770308264

10TH ~~January~~ *March* 2014

Dear Graduate Student,

RE: DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY PROPOSAL FINAL DEFENSE

You are hereby notified of a postgraduate Doctor of Philosophy Proposal defense scheduled for the 1st of April 2014 at the School of Information Communication and Media Studies from 9am in Room MG 5.

You are required to submit both soft and hard copies of the title of your proposed research and an abstract of not more than 300 words to the Chairman, School of Information Communication and Media Studies (Infocoms) Postgraduate Committee. You are kindly requested to be punctual.

Best Regards,
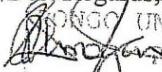
Dr. Fredrick O. Ogenga

Chairman, INFOCOMS Postgraduate Committee

CC. Dr. Jerry Agalo, Dean INFOCOMS