

**THE ROLE OF RADIO BROADCASTING IN SOCIO-POLITICAL  
CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN KENYA: A STUDY OF CITIZEN RADIO**

**BY**

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**DECLARATION**

**DECLARATION BY THE STUDENT**

I hereby declare that the work presented here unless otherwise cited, is my original work and has never been presented for a degree in any other university.

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**DEDICATION**

I dedicate this thesis to my husband George Fanelli, thank you hun for encouraging and supporting me both morally and financially I appreciate everything you did to me, you learnt to be patient with me, can't ask for more. Scott my son, may you follow mum footsteps, you made me to be the woman I'm today. Love you all. My late Grandma Mrs. Lucie Moraa Nyachieng'a and beloved mother Mary Nyachienga thank you for your advice, prayers and for always reminding me to work hard and move forward. Thank you and may God bless you.

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**DEFINITION OF TERMS**

- Conflict resolution** - Activities directed at reducing or ending conflicts.
- Conflict** - A condition that arises from a perceived incompatible differences.
- Mass communication** - The process of transmitting messages that are directed at large heterogeneous and scattered audiences.
- Media** - Channels of communication through which an effect is produced or is made known.
- Radio broadcasting** - The process of transmitting messages through frequency modulated signals or waves.
- Socio-political** - The differences between people, individuals or groups caused by their standings, opinions relating to how their lives or a country should be governed.

**LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>AM</b>	-	Amplitude Modulation
<b>CIPEV</b>	-	Commission of Inquiry into Post Election Violence
<b>CNN</b>	-	Cable News Network
<b>CRN</b>	-	Conflict Resolution Network
<b>FM</b>	-	Frequency Modulation
<b>KBC</b>	-	Kenya Broadcasting Cooperation Television
<b>KNCHR</b>	-	Kenya National Commission of Human Rights
<b>LRND</b>	-	Local Radio Network for Democracy
<b>NATO</b>	-	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
<b>NGOs</b>	-	Non-Governmental Organizations
<b>TV</b>	-	Television
<b>KANU</b>	-	Kenya African National Union
<b>CAK</b>	-	Communication Authority of Kenya
<b>NARC</b>	-	National Rainbow coalition
<b>ODM</b>	-	orange democratic movement
<b>PNU</b>	-	Party of NATIONAL Unity
<b>PEV</b>	-	Post Election Violence

## ABSTRACT

Media plays a crucial role in informing the public about conflicts, analyzing and helping to resolve them. Peace media provides an alternate professional paradigm for the journalists to enable them view, interpret, source and narrate conflicts in ways that seek non-violent responses in society an approach that ultimately would help transform conflict and lead it towards resolution. The purpose of the study was to assess the role played by radio broadcasting in socio-political conflict resolution in Kenya. The objectives of the study were to: identify the perceptions of people on the role of radio broadcasting in 2007 socio-political conflict resolution in Kenya; analyze the radio broadcasting programs that led to socio-political conflict resolution; examine effective conflict resolution strategies that can be used to reduce socio-political conflicts. The study was guided by Shaw and McCombs; Agenda setting Theory, whose main postulate is salience transfer. A descriptive survey design was adopted in the study. The study was carried out in Cheplata, Kilgoris and Sondu where 400 listeners of Radio Citizen were picked from each of the three areas thus a target population of 1200 respondents. Snowball and purposive sampling techniques were used to get a sample size of 50 sampled from each area the study adopted mixed methods where quantitative data were collected using questionnaires while qualitative data in-depth interviews were used. Data analysis involved descriptive statistics and thematic analysis. The researcher sought permission from Royal Media Services and a research permit was obtained from the National Council of Science and Technology. Findings show that 93.9% of the respondents believed that Radio Citizen has a crucial role in conflict resolution. Findings further show that, radio talk shows were the major contributors to conflict resolution, 86.2% of the respondents concurred that radio talk shows can be used to transform conflicts into peace. Findings also revealed that 97% of the respondents agreed that if the strategies in place are incorporated into radio Citizen programmes, they can help in educating the public on conflict resolution. The study concluded that the media has a vital role in resolving conflicts, talk shows to be utilized in conflict resolution by using skilled practitioners and put in place strategies that will enable the public to handle conflicts. The study recommends that media practitioners need to be equipped with conflict sensitive reporting skills. Radio Citizen should invest and develop a journalism practice that can cope and address critical issues affecting conflict resolutions.

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## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

### 1.0 Introduction

Successive evolutions in communication technologies have significantly altered the conduct of conflict, warfare, and conflict resolution. Compared to people of earlier ages, people around the world today know much more and much sooner about major developments in international relations. Global news networks that broadcast live from all corners of the world and via the Internet provide immediate access to unfolding events and, under certain conditions, could influence the way those events develop and end (Gambo, 2002).

According to Gambo, evolutions in communication technologies have changed the meaning of power in internal and international relations. Governments have lost much of their monopoly on information, and non-state actors and individuals have become much more active and significant participants in world affairs, both in warfare and conflict resolution. State and non-state actors are increasingly employing - soft power. Successful utilization of soft power and public diplomacy depends to a large extent on communication.

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 (John, 1997). Very few studies deal with the actual or potential media contributions to conflict resolution and reconciliation. Indeed, the media, particularly radio and television, were instrumental in fomenting conflict and violence in places such as Rwanda, Bosnia and of course Kenya after the 2007 general elections. According to Howard (2004), the Danish cartoon controversy

also demonstrates that the media can even cause a violent conflict. Scholars and practitioners have noticed how the media exacerbate conflict and have concluded that the media's role can be reversed and converted into positive contributions to conflict resolution. This reversal, however, is difficult to achieve. It is always easier to foment conflict than resolve it, and the media's role in conflict resolution is more complicated than the roles of those dominating the violence phase.

Howard notes that the paucity of research and analysis of the media's role in conflict resolution may be attributed to the difficulties inherent in multidisciplinary research and the absence of adequate tools, models, and frameworks for analysis. There are serious gaps between theoreticians and practitioners in the fields of conflict resolution, communication, and journalism. Gaps also exist between theoreticians and practitioners within each of these groups. One way to reduce these gaps is to construct a multidisciplinary framework for analysis and practice. This study attempts to offer such a framework.

This work is based on a unique multidisciplinary integration of normative and empirical theories and approaches from several fields: conflict studies, communication, and journalism. The discipline of conflict studies provides concepts and analysis of information related to the nature and process of conflict resolution and reconciliation. Communication studies give meaning to the evolutions in communication technologies and media functions. Finally, the field of journalism provides insight into the roles of journalists in society and conflict resolution.

## **1.1 Background to the Study**

### **1.1.1 Radio Broadcasting in Kenya**

Until the mid 1990s, Kenya had only one official government owned radio and TV broadcaster, KBC. From the mid 1990s, many FM radio stations have been formed in Kenya, with an urban audience (CATIA Newsletter 2006). Nation owns two televisions and one radio station, standard Media group owns a television and a radio station and Royal media owns a TV and 13 radio stations with Radio Citizen being flag bearer. Recent surveys reveal that the Royal Media group enjoyed special treatment by the Kibaki government in the issuing of frequencies.

The survey further found that the concentration of mainstream radio broadcasting sector have however, on numerous occasions been seen as “serving the ruling class” and elitist parochial interests, and thus, ordinary citizens express their views uncensored in phone-in programmes on private FM stations that give people a voice and provide space for debate (Ibid). The most prominent feature in radio communication in Kenya, is the FM stations talk or chat show, a radio program where one person or group of people come together to discuss various topics put forth by a talk show host. Sometimes, talk shows feature a panel of guests, usually consisting of a group of people who are learned or who have great experience in relation to whatever issue is being discussed on the show for that episode. Other times, a guest discusses his/ her experience, work or area of expertise with a host or co-hosts. A call-in show takes live phone calls from callers listening at home and in their cars (Abongo et al, 2005).

Some of these talk shows can be perceived by people as a ground of escalating conflicts depending on the topics being discussed especially if it is political because everyone has a party or group they support, the call-in shows can elicit talks which are provocative to the public. Therefore, the radio has the responsibility to ensure that the content they receive and give is positive and if they are mis-perceptions from the public they should be ready to educate them and make them understand to avoid unnecessary confrontations (CATIA Newsletter, 2006).

The concept of chat shows in FM radio has transformed broadcasting in Kenya. Although the concept of community radio is still in its infancy, there are quite a number of regional radio stations that broadcast in local vernacular albeit with lesser diversity in their programming. Predominantly however, the mainly commercial FM stations largely play music all day, with small doses of news on the hour where emphasis is placed on “politics of negativity and destruction” and stereotyping. For example, most FM stations are mainly entertainment offering mainly music, and although having snippets of educational programmes, are intensive more or less with the same formats and little information and news. Moreover, the programme formats in some FM stations seem to be haphazard and characterised by “a lot of trial and error” (Ibid).

Despite these shortcomings, radio broadcasting in Kenya has so far remained a very popular avenue for mass communication due to its convenience and wide scope. Compared to other channels of communication and despite the recent successes of internet based communication technologies, radio communication is still the cheapest, least sophisticated and easily accessible means of communication to reach the remotest and less enabled people within the society (Abongo et al, 2005).



### **1.1.2 Radio Broadcasting and Conflict**

Conflict is a natural and inevitable process and in this sense has both functional and dysfunctional consequences. It is argued that conflict is a symptom of effective behaviour and forms a pre-requisite to change and innovation. The role of radio media in resolving conflicts constructively arises from the fact that one of the factors that cause conflict is communication. A vibrant radio thus can contribute to growing stability just as a negatively vibrant one can escalate conflict (Hans Van De Veen, 2000).

Hans Van De Veen observes that on the positive side, radio has been used to reach huge numbers of people in conflict areas. Projects have been supported for the media in Macedonia and the Middle East involving production of TV and radio series in Russia, Macedonia, Africa and Sri Lanka. The programmes concentrate on the most difficult issues in a society and are broadcast nation-wide.

In Africa, where radio is the only medium that reaches a mass audience efforts have been made to counteract the so-called hate-radio, the most horrendous example of which is Rwanda's Radio Mille Collines, which urged the country on to genocide. In Burundi, a result of this effort is Studio Ijambo, and radio stations from the Local Radio Network for Democracy (LRND) in the provinces of Maluku Aceh and Kalimantan. The joint radio/academic teams worked together on producing a number of programmes during 2004 that brought the conflict-resolution knowledge of the academic community to the attention of the broader audiences of the media. This has improved the dissemination of information through local channels of communication regarding the peace process, as well as strengthened relations between academia and local media. It has also led to strengthening the links between local civil society and

the media, particularly in West Kalimantan where activities have continued to date (IMS, 2008).

Generally, in the search for common ground for conflict resolution, there are a growing number of NGOs and mediators which are trying to convince journalists, in the western world and beyond, that it is not only conflict that can be sold to their reading, listening and viewing audiences, but that conflict resolution can be an equally marketable concept. This view is informed on the basis that successful conflict resolution can also get good ratings.

### **1.3 Statement of the Problem**

For many years, Kenya was popularly known to be the home of peace. The country precipitated to violence after the 2007 general election results were announced. This unfortunate incident has persisted, as we still hear of one form of attack after another. Several lives and property have been lost to conflicts. The conflicts have been attributed to political, economic, media especially FM stations and ethnic features. Though FM radio stations have been singled out for escalating the climate of hate, inciting violence and promoting ethnic tension, it does not mean that radio cannot be used in conflict resolutions. The media have a crucial role to play in the resolution of conflicts. This is because the media sets agenda for the public to follow. The rapidity of profound political, social and environmental change has left societies in massive and unresolved conflict while at hand is the under-utilized resource of the media whose help is hardly ever sought. This study emphasizes the vital role the media can play in Conflict Resolution and Peace Making. Lack of information can, at any stage of a conflict, make people distressed, restless and easy influenced. The ability to make informed decisions strengthens societies and fosters economic growth, democratic

structures and the positive outlook on the future something media can do (Asemah, 2009).

Despite the huge potential and impact of radio broadcasting as a mass communication tool, this remains an under-utilised resource for conflict resolution in Kenya. It has been perceived as hindrance to a peace process by changing attitudes, perceptions, and people's behaviour. The FM radio is perceived to work from the premise that 'conflict' is interesting and 'agreement' is boring, turning its attention to conflicts at points of high public interest, such as dramatic escalation phases, unusual violent incidents, or other events considered newsworthy making conflict resolution impossible (Abongo et al, 2005).

However, the use of effective conflict resolution strategies appears to have been ignored. The media can contribute to peace, by engaging in credible reporting, representing balanced opinions in its editorial content, and opening up communication channels among parties in a conflict. It can also identify and articulate without bias the underlying interests of warring factions. By doing so, the media is capable of disseminating information that builds on the confidence of stakeholders in a conflict (Apollos, 2001). It is from this background that the study undertook to study the role of radio broadcasting in socio-political conflict resolution taking a case study of Radio Citizen.

#### **1.4 General Objective**

The general objective of the study was to assess the role played by Radio Citizen in resolving socio-political conflicts in Kenya during the 2007 post election violence.

### **1.4.1 Specific Objectives**

The study was carried out to achieve the following specific objectives:

1. To identify the perceptions of people on the role of radio broadcasting in 2007 socio- political conflict resolution in Kenya;
2. To analyze the radio broadcasting programs that led to socio-political conflict resolution.
3. To examine effective conflict resolution strategies that can be used by Radio Citizen to reduce socio-political conflicts.

### **1.5 Significance of the Study**

The study emphasizes the vital role the radio broadcasting media can play in conflict resolution and peacemaking globally, nationally and locally. It aims to support radio journalists and stakeholders in new and rewarding career paths and policies, where their unique contribution to problem-solving is recognized and embraced. Journalists and radio media stakeholders will benefit from having a conflict-resolving approach to their work which will help overcome the cynicism and disenchantment about the media in Kenya while enhancing the consumer's interest in radio media reporting and analysis. The rationale of this study was, therefore, to encourage the media to take seriously the issue of conflict resolution in order to maintain peace and harmony among people and the society. Scholars in conflict resolution and communication studies will also gain useful insights for practical use from the findings and recommendations that will help identify the importance of radio broadcasting in solving conflicts.

## **1.6 Scope of the Study**

This study assessed the role of Radio broadcasting in conflict resolution in Kenya. The study was conducted at different political hotspots in Kenya with special reference to (Cheplat, Kilgoris, and Sondu). They were selected because they were hotspots of conflicts that ensued during the 2007 disputed election in Kenya. The study was conducted only among the respondents who are faithful listeners to Radio Citizen. The study was both qualitative and quantitative.

### **1.6.1 Limitations of Study**

The study was characterized by the following limitations:

- i) There were so many areas of violence in Kenya following the 2007 disputed election. Due to time limit, it was not possible to carry out research in all the affected centres. The study was, therefore, limited to purposively selected three post-election hot spots centres in Kenya.
- ii) Some respondents were not in a position to give expected information in data collection instruments such as questionnaires. This was due to the fact that the levels of understanding of different respondent differed.

## **1.7 Theoretical Framework**

### **1.7.1 Agenda Setting Theory**

According to Shaw and McCombs (1972), Agenda setting describes a very powerful influence of the media and the ability to tell us what issues are important. Agenda setting theory states that the news media have a large influence on audiences, in terms of what stories to consider newsworthy and how much prominence and space to give them. Agenda setting theory's main postulate is salience transfer. Salience transfer is the ability of the news media to transfer issues of importance from their news media

agendas to public agendas. Through their day-by-day selection and display of the news, editors and news directors, focus our attention and influence our perceptions of what are the most important issues of the day.

This ability to influence the salience of topics on the public agenda has come to be called the agenda setting role of the news media. Related to agenda setting is agenda building theory, which explores how an issue comes to the attention of policy makers and media (Shaw and McCombs (1972)). The media agenda is the set of issues addressed by media sources and the public agenda, which are issues the public consider important. The agenda setting theory, thus states that issues that receive prominent attention on the national news become the topics that the viewing public considers to be most important.

The theory is associated with Shaw and McCombs (1972) which explains the strong media effects, closely linked to the ability of the media to reproduce social and cultural aspects of society, through the publication of information. The agenda in this context refers to the salience or importance of issues and not a pre-determined goal of the media to influence audiences. The model suggests that the media affects the scope of the public thinking. If applied to this study, we find that through daily reporting over time, issues (*agenda*) covered in the media were transformed to public agendas.

By generating discussions on peace-building, journalists and policy makers can collectively shape the public agenda to more constructive dialogues. Contrary, to a general assumption that the media has power to directly inject behaviours and attitudes in the minds of people, the model suggests that the media affects the scope of their thinking. This argument is also reflected in Bernard Cohen's 1963 statement that "the press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but

it is stunningly successful in telling readers what to think about” (Cohen 1963 cited from Rogers & Dearing, 2001:1).

In essence, through daily reporting over time, the media agenda becomes the public agenda. The theory tends to imply that in an environment of conflict, the media mirrors the disorder in society and does not necessarily brew conflicts. This assumption then challenges the idea otherwise that the media can directly foment conflicts, but provides a good scope in the analysis of inherent socio-economic and political set up of the media in Kenya. Agenda setting operates under two assumptions - first, the media does not reflect reality, they filter and shape it. Second, the media concentration on a few issues and subjects leads the public to perceive those issues as more important than other issues (McQuail & Windhal, 1993).

The theory is relevant to the study in the sense that the media set agenda for the public to follow and have the ability to influence what people think about. Thus, since the media can set agenda for the public to follow, it becomes imperative to use the media to set the agenda of peace and conflict resolution in the country. Thus, the use of radio attracts large audiences in rural communities, this group is likely to follow opinions or repeat discussions shared in daily experiences.

### **1.8 The Conceptual Framework**

The conceptual framework is based on the relationship between the independent variable radio broadcasting and the dependent variable socio-political conflict resolution. The influence is conceptualised as the presence of a radio broadcasting channel or agency that directly influences the process of conflict as well as its identification and resolution in Kenya. These are represented under the framework below.





structure, and personal variables. Although they need not lead directly to conflict, any one of these conditions is necessary if conflict is to surface. From this conceptual framework, the conflict isn't the problem - rather, it is when the conflict is poorly managed in its various phases that it becomes a problem for the radio broadcaster and to society as a whole (Hans Van De Veen, 2007).

Therefore, radio communication can be a source of conflict when it represents the opposing forces that arise from semantic difficulties, misunderstandings, and "blockage" (differing word connotations, jargon, insufficient exchange of information, and noise in the communication channel) which are all barriers to communication and potential antecedent conditions to conflict in the radio broadcasting channels (Howard, 2003).

He notes that the potential for conflict increases when either too little or too much communication takes place. An increase in negative communication is functional to a point, whereupon it is possible to over communicate, with a resultant increase in the potential for conflict. Too much information as well as too little can lay the foundation for conflict behaviour. All conflicts exist somewhere along this continuum but at the lower part of the continuum; the conflicts are characterized by subtle, indirect, and highly controlled forms of tension. These conflict intensities escalate as they move upward along the continuum until they become highly destructive.

According to Mayer (2012), Radio broadcasting can be constructive in resolving conflict when it: Results in clarification of important problems and issues; Results in solutions to problems; Involves people in resolving issues important to them; Causes authentic communication; Helps release emotion, anxiety, and stress; Builds

cooperation among people through learning more about each other and generally joins in resolving the conflict by helping individuals and organizations develop understanding, skills and motivation to participate.

The inverse however is that radio broadcasting can be destructive to conflict resolution when it: Takes attention away from other important activities; Undermines morale or self-concept; Polarizes people and groups; reduces cooperation; Increases or sharpens difference and generally leads to irresponsible and harmful behaviour such as fighting, and abuse (Esman, 2004). Therefore, I can conclude that though conflict has potential costs, it does not have to be negative or destructive, when properly understood and addressed constructively by the media especially radio it can be managed in a way that minimizes its potential, but not inevitable, negative impacts.

## **CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.0 Introduction**

In reporting fundamental events such as conflict, adequacy of coverage is no doubt demanded. The media owe the public an expedient responsibility not just to report such development, but to adequately give such account. Adequacy here connotes the volume of coverage. This chapter presents an account and analysis of related literature focusing on media portrayals on conflict, peace journalism, and the role of the media in social-political conflict. It includes a discussion of the pertinent issues regarding radio as a tool in conflict prevention and resolution. It discusses how radio communication, along with fair and accurate journalism, can contribute to the transformation of a conflict, with regards to targeting radio journalists specifically and the media in general in areas of socio-political tension to help in the transformation process. The discussions highlight gaps in the literature that the researcher can contribute to.

### **2.1 The Media Landscape in Africa**

The African were initially the brainchild of colonial masters and so legacies from the era were inherited and nurtured by post - colonial African administrations. The media were primarily established to serve the needs of colonial administrations, and so at independence, African leaders brought them under state control to sing praise songs in the name of national unity and development. In Kenya, the Voice of Kenya (VOK) was renamed Kenya Broadcasting Corporation in 1964 and later owned and controlled by the government. Until recently, the state has had a firm control of the media, allowing it only to speak in a way that is acceptable to the government in power; using it as an instrument to influence decisions and pass on propaganda to

civil society (Espisu and Kariithi, 2002). The Kenyan publicly owned media performed the same roles before and after the liberalization of the airwaves whereby they were the mouth piece and photo albums of the governments of the day a trend that continues today.

Considering the strength of the media in the exercise of political power, African leaders have always ensured that the use of these outlets should be closely controlled so that they don't propagate views and promote interests that are at variance with those clearly defined by the national leadership (Ansah, 1998). They back their actions with the argument that state institutions are fragile and criticism may be interpreted as a challenge to the legitimacy of the government, and therefore the media should refrain from every attempt to scrutinize its affairs. However, over the past decades, the wave of democratization, liberalization, and globalization has increasingly impacted on the African media landscape and governance policies, thereby encouraging greater diversity and plurality of broadcasting. The Kenyan media has not been spared by this wave; media has increased from only one radio station to over 120 stations. This begun with Kameme, Capital FM, Nation FM among others.

A growing African independent media has broken the myth once held that African dictators were untouchable, and could not be criticized. The media is now criticizing them for wrecking their economies, muzzling the press, and not allowing adequate political freedom to their people (Kasoma, 1995). In the face of these considerations and inevitable changes, the time has therefore come for African leaders to come to terms with realities that Africans of the 21<sup>st</sup> century need access to information, and

are henceforth willing and ready to defy authoritarian regimes that obstruct the free flow of that information (De beer, 2001).

The diversification of radio broadcasting in Africa has enhanced political and economic liberalization with the development of local, community, and commercial radio (Ansah, 1998). This makes radio a free market place of ideas through which people share different views thus making audiences to have a clear picture of something. However, with the advent of digital technology and the proliferation of radio stations across the continent of Africa, considerable regulatory challenges have arisen. This is because radio is a very effective medium that can be used for various purposes, and some can be considered detrimental to positive development. In the case of radio and its role in ethnic violence, radio can be abused, for instance, and used for propaganda purposes if care is not exercised as the case of Inooro and Kass FM in Kenya.

## **2.2 The Media Landscape of Kenya**

In Kenya media liberalization and change started in 1992 following the restoration of multi-party pluralism permitted by former president Daniel Arap Moi (Maina, 2006). President Moi was always reluctant to liberalize the airwaves and to particularly allow radio stations to broadcast in their tribal languages other than English and Kiswahili, the two national languages, fearing the spread of ethnic tension, division, and violence.

Back in 1982, KANU was deeply concerned about the involvement of community radio in encouraging ethnic tensions and violence in Kenya especially on the basis of using a particular tribe to broadcast to a multiethnic community outside the national languages. In fact the first community radio in Africa established by UNESCO in

Homabay was shut down after broadcasting for two and half years (Quarmyne, 2006). The government said that the radio was broadcasting contrary to the official policy of making Kiswahili and English, the national languages, but was bent on exalting only the good values of the Luo ethnic community in the midst of other tribes (ibid).

However with the coming of democracy and liberalization, the first private Kikuyu tribal radio station known as Kameme was inaugurated in 2002 (Nderitu, 2008). KBC established Coro, a parallel Kikuyu station to counter Kameme's influence on the majority Kikuyu tribe (Kiarie, 2004). Additionally, the coming to power of the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) government in the same year facilitated the rapid growth of media particularly the radio sector (Maina, 2006).

According to the Communications commission of Kenya, CCK (2005), there are over 200 licensed broadcasting services in Kenya including private/commercial, community, religious and international radio stations, but not all are operational. Nearly 40 of these stations are community or vernacular radio stations. The stations are dominated by the state owned Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC), and three privately owned media groups - the Nation, the Standard and the Royal media. The majority of the Kenyan people rely on broadcast media especially radio for news and information (BBC News, 2008).

## **2.2.1 Ethnicity, Violence and the Use of Radio**

### **2.2.1.1 Ethnicity**

Ethnicity has several contextual understandings based on the orientation of individuals and groups. It could encompass the aspects of relationship between individuals who perceive themselves as culturally distinctive from other groups; a

group of people with common interests and collective identities; and an ethnic solidarity expressed in linguistic and kin terms (Esman, 2004; Chazan, 1982).

This premise therefore allows us to briefly discuss the sociological/anthropological paradigms of primordialism and instrumentalism within the framework of ethnicity. Espiritu (1992) argues that the primordialists' view is that ethnic cohesion is embedded in the fact that ethnic groups are bound together by a web of sentiment, belief, and practice, suggesting that ethnic identity derives from its birth; it came first. However, primordial ties do not always culminate into ethnic solidarity. For instance, the strained relationship between Canadian-born Chinese and Vietnamese-born Chinese in Canada suggests that groups can share the same ancestry or heritage but they however do not necessarily fraternise (Woon, 1985, Espiritu, 1992).

The instrumentalists' concept is that a population remains ethnic when their ethnicity produces more benefits than other statuses available to them or when identity is constructed to advance elite interests, often through economic and political advantage made through bloc voting (Heilman and Kaiser, 2002; Young, 1983).

From the African context, a logical argument that can widely be acceptable among scholars of ethnicity is the framework put forward by Berman et al (2004). They argue that African ethnicities are not atavistic, primordial survival of archaic cultures, but rather modern products of African encounter with capitalism and the nation-state in the colonial and post colonial epoch (ibid). It can then be argued that most individuals and groups in these African countries embroiled in ethnic violence including Rwanda and Kenya (Kuperman, 2000; Scott, 2008) use ethnic cleavages and connection to acquire economic wealth and power at the expense of the innocent. In Kenya, ethnic cleavages were used in this way particularly for wider political purposes.

### **2.2.1.2 Violence and the Use of Radio**

In Africa, ethnic violence is a regular trend and has plagued the continent for decades especially after the period of western colonization. Several countries were plunged into civil wars for various reasons including political and power greed, injustice, and ethnic division. Violence comes in many shapes based on the context and interpretation. Young's (2007) concept of violence is when the action of someone is aimed at inflicting pains on others or killing other human beings. However violence can also have the broader aim of groups aiming to achieve political goals – with power to become effective so that 'A' can compel 'B' to do things against his will.

Violence in Kenya is not a strange phenomenon, although the country has enjoyed some relative stability from independence till the mid 1980s (Gimode, 2001). Kenya has over 42 ethnic groups. It has had protracted political and ethnic clashes. Worse of all, in 1991, 2000 Kenyans were killed in the rift valley as a result of ethnic clashes. It is suggested that land scarcity and its distribution, aggravated by other factors such as the increasing rate of population and land degradation gave rise to the various ethnic clashes (Brown, 2003). Additionally, Apollos (2001) is convinced that most of the debates about the situation in Kenya surround ethnicity, violence, and democracy.

Kenya's political leaders such as presidents Jomo Kenyatta and Daniel Arap-Moi sowed the seeds of ethnic violence by mostly putting their kinsmen to political positions since independence, a situation that was also aggravated by the 1991 rift valley ethnic violence (Adar and Munyae, 2001; Kagwanja, 2003). Things have not looked better as both presidents Kibaki and Uhuru have continued with the same trend. Wamwere (2003), a victim of years of ethnic unrest in his native Kenya, believes that there exist a new phenomenon of ethnicity in Africa, a situation that has



caused genocide, violence and civil wars. He suggests that ethnicity is not a negative word but something neutral and harmless that describes ethnic particularity. However he says, negative ethnicity indicates ethnic hatred and bias, a concept he thinks is currently destroying Africa.

Such a concept has also surfaced on the airwaves. With the emergence of more radio stations on the continent, ethnic groups and individuals now use these outlets to promote their interests – the enhancement of unity and social cohesion and a sense of belonging among groups of people. Some use radio to promote peace and not conflict. A positive reference can be drawn on Tanzania where the community radio was used to resolve land conflicts among the Massai herdsmen in Arusha. The radio encouraged them to change their lifestyles by living together in permanent settlements, taking their daughters to school, and opening debates on ending genital mutilation among girls. Also, Kitui (2014) posits that West FM and Radio Mambo were instrumental in bringing peace in Mt. Elgon. However, some radios create ethnic division, hatred, violence, and bias against other communities and the international community has particularly paid insufficient attention to the use of media especially community radio to encourage violence, like in Kenya community radios especially KASS and KAMEME FM which broadcasts in Kalenjin and Kikuyu was blamed for using derogatory languages against other tribes according the post election violence report of 2007.it was blamed for it its involvement it the escalation of the post election turmoil that caused the death displacement of thousands of people.

### **2.3 Media Freedom**

According to Thompson (2007) free and critical media plays a central role in democracies by constituting the main source of information, which provides the

society with knowledge and a variety of experiences. It also serves as a forum for public debate, conception and development of opinions. Thompson notes that, media are viewed as sources of power that influence, control and promote new standards in the society and reinforce the existing ones. Media are thus be principal agents for societal development, democracy and good governance and a crucial element in areas of conflict.

It can be suggested that media are both be a friend and a foe to a peace process. This is why Forsberg (2006) argues that Media can foster human security and reinforce motives for fuelling wars. They can be instruments for peace and conflict management, which promotes messages and strategies that can lead to peaceful agreements and tolerant behaviour in a given society. Media can also be a weapon of violence that propagate biased information and manipulate societies or groups in conflict with divisive ideologies and harmful actions. Thus, the media have become pervasive and extremely influential in attitudes towards conflict. The role of media in conflict has increased its place in public attention (Forsberg, *ibid*).

There are efforts to promote the use of media to facilitate conflict resolution and peace media. Peace media can be defined as the use of radio, television and print media to promote peace, to disseminate truthful information or alternate viewpoints that could turn public sentiments towards peaceful resolution of conflict or to counter "hate radio". Peace media workers are supposed to be balanced and unbiased when describing the parties involved in the conflict, but not neutral and passively observant when it comes to depicting peaceful means as the only acceptable way of resolving conflicts. Media in many ways can contribute to reshaping the course of events in a peaceful direction. For instance, media can stress the advantages of peace building,

promote individuals and groups involved in peace initiatives and balance the views of the actors (George, 2006).

Goodwin (2006) posits that as a watchdog, the media should give credit where it is due and criticism where appropriate. Acting as watchdog, the media should bark as an early warning when there is potential danger. By heeding the early warnings and sounding the alarm, the media could act as a powerful tool in conflict management and prevention. Thompson (2007) opines that all conflicts start as misunderstanding or tension between and among a group. If not quickly recognized for what it is or its potential, it can in time, explode to engulf a larger section of the community or nation. Such was true in Kenya where ethnic violence since 1991 was in Rift Valley but in 2007 it spread across the whole country.

According to Ndolo (2005), the African media can play a vital role in defusing tension, reducing and containing conflicts. It can do so by being deeply aware of the fragility of their countries social fabric, of the efforts being expended at unifying their countries, the weaknesses and strengths of governing impoverished, developing countries. By gaining in-depth knowledge of their own countries, people and culture, then and only then, are journalists in a position to use their skills, knowledge and experience positively and in the public good.

Onadipe (2007) posits that in our mission to inform and educate, we must stop to think of our roots, African values, customs and traditions, so as to be better able to situate ourselves to report objectively, professionally and knowledgeably on the issues affecting our societies. A journalist, in this case, can be seen as a public servant with a public service to perform. Onadipe argues that many advocates of conflict prevention are convinced that the media can play a critical role in defusing tensions and forging

peace. But most media representatives are opposed to becoming actors in the developments they have to cover. Nevertheless, there are opportunities for them to be won over to the cause of conflict prevention.

#### **2.4 Peace, Conflict and the Media**

Theoretically, conflict and peace share the same platform in media discourses, since reporting conflict also means finding alternative constructive solutions. The nature of the election crisis in Kenya is captured in Goodhand and Humle's, (1999) definition of conflict. The author defines conflict as a struggle between individuals or collectives, over values or claims to status, power and scarce resources in which the aims of the conflicting parties are to assert their values or claims over those of others. The post election crisis more or less emerged from a struggle for power, with each party i.e. Party of National Unity (PNU) and Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) pursuing an agenda that would bring it closer to controlling resources. On the other hand, the authors see peace-building as a promotion of institutional and socio-economic measures to address the underlying causes of conflict (ibid: 15).

In a separate spectrum, the renowned Norwegian Peace researcher Johan Galtung work on positive peace emphasizes that peace may be more than just the absence of overt violent conflict. He says peace will likely include various relationships up to a state where nations or any groupings in conflict might have collaborative and supportive relationships or positive peace (Galtung, 1964:2).

In addition to research in this field, peace has remained a human rights concern since the inception of the United Nations in 1945. The UN Charter Article 2, preambles (1, 3, 7) support principles of non-interference and respect to state sovereignty. The article requires states to stabilize internal conflicts and commit to peace and

development for citizens. Galtung had earlier argued that the domination of the UN as holder of coercive power is in itself an element of negative peace (Galtung, 1964: 5). It therefore applies that, if such powers are used to integrate various stakeholders in conflicts, positive peace can be achieved.

Even though, the UN primacy to maintain global peace and security can hardly be questioned, Aning and Danso (2010:42) argue that African countries have since the Rwandan genocide come to realize the imprudence of depending entirely on the UN for the continent's peace and security needs. In so far, the media has pushed Peace and Security issues on the global agenda. It has also been part and parcel of reproducing information on war and conflict for some time now. A common view of the media effects in violent conflicts is captured in the 19th century William Randolph Hearst statement; *"you furnish the pictures, I will furnish the war"* (Aho,2004:41). Hearst realized that conflict and media feed on each other, one a source of captivating news, the other a platform where agendas to end and sometimes promote policies on conflicts are debated.

In other examples, events of the 20th century record occasions where the mass media have been employed for war propaganda in Germany and World War 1 allies (Watson, 1998: Bratic, 2006). In recent history, several authors have also explored the role of the media in inciting violence. Thompson (2007) argues that media researchers tend to concentrate on analyses of conflicts, rather than peace processes which remain hidden or even subtle. In his accounts on Peace Journalism, Galtung (1998) exemplifies difficulties in reporting peace processes and argues that peace and news make strange bedfellows news covers events, not processes.

This approach to peace news is problematic. It presents the public with an extremely narrow and simplistic view of inherent conflicts and does not offer possible cues for stakeholders to promote long-term policies. A similar struggle to find ways of framing peace discourses in the media was experienced after the post-2007 crisis. Researchers Ismael and Deane (2008); Mbeke (2008); Somerville (2010) endeavored to explain reasons behind the crisis. Their work highlights ethnic tensions and shortcomings in media management, as reasons to why the media in Kenya is losing its credibility.

Their analysis does not explicitly establish the link between media as an instigator of violence or an arbiter for peace, neither is it focused on human rights discourses. As such, this study moves to investigate the link and contribute to research. In Bratic (2005) words, “if the media is often found to support forces that lead to violent conflicts, it should also have power to support forces to peace” (Bratic, 2006:6). Therefore, any discussion that examines the role of the media in promoting specific types of behaviour cannot be complete without an analysis of how the media affect audiences, as captured in the agenda setting model.

## **2.5 Media and Conflict Resolutions**

Asemah (2009) notes that mass communication play an important role in our society; its purpose is to inform the public about current and past events. He defines Mass communication as the process whereby professional communicators use technological devices to share messages over great distances, to influence large audiences. Within this process, the media, which can be a newspaper, a book, radio, television, etc, takes control of the information we see or hear. The media then use gate keeping and agenda setting to control our access to news, information and entertainment (Mcombs (n.d).

The media set agenda of social change in every modern society. According to Asemah, through the media of mass communication, the community members can be bound together. John (1997:6) noted that the mass media bind communities together, by giving messages that become a shared experience. The media play an important role in integrating the members of the society, thus, in times of conflicts, whether religious, ethnic or political, the media of mass communication can be used to preach peaceful coexistence, thereby, bringing about peace. Commenting on the role of the media in conflict resolution, Obot, in Nwosu and Wilson (2004:105) notes that:

“In resolving conflict in modern societies, the media, to a great extent, provide rendezvous for all the interest groups or the aggrieved parties to sit and express their minds on issues in contention. This would be possible by providing and guaranteeing every citizen, easy access to media facilities. All the groups in conflict have to be represented in news and other programmes in which issues in conflict are discussed. The fact that divergent views are represented in the news and discussion programmes, usually goes a long way to calming frayed nerves. Thus, the mass media should go beyond reporting eruption of conflict, to investigating and reporting remote and immediate causes of the crises.”

The above assertion by Obot aptly captures the relationship between mass media and conflict resolution. Meaning that the extent to which the media can be used to promote peace in modern societies cannot be overemphasised. Asemah (2011:49) notes that whenever there is crisis in any community, the media are quickly employed to preach oneness, unity and emphasise the need to leave in peace and harmony. In the same vein, Ndolo (2005) says that the media gain insight into circumstances of others, they identify with others and gain a sense of belonging, thus, they are so useful in

times of crisis. According to Okunna, (1999), integration has automatically become a function of mass communication, which is of particular importance in our society (modern) whereby, ethnic, religious, political and other diversities divide people, both nationally and internationally. The mass media, according to Okunna provide messages, which people from different groups and nations, require in order to know understand and appreciate each other.

## **2.6 Theoretical Underpinning**

### **2.6.1 Framing Theory**

This is a fundamental and unique theory which lots of media houses have adopted and utilized in their day to day operations. The theory opines that the way media frame words in their reportage impacts on public understanding of the issue and consequently determine their responses. Gambo (2002), assert that “a frame refers to the way media and media gatekeepers organize and present the events and issues they cover, and the way audience interpret what they are provided”. This theory is similar to the agenda-setting theory. Frames influence the perception of news by the audience, this form of agenda setting not only tells what to think about, but also how to think about it. (Gambo, 2002).

Accordingly, the way and manner the Kenyan broadcast media framed words in their reportage of the PEV (Post Election Violence) impacted seriously on the perception of the public on the issue. It determined to some extent, how the public perceived the PEV.

### **2.6.2 Individual Differences Theory**

This theory seeks to explain the differences amongst human beings in terms of their reactions or responses to issues. (Metzl, 1997, p.119) asserts that “this approach holds



that each and every member of the audiences possesses unique qualities, which accounts for the differences in behaviour”. One strong reason mass media messages cannot have the same effect on all members of a mass media audience is because there are individual differences in personality characteristics among such members. (Zartman, 1989). In line with this study, the differences in the psychological trait of Kenyans largely affected their responses on how the broadcast media reported the PEV.

### **2.6.3 Social Responsibility Theory**

This theory according to Ndolo, (2005, p.35) “owes its origin to an American initiative – the 1947 Hutchins Commission on the freedom of the press”. The theory emerged as a result of the fact that the unlimited freedom advocated by the libertarian theory can be abused. Ndolo, (p.35) asserts that “the idea arose from fears expressed that free market of ideas has been threatened by ownership restrictions to rich individuals or large corporations”.

This theory opines that the media must discharge their duties responsibly. In their bid to report events, they must display high sense of responsibility by reporting accurately. Theodore Peterson, in sandman et al (1972, p.170) as cited in Ukou (2007, p.32), gave credence to the above assertion when he stated that “the press is obliged to be responsible to society for carrying out certain essential functions of mass communication in contemporary society to the extent that the press recognizes its responsibility and makes it the basis of operational policies”. Also affirming the above assertion, code 2 (ii) of the code of ethics for Kenya journalists, asserts that “a journalist should refrain from publishing inaccurate and misleading information....”

The implication of this code is to enforce responsibility in the practice of journalism in Kenya.

Accordingly, in the emergence of a critical and very disturbing situation like the Post Election Violence, the media (broadcast media) owe the public a responsibility to come up with prompt, balanced, accurate, objective and well verified reports. They must acknowledge the fact that they exist to serve the public and as such, they have a duty of not just serving the public, but serving them responsibly. This is the thrust of the social responsibility theory.

Consequent on the above, it can be stated here that the extent to which the Kenyan broadcast media observed this responsibility in their reportage of the PEV went a long way to determine the kind of responses that were elicited in this study.

## **2.7 Peace Journalism**

Peace Journalism (PJ) is a bold attempt to redefine and reconstruct the role of journalists who cover conflicts. As a new arena of knowledge, Peace Journalism draws upon several theories and disciplines to enrich its validity and applicability. A major source which peace journalism can rely on to bolster its analytical as well as its normative rigor is conflict theory (Price and Thomson, 2002).

Conflict is a human interaction, which involves parties with incompatible interests. What renders such incongruity an overt and explicit strife is the awareness of the unsuitability and the ensuing choice of confrontation. Awareness is raised by communication, either with the environment or with the rivalling party. Communication produces information, which affects each side's decision whether to hash out the differences or shun them.

Thus, communication becomes a crucial determinant in conflict and conflict resolution: it creates consciousness of, and attentiveness to, the other. Destructive and debilitating communication, which promotes noises, distortions, interruptions, deceptions, ploys, and false clues, promotes and expedites conflict. In contrast, constructive or beneficial communication relies on honesty, open channels and the effort to align the sent message with the received one. Such a pattern of interaction strives for accommodation and the relaxation of tensions and hostilities (Folarin, 2005).

Peace Journalism has the characteristics and capabilities of encouraging constructive communication. This study illustrates how the introduction of PJ into conflict theory can advance the theoretical understanding and actual practice of conflict transformation. Peace journalism, as a motivator of peace and as a promoter of depolarization and de-escalation, can accomplish a significant role by inspiring journalists to portray disputes in a different manner than that to which they usually ascribe.

A successful conflict resolution process must be based on genuine and honest interaction between antagonists, whereby unmet human needs are frankly discussed and interests and motivations rather than positions are candidly aired. Interests such as the fulfillment of basic needs motivate parties to pursue conflicts in earnest. The continuing ignorance of such grievances turns conflicts into deep-rooted or protracted ones. Peace journalism, with its keen eye for causes and stimuli and with its commitment to a broader and fairer depiction, can and should bring such unattended human needs to the fore and alleviate intractable conflicts (Carruthers, 2000).

## **2.8 Media Reporting on Crises**

Asemah (2009) notes that the journalist needs to be aware of the fact that reports of crisis have the tendency to either escalate or diminish the crisis. The reports of crisis generate reaction from different people within and outside the place where the crisis is taking place or has taken place. The reports generate discussions from people of the same tribe, religion, profession, etc, thus, if the report does not go down well with such people, it causes more confusion.

According to Asemah, the reaction is often a show of solidarity which is normal with group membership. He notes that it is the best method of protecting or promoting group interests and relevance. The reactions may therefore be negative, positive, violent or non-violent, spontaneous or piecemeal, sudden or gradual, all depending on the nature of the crisis. The journalist must be so meticulous in the stories that have to do with crisis. The essence of this carefulness is to avoid being accused of taking sides, inflaming the crisis or posing as a security threat to the nation. This is to avoid being judged by the law.

Asemah notes the journalists must report stories accurately and factually during crisis. The journalist should not be happy about occurrence of crisis in any given society to the extent of turning it to a money making venture. The journalist should not capitalise on crisis, especially the one that affects people directly, to sell their stories and make money. Avoid showing stories with gory pictures during crisis. By gory pictures, we mean pictures or photographs of beheaded persons, burnt persons, etc. More so, the journalist should not mention names of persons affected by the crisis. The journalist must be very careful when dealing with the parties involved in the crisis.

This is because, as noted by Fisher (2000), every party to a crisis would always want to use the media to promote its interest at the expense of their opponents. The journalist must also be conscious of the media laws governing media reports on crisis and crises; every crisis has security implications. More so, the journalist must be conscious of the ethics of his profession.

## **2.9 Conflict Resolution and the Role of Radio Broadcast in Kenya**

The news media rely on advertising for income, and advertisers look for programmes with a large number of viewers. Conflict is exciting and the news and entertainment media tend to focus on conflict. Media representatives assert that they focus on conflict because that is what people want to see and since audiences are the commodity the commercial media sells to their advertisers. Conflict can thus never be ignored or swept under the carpet as it has always commanded an audience for media. Nonetheless, compelling stuff can also be got wherever media not only presents conflict but points to its resolution (Howard, 2003). Therefore, the media should set an agenda that will educate the public on the role of maintaining peace and the effects of violence for a peaceful society.

Conflict is more "interesting" to viewers than peace, just as an accident on the road draws the attention of passersby. The result is a tendency to "focus on the episodic and fragmentary accounts of the most dramatic moments largely leaving out the preceding causes and antecedent consequences." This habit of focusing on the negative aspects of a conflictual situation is extremely problematic. By only addressing these aspects of an issue, the information is skewed and can adversely affect the ideas and images that the audience has of the conflict participants. This is particularly worrisome when it affects the attitudes of the participants themselves as was seen recently in the

Mungiki killings in Kenya and the resultant repercussions of vigilante revenge missions. For instance, someone from the central province may have received information about the massacres only from news reports on the television and radio, or in the newspaper. Similarly, the whole country may know little about the conflict, other than what they see or read in their local and national news. Because of this limited exposure to information, it is very important to recognize the impact that the media have on conflict and to ensure that this influence is used appropriately (Howard, 2003). The media is the voice of the people, it should tell the people things as they happen in a professional way to enhance ethicality to gain public confidence .

#### **2.10 Performance Policy and Practical Issues for Radio Broadcasting in Kenya**

Radio broadcast communication (FM radio) has emerged to be the most wide spread electronic communications device in Kenya and as alternatives to national radio station, the community/vernacular FM radio stations are a practical and cost effective means for reaching and connecting the country's poorest communities. Moreover, to achieve social, economic, cultural and political goals, it helps as a means of reaching communities. In addition, it opens up a wider space to practice rights, justice, participation and democracy. Facilitate expression and provide access to information for the disadvantaged groups, people, ethnic groups, rural poor communities, and to uphold the social, economic and cultural aspects and political will of people, FM radio broadcast can help balance the existing inequalities. (Thompson, 2007).

They provide the means for cultural expression, community discussion, and debate. They supply news and information and facilitate political engagement. Radio can play a vital role in providing awareness, education, and exchange of information to different communities which is necessary for conflict resolution. However, for free

flow of information and promoting resolution of conflict, there has to be broadcasting policies, and the concerned authorities will have to come forward and take necessary steps (Howard, 2003). In regard to the above the researcher hopes that the government establishes a media act which will empower it to monitor programs and content of radio stations in the country. The process will be an attempt to prevent vernacular radio stations from abusing the airwaves as was done during the 2007 elections.

### **2.11 Summary**

Radio broadcasting plays a significant role in conflict resolution because it defines the atmosphere in which the process takes place and hence influences the nature of the debate. The strategy and behaviour of the antagonist can be affected as well as the public standing and perception of the legitimacy of the antagonist. It rarely initiates conflicts, but are potent in shaping them through their reactions to conflicts. Radio can also be a weapon of violence that propagate bias information and manipulates societies or groups in conflicts with divisive ideologies and harmful actions. Thus, radio broadcasting has become pervasive and extremely influential in attitudes towards conflicts.

## **CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

### **3.0 Introduction**

The chapter outlined the research methodology that was used for the study on ‘The role of Radio broadcasting in Socio-political Conflict Resolution; A Study of Radio Citizen- Kenya.’ It also covered research design, sampling, the instruments of data collection, sources of data, methods of collection data, testing of validity and reliability of data collected, methods of analyzing the data and the expected outputs of this study.

### **3.1 Research Design**

This study adopted descriptive research design. The major purpose of it was to describe the state of affairs as they existed. Kerlinger (1969) points out descriptive studies are not only restricted to fact finding, but may often result in the formulation of important principles of knowledge and solution to significant problems. They involve measurement, classification, analysis, compulsion and interpretation of data. (Orodho, 2002).

Descriptive survey is a method of collecting information by interviewing or administering a questionnaire to a sample of individuals (Orodho, 2003). It was used because the study aimed at collecting information from respondents on their attitudes, opinions, and habits in relation to socio-political conflict resolution.

The intention of the study was to establish the truth about the effect of independent variables – radio broadcasting - on the socio-political conflict resolution. Mugenda and Mugenda, (1999) observes that descriptive research has the capacity to facilitate an in-depth analysis of the causal relationships that will help in describing the present



status of a phenomenon, determining the nature of the prevailing conditions, practices and attitudes and seeking accurate descriptions of activities in addition to yielding quantitative data that is easy to collect and analyze. It also allows for triangulation of information from the case study, direct quotations from interviews with respondents. The reason for using this design was to build on the survey research design skills by adding the element of finding causal relationships between the variables under study and will help explain the phenomena.

### **3.2 Study Area**

The study area has for some years experienced several sectarian, ethnic and political clashes among which were the post election violence 2008. The immediate and remote causes of the conflicts have been politicized along sectarian and ethnic lines. Those inclined to the ethnic views believe that the crises were a classic case of ethnic cleansing. Laying claim to pre-eminence over one another is the main cause of the crises in area. These struggles between what has been dubbed “indigenes” and “settlers” dates back to the colonial era and the aforementioned groups have documented evidence to back up their claims (Abongo et al, 2007). However, the conflicts were aggravated in 1991 with the coming of multi party system. The conflict assumed political, sectarian and socio-economic dimensions. The wanton destruction of human lives and property became a daily past time of warring groups. The conflict defied all manners of intervention by the government. The media may also have lost interest in keeping abreast with development in the study area. At best, the incidents were reported merely to keep the account of happenings and not to draw any more attention to these incidents.

### **3.3 Target Population**

The target population for this study was 1200 listeners of Radio Citizen, drawn from; Cheplat-Kipsigis/Kisii, Kilgoris-Kalenjins/Kisii, Sondu-Kisii/Luo/Kalenjin. Each centre produced 400 listeners. These listeners were divided into various groups which comprised of women, men, youth, councillors, church leaders and chiefs some of which were registered and recognized by the locals and therefore could serve as a representative for the rest.

### **3.4 Sampling Procedure and Sample Size**

Three areas were sampled; Sondu, Kilgoris and Cheplat with a total sample size of 150 participants. 50 respondents were sampled from each area. The researcher used both purposive and snowball sampling technique to obtain a sample of 150 respondents who tune in to Radio Citizen. Purposive sampling design involves deliberate selection of particular units of the universe for constituting a sample which represents the universe, this helped the researcher to settle only on the respondents who tune in to radio citizen and not any other FM station. The researcher also used stratified sampling to group the respondents into three locations of the study. These locations were reached purposively due to their nature of being hot spots for ethnic conflicts in the past.

Snowball sampling was used because the desired population for the study was rare and very difficult to locate and recruit for the study. It is not easy to single out citizens who frequently tune to Citizen Radio and are faithful fans of all the programs aired out by the station. The snowball sampling technique was therefore the most appropriate sampling technique to employ, because one subject led to the other. Since the community members are aware of their friends' favourite station, the researcher

had to identify the first respondent in each region. After collecting data from the respondents he/she was requested to help in identifying the next respondent.

To determine the number of respondents to be selected, the researcher selected and trained a youth, a woman and a man who helped in identifying the rest of the respondents. The chiefs too helped the researcher to get to the councillors and the church leaders. Out of the supposed number the actual return percentage is presented in the Table 3.1. The sampled population of 150 respondents were supposed to participate in the study. The total population was then categorized into different groups as follows:

**Table 3.1: Respondents Percentage Return**

Groups	Sondu		Kilgoris		Cheplat		Return%
	Expected	Returned	Expected	Returned	Expected	Returned	
Women Group	13	10	13	10	13	9	74.4
Men group	13	13	13	15	13	10	97.4
Youth group	20	18	20	16	20	19	88.3
Councillors	1	1	1	1	1	1	100.0
Church leaders	2	1	2	2	2	2	83.3
Chiefs	1	1	1	1	1	1	100.0
<b>Total</b>	50	44	50	45	50	42	87.3

From the Table 3.1 above it is indicated that the percentage return of respondents was 87.3% which gave a total of 131 respondents.

### 3.5 Data Collection Instruments

The study collected data from sampled respondents by using Questionnaires and interview schedules. The questions were open and close ended and likert type scale. Different types of questionnaires collected different types of data. However all questionnaires were used to collect data from the respondents given that they already

commanded good knowledge of the phenomenon under the study therefore they were able to answer the questionnaires independently.

A total of 131 respondents answered questionnaires given to them. This means that 19 other targeted respondents did not complete the questionnaire for various reasons. This gives the questionnaire a success rating of 87.5%. The breakdown of the respondents to the questionnaire is as follows (Sondou 44, Kilgoris 45 and Cheplat 42). The Questionnaire standardizes and organizes the collection and processing of information. The study adopted a descriptive Survey design. The quantitative phase of the study informed the qualitative phase.

This was done sequentially thereafter, administration and analysis of survey questionnaires, then followed in depth interviews to confirm as well as fill the gaps in the information collected through survey questionnaire. The quantitative research design was descriptive in nature and the qualitative research design sought for in-depth information, involving all the management of Radio Citizen.

An interview guide was developed containing rough and general topics to be covered by interview questions in answering the research questions. The interview questions were designed in a manner that they promoted positive interaction, kept the flow of the conversation going and motivated the subjects to talk about their feelings and experiences. The guide was common to all interviews (structured and unstructured) only to be segregated accordingly to be directed to appropriate interviewees during the course of the qualitative interviews. The interviews addressed the gaps realized in the questionnaire.

The advantage of semi structured interviews for this study was that it enabled the researcher to develop a relationship with the participants. Given the dialectic nature of knowledge construction in such interviews, establishing rapport is fundamental to the quality of the inquiry (Jwan and Ong'ondo, 2011). Semi structured interviews allows an interview to proceed as conversation rather than as a formalized exchange in which the interviewer imposes his or her authority on the interviewee.

### **3.6 Data Collection Procedures**

The study firstly developed the data collection instruments of both the questionnaires and the interview schedules. After which the instruments were piloted so that it could be established if: there was any item that was ambiguous, the developed instruments could collect the required information; there was any problem and complexity that could be encountered during data collection and analysis and if the research instruments were reliable. The researcher visited the selected study areas and informed the respective respondents about the study by presenting both the research permit and authorization letter. Based on their permission the instruments were administered on the sampled respondents. Response rate was reinforced through prompt follow up and encouragement of the respondents.

After the first round of data collection using questionnaires the researcher once again visited the Citizen Radio to interview journalists and some top management personnel. With permission of heads of various media departments the researcher interviewed them to shade more light on unclear data that had been collected using questionnaires. The researcher recorded each of the interviews.

### 3.7 Data Analysis

Quantitative data was analyzed with the aid of Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) program. Descriptive statistics techniques were used to analyze quantitative data and these were mean and percentages. The data was presented in form of tables and graphical presentations such as pie charts and bar graphs

In the analysis of the qualitative data, the researcher followed the procedures prescribed by Rubin & Rubin (1995). The first step was to code the data from the respondent interviews. Coding is a process in which “the researcher creatively scans and samples data-texts, looks for commonalities and differences, and begins to formulate categories” (Lindlof, 1995: 224). Similar concepts, ideas or themes were categorized together in order to label, separate, compile and organize the data. The dominantly appearing themes and ideas were interpreted as more important, while the seldom appearing patterns were viewed as less important to the phenomenon of the role of radio broadcasting in socio-political conflict resolution in Kenya; a study of Citizen Radio. Direct quotations from the interviewees, and exemplars were also useful in the analysis, especially to advance argumentation.

The other phase was the ‘triangulation’ of data, which involves a ‘compare-and-contrast’ assessment of more than one form of evidence about an object of inquiry (Lindlof, 1995: 239). In doing the triangulation, the different data from respondent Interviews were synchronized, distilled, gleaned for evidence and compressed. Besides ‘constant comparison’ of the responses from the different interviewees, the moderator/interview guide was equally a useful tool for data analysis. Since one interview schedule was adopted for all the sampled respondents, these provided the ‘frame’ within which to make comparative analyses of the data (Morgan, 1988).

### **3.8 Research Ethics**

Jwan and Ong'ondo (2011) define research ethics as the moral principles that guide research from its inception through to its completion and publication of results. Jwan and Ong'ondo (2011) observe that ethics embody individual and communal codes of conduct based upon adherence to a set of principles which may be explicit and codified or implicit and which may be abstract and impersonal or concrete and personal.

Somekh and Lewin (2011) say that ethical principles and guidelines tend to focus on protecting participants from harm or in some cases on empowering them. The study therefore was bound to be within the accepted social science research standards. No foul play was done to access data or enjoy any advantage at any stage of the research process. Citations were done without any failure, every data item was collected after informed consent and feedback was affected to share joy of knowledge with all those who participated in the research process.

Somekh and Lewin (2011) states that with some exceptions, those who argue that certain participant observation studies could never be conducted if informed consent was the norm, most writers of social science ethics adhere to a concept of informed consent. This means that those interviewed or observed should give their permission in full knowledge of the purpose of the research and the consequences for them of taking part.

The researcher maintained Confidentiality and anonymity where necessary in the process of research. Somekh and Lewin (ibid) report that the second common assumption in ethical social science practice is confidentiality in the process of conducting the research and the anonymization of individuals in reporting. These are

often linked as though the second, that is to say using pseudonyms in reporting, justifies the reporting of information obtained in confidence. However, the two concepts require separate consideration. Confidentiality is a principle that allows people not only to talk in confidence, but also to refuse to allow publication of any material that they think might harm them in any way. Anonymization is a procedure to offer some protection of privacy and confidentiality. Though helpful in the attempt not to identify people, it cannot guarantee that harm may not occur.

Informed consent of the interviewees was also obtained in advance and during the interview processes. Informed consent encompasses notifying the research subjects about the overall purpose of the research and the main features of its design, as well as possible risks and benefits of the role of radio broadcasting in socio-political conflict resolution in Kenya; a study of Citizen Radio from participation in the research project. Without this initial step, it would not have been easy, if at all possible, to get interviews from people familiar with the sensitive academic issues in these study areas. Kvale (1996:2) says that “an interview is literally an interview, an inter change of views between two persons conversing about a theme of mutual interest.” The author metaphorically refers to the interviewer as a miner who unearths a valuable but buried metal, which is knowledge.

The researcher too obtained a research permit from the National Council of Science and Technology that was sent to the leaders in-charge of the study areas as a proof and evidence of the use of the information gathered.



### **3.10 Validity and Reliability**

The developed questionnaire was assessed for both content and constructs validity. Content validity was to ensure the questionnaire covered exhaustively the study objectives. Construct validity was to ensure the questionnaire was measuring what it was supposed to be measuring. The instruments were given to lecturers to assess these validities.

The developed questionnaire was further assessed for reliability. The test-retest method was used in assessing reliability. The researcher administered questionnaires to respondents who were not used in the study. After a period of two weeks the researcher again administered the same questionnaires to the same respondents under the same conditions. Both sets of questionnaires were scored and the scores correlated using Pearson product moment correlation coefficient. The correlation coefficient was above 0.7, in accordance to Fraenkel & Warren, (2000), the questionnaire was considered reliable.

The issue of trustworthiness of the study for qualitative data was discussed in terms of the criteria suggested by Lincoln and Guba (1985): credibility, transferability, and conformability. Credibility was established mainly through member checking and peer debriefing. Member checking was used in four ways at various stages of data collection and data analysis: (1) at the pilot stage, the interviewer discussed the interview questions with participants at the end of each interview; (2) during formal interviews, the interviewer fed ideas back to participants to refine, rephrase, and interpret; (3) in an informal post-interview session, each participant was given the chance to discuss the findings; and (4) an additional session was conducted with a sample of five participants willing to provide feedback on the transcripts of their own

interview as well as evaluate the research findings. Peer debriefing was used in the study to “confirm interpretations and coding decisions including the development of categories” (Foster, 2004, p.231).

The transferability of the study was ensured by “rich description and reporting of the research process” (Bulmer, 2008). The findings were reported by describing each component in the colleges. Diagrams and tables were used to facilitate the description. Quotations from participants were provided to reinforce the author’s abstraction.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

This chapter concentrates on presentation, analysis, interpretation and discussion of the data collected from the field. Data was analyzed by using both qualitative data analysis tools and quantitative analysis tools. Frequency percentages, diagrams and descriptive statistical values have been used in quantitative analysis of data where as themes and categories were adopted for qualitative data analysis. The procedures in either of these cases are presented below.

#### **4.1 Demographic Information about the Study Participants**

For the feasibility of the study the researcher divided his research tools into two parts; A- demographic information of the respondents and B - general Likert styled statements presented to the participants for responses.

##### **4.1.1 Gender**

Among the population who took part in the study, (57.3%) were female and the rest where male (42.7%). This shows that both genders in the society were equitably involved in the study with the females being slightly more than men. This brings about equal distribution since there are more females in the society as compared to males.

It was also clear that majority of those who took part in the study were at their youthful age since the mean of the ages was realized at 33 years. Those who were involved in the study by law are considered to be adults who have a sound mind to decide on which station to tune to making the population viable for the study. The figure below gives the distribution

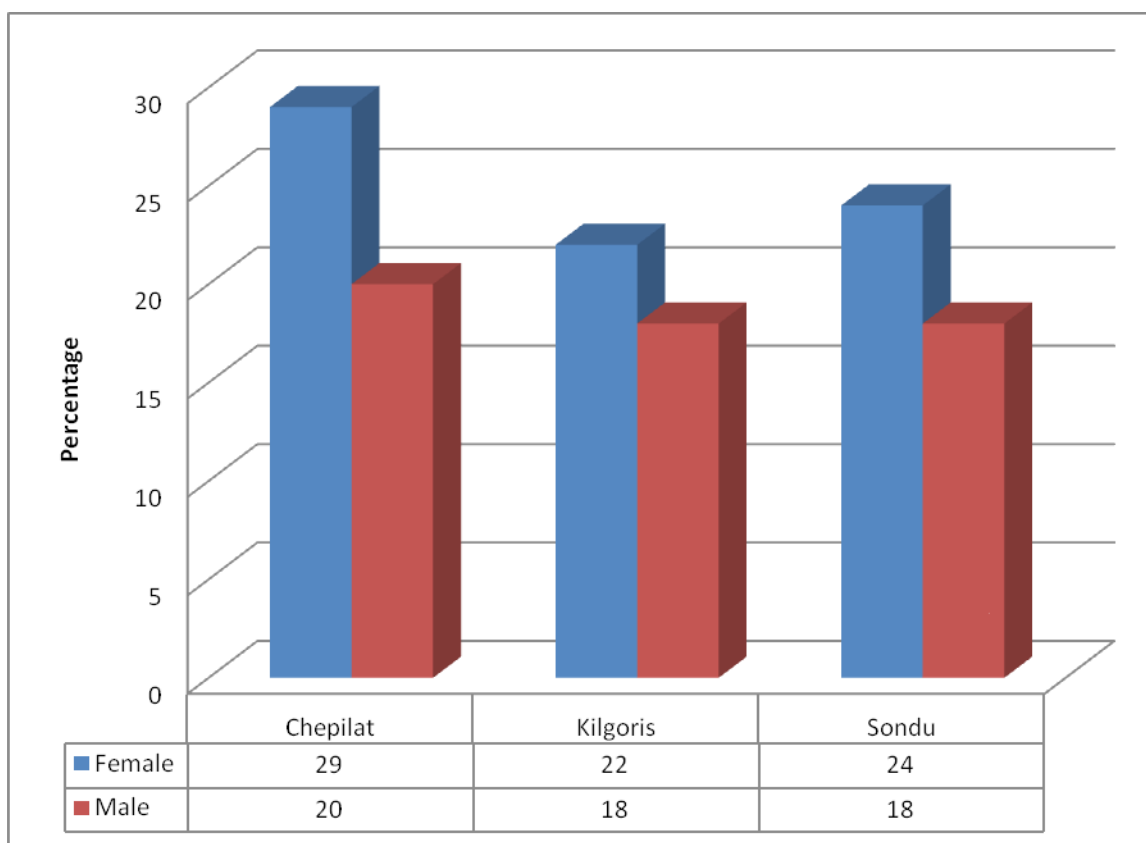
**Table 4.1: Gender of Respondents**

Response	Response	Frequency	Percentage
Gender of respondents	Female	75	57.3
	Male	56	42.7
	Total	131	100.0

**4.1.2 Background of respondents****Table 4.2: Background of Respondents**

ITEM	RESPONSE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Area of Data collection	Cheplat	49	37.4
	Kilgoris	40	30.5
	Sondu	42	32.1
	Total	131	100.0
Gender of respondents community	Female	75	57.3
	Male	56	42.7
	Total	131	100.0
Name of respondents community	Luo	22	17
	Abagusii	37	28
	Kalenjini	70	53
	Kikuyu	1	1
	Giriama	1	1
	Luo	22	17
	TOTAL	131	100

From the study it was realized that most respondents 49(37.4%) who took part in the study were from Cheplat, those who were from Sondu were 42(32.1%) while those who were from Kilgoris were 40(30.5%) respondents. This shows that the three selected sites had a proper distribution of the collection of data from the respondents. From Table 4.2, most of the respondents 70(54.2%) were from the Kalenjin community, 37(27.1%) were Abagusii, 22(17.1%) were Luos, 1(0.8%) were both from the Kikuyu and Giriama community. This shows that these regions are inhabited by more than one tribe which leads to conflict making these regions appropriate for the study.



**Figure 4.1 indicates that there were more females (29) and male (20) from Cheplat,** those who were from Kilgoris were (22) females and (18) males and from Sondu there were (24) females and (18) males.

#### 4.2 Analysis of Objective 1

To identify the perceptions of people on the role of radio broadcasting in 2007 socio-political conflict resolution in Kenya;

**Table 4.3: Role of Radio Citizen and Conflict Resolution**

Item	Response	Frequency	Percentage
Is Radio Citizen doing its job well	Yes	54	41.2
	No	77	58.8
	<b>Total</b>	<b>131</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Do you think Radio Citizen plays a role in socio-political conflict resolution	Yes	123	93.9
	No	8	6.1
	<b>Total</b>	<b>131</b>	<b>100.0</b>

When respondents were asked if Radio Citizen is doing its job well, more than half of the respondents were for the opinion that it is not, while 54(41.2%) agreed that it is doing its job well. This shows that the radio station has not been able to meet the demand of the listeners. On the same note when they were asked if Radio Citizen plays a role in socio-political conflict resolution, most of them 123(93.9%) were for the opinion that the station does, while only 8(6.1%) were for the view that it does not. This is in line with the findings from the interview with the management who indicated that the role of the station in socio-political conflict has been very significant to the community. Further, the performance of the station on socio-political conflict was rated to be very good according to the listeners. This concurs with the findings of Hans van de Veen (2007) who observes that on the positive side, radio has been used to reach huge numbers of people in conflict areas to bring an end to the situation.

**Table 4.4: Rating of Radio Citizen in Conflict Prevention**

Items	<u>Weight (w)</u>				
	Very Ineffective 1	Ineffective 2	Fairly Effective 3	Effective 4	Very Effective 5
	Frequency/Percentage				
Rating sufficiency of Radio citizen policies and strategies in conflict prevention (n:130)	22(16.9)	34(26.2)	24(18.5)	37(28.5)	13(10.0)
Rating of performance of Radio citizen in socio-political conflict prevention (n: 128)	33(25.8)	30(23.4)	11(8.6)	28(21.9)	26(20.3)

The sufficiency of radio citizen policies and strategies in conflict prevention was assessed and they responded as follows 22(16.9%) said it was very ineffective,

34(26.2%) said ineffective, 24(18.5%) fairly effective, 37(28.5%) effective, 13(10%) said that it is very effective.

When the respondents were asked how they rated Radio citizen in socio-political conflict prevention the percentage was as follows; very ineffective 33(25.8%), in effective 30(23.4%), fairly effective 11(8.6%), effective 28(21.9%) and finally very effective 26 (20.3%). From these findings we can conclude that radio citizen has not worked hard to prevent conflicts as they arise. They should have policies which will enable them lay strategies to work on conflicts.

**Table 4.5: Rating of Radio Citizen and Conflict Resolution before and after Mediation**

Items	<u>Weight (w)</u>				
	Very poor 1	Poor 2	Fair 3	Good 4	Excellent 5
	Frequency/Percentage				
Rating of Radio Citizens role in conflict resolution before mediations	49(37.4)	29(22.1)	23(17.6)	26(19.8)	4(3.1)
Rating of Radio Citizens role in conflict resolution after mediations	-	2(1.5)	27(20.6)	62(47.3)	40(30.5)

When respondents were questioned to rate Radio Citizens' role in conflict resolution before mediation when there is any conflict in Kenya, majority of the respondents 98(59.5%) mentioned that it is poor, 23(17.6%) rated it to be fair, 26(19.8%) were for the option of it being good, and only 4(3.1%) mentioned excellent. While it was realized that rating of the role of citizen changes after mediation, a bigger percentage

62(47.3%) of the respondents agreed that the stations role is good, 40(30.5%) mentioned that it is excellent, 27(20.6%) reported the role to be fair and only 2(1.5%) rated it to be poor. From the above it is seen that mediation is a strong tool for conflict resolution if only the parties involved compromise the situation and sit down to iron their differences. During mediation the conflicting parties should compromise and be ready to negotiate for the sake of peace.

**Table 4.6: Respondent Personal Views on Radio Citizen**

<b>Item</b>	<b>Response</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Is there need for legislation enforcement to help Radio Citizen improve on conflict resolution	Yes	128	97.7
	No	3	2.3
	<b>Total</b>	<b>131</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Do you think the organizational structure of Radio Citizen affected its performance on conflict resolution	Yes	115	88.5
	No	15	11.5
	<b>Total</b>	<b>130</b>	<b>100.0</b>
(n: 130) Do you think the Radio Citizen is to blame for contributing to socio-political conflict	Yes	120	91.6
	No	11	8.4
	<b>Total</b>	<b>131</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Do you report to the Radio Citizen socio-political conflicts in your community	Yes	118	90.1
	No	13	9.9
	<b>Total</b>	<b>131</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Effect of Radio Citizen on the community on the reported issues	Positive	34	27.6
	Negative	89	72.4
	<b>Total</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>100</b>



The response of respondents on legislation enforcement to help Radio Citizen improve on conflict resolution indicated that 128(97.7%) were for the opinion while the rest 3(2.3) were not. This was supported by the management in the interview schedule who indicated that the regulations they have in relation to socio-political conflict resolution play a major role in bringing peace in the affected areas. It was further elaborated that this has been achieved by ensuring that radio citizen has strategies in its broadcasting programming that talk on conflict resolution.

When the respondents were asked on the organization structure of radio citizen's effect to its performance on conflict resolution 115(88.5%) affirmed by saying yes while 15(11.5) said no. When they were further asked whether Radio Citizen is to blame for contributing to socio-political conflict most of the respondents 115(87.8%) said yes and only 15(11.5%) said no. This matches the report from CIPEV, (2007) which reported that a number of radio stations in the country were accountable for escalating conflict through their presentations among which majority of them were FM radio stations.

The respondents were asked whether they report to Radio Citizen on socio-political conflict 118(90.1%) agreed, though when they were asked what is the effect of Radio Citizen on reported issues the negative effect was more while the positive effect was noted to be 34(27.6%). These reports were issued to the presenters during the presentations when listeners called in. This open interaction between the listeners and the radio house can help in strengthening the links between local civil society and the media, particularly in as is supposed by IMS, (2008).

#### **4.3 Analysis of Objective 2**

To analyze the radio broadcasting programs that led to socio-political conflicts,

**Table 4.7: Respondents View of Talk Shows**

<b>Item</b>	<b>Response</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Do you think radio citizen talk shows helps in conflict transformation	Yes	112	86.2
	No	18	13.8
	<b>Total</b>	<b>130</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Do you think talk shows should emphasize on conflict resolution	Yes	128	97.7
	No	3	2.3
	<b>Total</b>	<b>131</b>	<b>100.0</b>
	Very Ineffective	29	22.3
How do you rate the performance of talk shows in conflict resolution	Ineffective	25	19.2
	Fairly Effective	24	18.5
	Effective	26	20.0
	Very Effective	26	20.0
	<b>Total</b>	<b>130</b>	<b>100.0</b>

When the respondents were asked on whether the talk show helps in conflict transformation, 112(86.2%) agreed while the remaining 18(13.8%) disagreed. When they were asked if talk shows should emphasize on conflict resolution, 128(97.7%) said yes while 3(2.3%) said no. This process is achieved by the nature of the broadcast which Howard, (2004) mentioned that, it is the impact of the programme on the listeners which matters most, not the status of the guests or the personality of the presenter. What is important is how the listeners are affected by what they hear.

The respondents were further asked to rate performance of talk shows in conflict effective, 26(20%) effective, 26(20%) very effective. Therefore, if the radio presenters can use talk shows effectively by being ethical and neutral so that they don't incite people conflicts can be solved easily to avoid further damage whenever they arise.

**Table 4.8: Strengths of a Talk Show in a Conflict Resolution**

Items	<u>Weight (w)</u>				
	Undecided	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5
	Frequency/Percentage				

Interactive: Callers, presenters and guests can exchange views (n: 130)	1(0.8)	-	-	15(11.5)	114(87.7)
Provide a wide diversity of public views	-	-	1(0.1)	69(53.1)	60(46.2)
Engages the public without restriction (n:300)	1(0.8)	18(13.7)	11(8.5)	37(28.5)	63(48.5)
Provides public access to experts, authorities and leaders.	2(1.5)	86(67.2)	17(13.3)	10(7.8)	13(10.2)

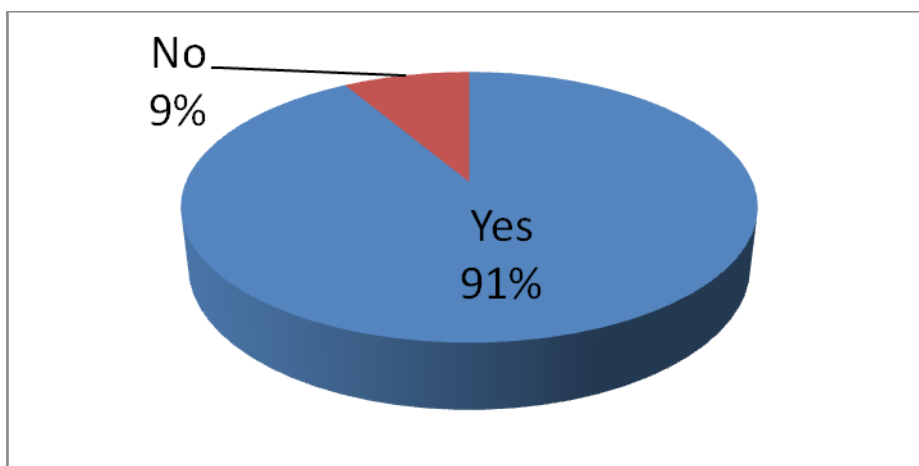
Most respondents agreed that talk shows are interactive since callers, presenters and guests can exchange their views, 15(11.5%) disagreed and only 1(0.8%) was undecided. They also agreed that talk show provide a wide diversity of public views. They were also asked whether it engages the public without restriction and the response was as follows; 100 (97%) agreed, 29(22.2%) disagreed and 1(0.8%) were undecided. Finally, when respondents were asked whether Radio citizen provides public access to experts, authorities and leaders the response was 23(18%) agreed,103(80.5%)disagreed while 2(1.5%) were undecided. Talk shows reflects public views over important public matters it offers a platform for people to express themselves. Therefore, if they are used well they can help in reduction of conflicts.

**Table 4.9: Weaknesses of a Talk show in Conflict Resolution**

Items	Weight (w)				
	Undecided 1	Strongly Disagree 2	Disagree 3	Agree 4	Strongly Agree 5
Difficult to summarize views (n:130)	4(3.1)	3(2.3)	3(2.3)	25(19.2)	95(73.1)
Difficult to manage time	2(1.6)		10(7.8)	48(37.5)	68(53.1)
Callers can provoke tensions with outrageous remarks	3(2.3)	5(3.8)	-	54(42.2)	66(51.6)

From the table above majority of respondents 120(92.3%) agreed that it is difficult to summarize views when resolving a socio-political conflict, 6(4.6%) disagreed and

4(3.1%) were undecided. The respondents were asked whether Radio Citizen had difficulty to manage time and 16(90.6%) agreed, 10(7.8%) disagreed and finally 2(1.6%) were undecided. When the respondents were asked whether the callers can provoke tensions with outrageous remarks, 120 (93.8%) agreed, while 8(6.25%) disagreed. We can conclude that if talk shows are mishandled they can lead to more conflicts because they can arouse tensions especially from the call-in-shows where the information is not censored.



*Figure 4.2: Censorship of Inciting Information during the call-in shows will reduce Socio-Political Conflicts (n: 118)*

The respondents were asked whether censorship of inciting information during the call-in shows would reduce socio-political conflicts and most of them agreed while the remaining 10(8.5%) did not. This finding is in line with the action taken by the government against a number of FM radio stations which were considered to be promoting hate speeches which fuels violence among communities (CIPEV, 2007). George (2008) also made a clarification that such escalating situation has created a situation where the trust is taken away.

#### 4.4 Analyses of Objective 3

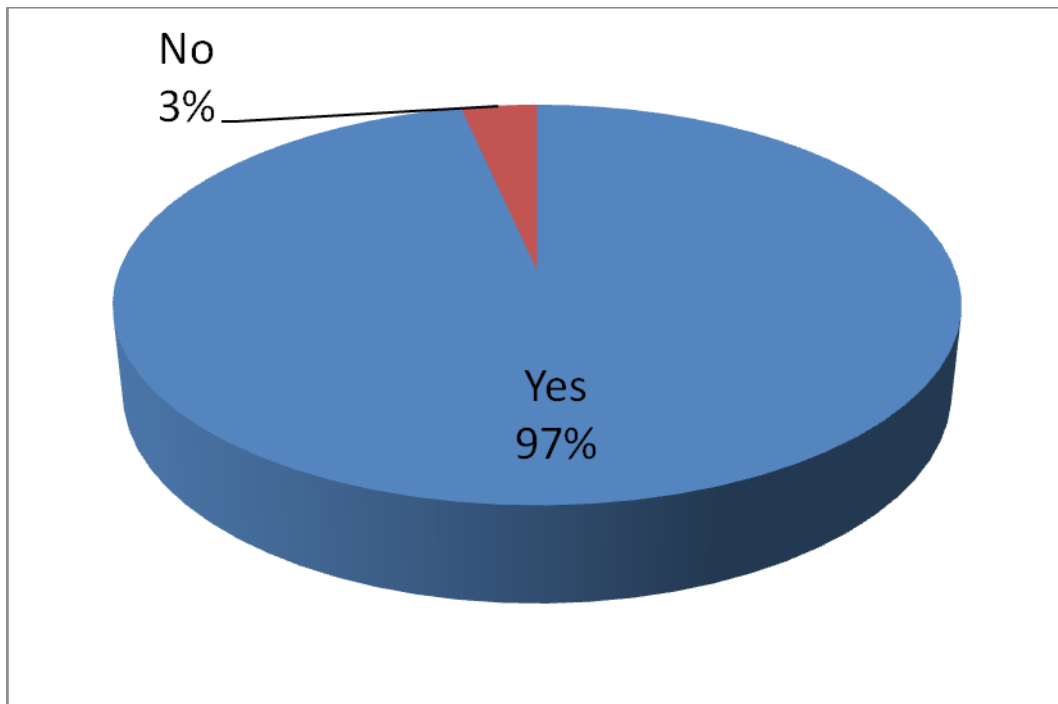
To examine effective conflict resolution strategies that can be used by Radio Citizen to reduce socio-political conflicts

**Table 4.10: Strategies for Socio-Political Conflict Resolution**

Items	Weight (w)				
	Undecided 1 Frequency/Percentage	Strongly Disagree 2	Disagree 3	Agree 4	Strongly Agree 5
Should Radio Citizen use withdrawal as a strategy for dealing with socio-political conflicts	2(1.5)	6(4.6)	4(3.1)	28(21.4)	91(69.5)
Should Radio Citizen use compromising as a strategy for dealing with socio-political conflicts	6(4.6)	-	2(1.5)	82(62.6)	41(31.3)
Should Radio Citizen use negotiation as a strategy for dealing with socio-political conflicts	1(0.8)	-	1(0.8)	56(43.1)	72(55.4)
Should Radio Citizen use avoiding as a strategy for dealing with socio-political conflicts	9(6.9)	7(5.3)	12(9.2)	61(46.6)	42(32.1)
Should Radio Citizen use violence as a strategy for dealing with socio-political conflicts	2(1.5)	109(83.2)	12(9.2)	1(0.8)	7(5.3)

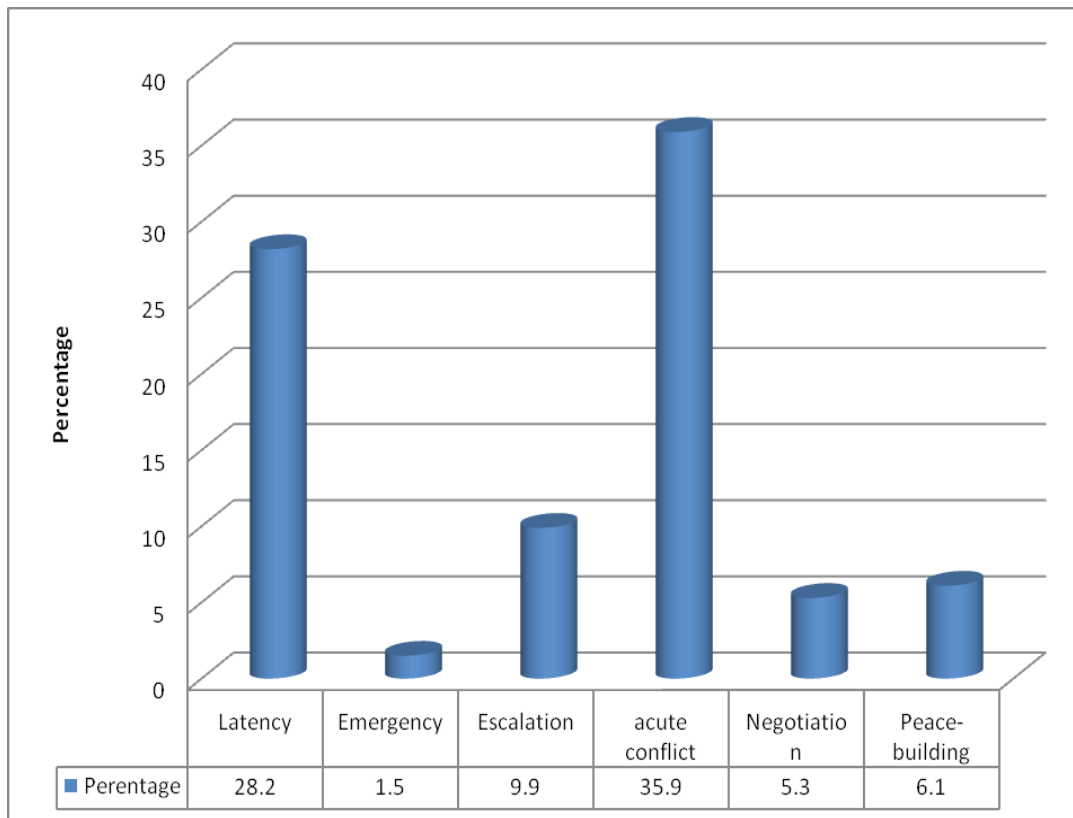
The respondents were asked whether radio citizen should use the following as a strategy for dealing with conflict resolution and their response was as it follows; For withdrawal 119(90.9%) agreed, 8(6.1%) disagreed while 4(3.1%) were undecided. Compromising method the agreement took 123(93.9%), disagreement was 8(6.1) the remaining undecided were 6(4.6%). The negotiation method was represented as follows, 128(98.5%) agreed, 1(0.8%) disagreed and 1(0.8%) were undecided. Avoiding method was represented by 103(78.3%) Agreed, 19(14.5%) undecided and 9(6.9%). Finally violence method was represented as follows 8(6.1%) agreed, 2(1.5%) undecided and 121(102.4%) disagreed, this indicated that depending on the stage of conflict some strategies can be used to help reduce it but violence is not the

best way of solving conflicts through media because it can lead to dehumanizing atrocities.



**Figure 4.3: Radio Citizen should Incorporate some Effective Conflict Resolution Strategies in its Programmes to Educate the Public on Conflict (n: 119).**

When the respondents were asked whether Radio citizen should incorporate some effective conflict resolution strategies in its programme to educate the public on conflict, 115(96.6%) said yes, while 4(3.4%) said no. Education is key to success if the media personalities are educated it will be easier to impart the knowledge on conflict resolution to its listeners and create awareness of the importance of peace building.



**Figure 4.4: Stage/Phase of Conflict Radio Citizen should be heavily involved in a Resolution Role**

The respondents were asked at what stage/phase of conflict should Radio broadcasting be heavily involved in a resolution role acute conflict took the highest percentage 47(41.2%), and the rest were as follows latency 37(32.5%), escalation 13(11.4%), peace building 8(7%), negotiation 7(5.3%), and finally emergency 2(1.8%). Every phase is important whenever a crisis occurs it's the duty of media personalities to always talk of peace and the effects of disharmony amongst people. Whenever a conflict escalates and there is violence it leads to deaths and destruction of properties. Therefore, the media should emphasize on the importance of staying in harmony to enhance development.

**Table 4.11: Communities Involvement in Socio-Political Conflict Resolution**

<b>Response</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Yes	104	79.4
No	27	20.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>131</b>	<b>100.0</b>

When the community was assessed on their participation in socio-conflict resolution 104(79.4%) said yes while the remaining percentage 27(20.6%) was not involved in conflict resolution. This shows that the regions under study in one way or another have been involved in socio-political conflict calling for intervention.

**Table 4.12: Influence of Education on Peoples Performance in Conflict Resolution**

<b>Response</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Yes	125	95.4
No	6	4.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>131</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Respondents from the study indicated that education plays a role in conflict resolution since 125(95.4%) said yes while only 6(4.6%) indicated a no. This shows that those who have better education give time to understand the situation at hand hence enabling them to handle the conflict. From the interview report it was also realized that the radio station gives extra knowledge to their staff to enable them handle conflict through their presentations.



**Table 4.13: Do you have any Knowledge on Conflict Resolution**

<b>Response</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Yes	125	97.7
No	3	2.3
Total	128	100.0

Most of the respondents 125(97.7%) who responded item agreed that they have some knowledge in conflict resolution while only 3(2.3%) did not have knowledge on this issue. On the contrary majority of the people in these regions have the knowledge on conflict resolutions but many at times the government has to arbitrate between the communities when ethnic conflict erupts. The senior management of the citizen radio also indicated that they have equipped their presenters with enough knowledge to handle socio-political conflicts in their presentations.

#### **4.5 Discussion of Findings**

From the data gathered, the following findings emerged. Respondents as shown in the study agreed that Radio Citizen programme is a major source of information to many people in the study area. A good number of the respondents (53.2%) listen to Radio Citizen because it's a national network station that is responsible for news especially from the capital city. Although the rating of Radio Citizen bulletin in terms of conflict reporting was very poor but its dimension on conflict news had been peace reporting and national unity perspective (64.0 %). As obtained in the study Radio Citizen enjoys reporting conflict because it sells, and it does attract the public; and it is capable of provoking public minds in the manner they report conflict especially when offensive and provocative comments or language are used. In the same argument, some

respondents believe that there is nothing wrong in the way violent conflicts are reported on Radio Citizen. To them, the media should therefore, tell conflict by providing peace initiatives. Mutua (2001) had argued that news media especially Radio “establishes a culture of fear which they perpetuate by portraying a vast array of threats”. In complement to this, Okumu (1997) notes that the media are naturally attracted to conflict. Evidently, respondents believe that Radio Citizen news coverage on conflict does not give the true reflection or happenings of the conflict.

Invariably, people have different perceptions of the way conflicts are reported on Radio Citizen. The dimension or perspective the media report conflict may generate public debates. This finds endorsement with our earlier postulation of agenda setting theory. In view of this, Baran (2003) observes that the public are influenced by the attitudes and perceptions presented by the mass media. What the public think about Radio Citizen on conflict reporting may not be important or significant as far as national unity is concerned. According to the interview schedule with Radio Citizen management, their news for example, believes in peace and national unity at the time of conflicts arising from elections, terrorism, and ethnic clashes. In this perspective, Radio Citizen is an extension of the government and its agenda for national integration and unity. Many respondents did not believe in Radio Citizen in the dimension and perspective of conflict reporting. They saw Radio Citizen as representing the views of the government in the matters of conflict at the time.

Findings reveal that citizen radio has been setting agenda of peace. This is because radio was identified as the major medium through which the discussants heard about the message of peaceful co-existence. This, according to the discussant, is attributable to the fact that radio can reach the grassroot level. Thus, it is pertinent to use radio to

set agenda of peace in the study area. This is also consistent with the literature review, where it was established that the media have a crucial role to play in the promotion of peace in any modern society. Discussants views were sought on whether the media have been objective in reporting the series of crises in the study area. The discussion revealed that Radio Citizen has not been objective and thus, it has not been fair. Objectivity is the ability of the media practitioners to detach themselves completely from what they are reporting. But in the case of the study area, journalist often reported to favour his or her political party or coalition and ethnicity. Thus, you see that the media become polarised in terms of reportage during the conflict. This finding is consistent with Galadima, in Pate (2002) who argues that some of the reasons why journalists become bias during conflicts reportage, among others, may be: religion, ethnicity, ownership interest, unprofessionalism. Therefore, radio citizen has a strong role to play to enable the society understand the importance of avoiding conflicts and how to handle them whenever they arise.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.0 Introduction

Chapter four presented data that revealed a number of patterns about how the media is setting agenda of peace in Cheplat, Kilgoris, and Sondu. It also outlined the views of respondents on the programs that they perceived as important in setting the peace agenda in the area. This chapter provides the summary of the key findings, conclusions, the study's contribution to knowledge generation and recommendations based on the study findings.

The research was informed by McCombs and Shaw (1972) Agenda Setting Theory, on how the media can influence policy through shaping public opinions. The overriding research problem and research objectives guiding this study were:

The general objective of the study was to assess the role played by Radio Citizen in resolving socio-political conflicts in Kenya during the 2007 post election violence.

The study was carried out to achieve the following specific objectives:

1. To identify the perceptions of people on the role of radio broadcasting in 2007 socio-political conflict resolution in Kenya;
2. To analyze the radio broadcasting programs that led to socio-political conflicts,
3. To examine effective conflict resolution strategies that can be used by Radio Citizen to reduce socio-political conflicts

#### 5.1.1 Summary and Conclusions of key Findings Related to Research Objective 1

*To identify the perceptions of people on the role of radio broadcasting in 2007 socio-political conflict resolution in Kenya;*

In the analysis, more than half of the respondents were for the opinion that it is not doing its job well. This shows that the radio station has not been able to meet the demand of the listeners. On the same note when they were asked if Radio Citizen plays a role in socio-political conflict resolution, most of them were for the opinion that the station does. This is in line with the findings from the interview with the management who indicated that the role of the station in socio-political conflict has been very significant to the community. Further, the performance of the station on socio-political conflict was rated to be very good which holds with the findings from the listeners. This concurs with the findings of Hans van de Veen (2007) who observes that on the positive side, radio has been used to reach huge numbers of people in conflict areas to bring an end to the situation.

### **5.1.2 Summary and Conclusions of key Findings Related to Research Objective 2**

*To analyze the radio broadcasting programs that led to socio-political conflicts;*

In the analysis on whether the talk show led to escalation and transformation of conflicts, respondents agreed that it did and also helps in conflict transformation. When they were asked if talk shows should emphasize on conflict resolution, they said yes. This process is achieved by the nature of the broadcast which Howard, (2004) mentioned that, it is the impact of the programme on the listeners which matters most, not the status of the guests or the personality of the presenter. What is important is how the listeners are affected by what they hear.

On the censorship of inciting information during the call-in shows, they agreed that such actions would reduce socio-political conflicts. This agrees with the action taken by the government against a number of FM radio stations which were considered to be promoting hate speeches which fuels violence among communities (CIPEV, 2008).

George (2008) also made a clarification that such escalating situation has created a situation where the trust is taken away.

### **5.1.3 Summary and Conclusions of key Findings Related to Research Objective 3**

*To examine effective conflict resolution strategies that can be used by Radio Citizen to reduce socio-political conflicts*

In the analysis, the respondents agreed that; withdrawal, compromising method, and negotiation methods were the best strategies for conflict resolution in the area. It can be concluded that these were the best strategies for resolving conflicts depending on the intensity and magnitude of the conflict.

### **5.1 Recommendations**

Journalists or radio reporters should not allow their personal views and emotions as well as ethnic, religious political and ideological sentiments to influence their reports on conflicts as such may call to question the credibility of the reports and put their lives at risk. Radio bulletins coverage of conflict should not in any way aggravate conflict or be capable of inflaming passions, or seem to take sides with any of the parties involved. Radio reporters should equally educate people about conflict resolution processes. In other words, they should adopt the peace media initiatives. The government, through its relevant agencies, should regularly brief the public whenever the nation or any area is involved in a conflict. Government should as well provide adequate security including insurance cover for reporters involved. In all conflict situations, it should always react promptly to early signals of possible outbreak of hostilities.

In view of the stated findings and conclusions also, the researcher made recommendations that could enhance effective conflict resolution at Radio Citizen. They include the following:

The Radio broadcasting house should improve on their strategies used in conflict resolution since the ones they have in place were considered by the respondents to be ineffective. These adjustments are highly recommended to be implemented during conflict resolution before any mediation process takes place. This will help in stopping the conflict from escalating to a point when external forces may be required to come in and lead through a process of conflict transformation to peace.

It should make use of talk shows in conflict resolution. For example if there is a conflict in the society the broadcasting house should use those skilled in conflict resolution as their guests in talk shows to help influence the people against such socio-political conflicts. The practitioners to be involved in conflict resolution through the talk shows should be key figures in the society unto whom majority of the citizen look up to or the elites in the society. The study also revealed that some ethnic radio stations incited fear and hatred at the height of violence local language radio stations are increasingly bias and flout codes of ethics .Talk shows on this radio stations represent a greater risk on media freedom, while talk hosts need to be sensitizes on the value of responsible reporting. Although some vernacular radio stations and mainstream media played an important role in calming the violent situation and promoting dialogue, there is need to strengthen that role by supporting both public owned and private media which form a critical contribution to lasting peace.

New reforms should include censorship of inciting information during the call-in shows must be adopted by the Radio broadcasting houses since it will reduce socio-political conflicts. This is because during the call-in shows the citizen themselves can contribute negatively to a situation or an ongoing conflict which will aggravate the community's pain leading into taking actions which do not help in solving the conflict but fuel it further.

The use of withdrawal strategy in dealing with the socio-political conflict is effective because if the media house stops airing issues on the level of conflict or how many people have lost their lives can cause tension since it may provoke other areas which are not experiencing the conflict so generally they should be preaching peace and hence shun away from being just fact-deliverers. Radio citizen should also incorporate some effective conflict resolution strategies in its programmes to educate the public on conflicts.

Media houses should also arrange for peace campaigns all over the country where the public should be educated on the importance of avoiding conflicts. There should be a recruitment policy that clearly indicates the qualification of employees to avoid incompetent staff that won't be able to deal with conflicts whenever they arise.

For this to be achieved media practitioners need to be equipped with conflict sensitive reporting skills. Kenyan media should invest and develop a journalism practice that can cope and address critical issues affecting conflict situations. during handling the electioneering process media houses need to be provided with guidelines on how to handle the release of results.



## **5.2 Suggestions for Further Research**

Due to time limit, the researcher feels that it was not possible to carry out a comprehensive study. There were so many hotspots In Kenya. The researcher was able to conduct only three centres. Therefore, further research is necessary to be carried out in the other centres so as to come up with a comprehensive study on the problem under investigation.

1. It is suggested a study to be done to find out the Role Played by the Media House in Conflict Transformation.
2. A study may also be done on the Impact of Television Talk Shows on Conflict Resolution in the Country.

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**APPENDICES****APPENDIX I: LETTER OF INTRODUCTION AND CONSENT**

Dear Respondent,

**RE: REQUEST FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION IN MY RESEARCH PROPOSAL**

I am a post graduate student in the School of Human Resource Development, Moi University studying for a master of philosophy degree in communication studies. As part of the fulfilment of the requirements of the degree, I am carrying out a research on '*The role of Radio Broadcasting in Socio-political Conflict Resolution; A study of Radio Citizen- Kenya*'.

This questionnaire has been prepared for purposes of collecting information vital for the study. Therefore, I am kindly requesting you to complete the attached questionnaire and please be assured that the information provided is purely for academic purposes only and will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Thank you in advance,

Yours faithfully,

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**Mildred Nyachienga**

**SHRD/PGC/O28/08**



How do you feel generally on Radio broadcasting, Is it doing its job well on conflict resolution? Yes [ ] No [ ]

2. How would you rate the Radio as a mediator in solving socio-political conflicts?

**a) Before the mediation:**

- 1. Excellent
- 2. Good
- 3. Fair
- 4. Poor
- 5. Very Poor

**b) After mediation:**

- 1. Excellent
- 2. Good
- 3. Fair
- 4. Poor
- 5. Very poor

3 a) Has your community been involved in socio-political conflicts before?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

b) If yes, what role did radio broadcasting play in solving the conflict?

.....

4. What are the advantages of using radio in solving socio-political conflicts?

a).....

b).....

5. Do you think the level of education and training affect performance in conflict resolution? Yes [ ] No [ ]

Explain your answer

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6. Are there any new reforms or legislations that needs to be put in place to help media do their job better in conflict resolution

Yes [  ] No [  ]

Comment

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7. In your opinion, do you think organizational policy affects radio broadcasting contributions in conflict resolution?

Yes [  ] No [  ]

Please comment.....

8. Do you think radio broadcasting coverage was to blame for contributing to socio-political conflict in Kenya in the last decade?

Yes [  ] No [  ]

Please comment

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9. Do you involve the Radio in resolving socio-political conflicts in your community whenever they arise? Yes [  ] No [  ]

10. If Yes in (9 above) do the views of Broadcast media (Radio) affect your community positively or negatively?

Positively                      Negatively

Please comment

.....  
.....

11. In your opinion what aspect of radio broadcasting is the most likely contributor to socio-political conflict resolution.

- a) Talk shows
- b) Documentaries
- c) News bulletins
- d) Advertiser’s announcements

Please comment-----

12. Do you think talk shows can help or hinder the transformation of conflicts?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

Please comment.....

13. Do you think radio talk shows should emphasize on the importance of conflict resolution?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

14. Do you think censorship of inciting information during the call-in shows will reduce socio-political conflicts? Yes [ ] No [ ]

15. The following are the strategies of dealing with socio-political conflicts *KEY: (SA-Strongly agree, A-Agree, U-undecided, D-Disagree, SD-strongly disagree)*

	SA	A	U	D	SD
• Withdrawal	{ }	{ }	{ }	{ }	{ }
• Compromising	{ }	{ }	{ }	{ }	{ }
• Negotiating	{ }	{ }	{ }	{ }	{ }
• Avoiding	{ }	{ }	{ }	{ }	{ }
• Violence	{ }	{ }	{ }	{ }	{ }

16. Do you think Radio Citizen should incorporate some effective conflict resolution strategies in its programmes to educate the public on conflict?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

Please comment.....

17. The following are the strengths of talk shows *Key: (SA-Strongly Agree, A- Agree, U-Undecided-Disagree, SD-Strongly Disagree)*

	SA	A	U	D	SD
• Interactive: Callers, presenters and guests can exchange views	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
• Provide a wide diversity of public views.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
• Difficult to summarize views.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
• Engages the public without restriction	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

18. The following are the weaknesses of talk shows

• Difficult to summarize views.	( )	( )	( )	( )
• Difficult to manage time.	( )	( )	( )	( )
• Callers can provoke tensions with outrageous remarks.	( )	( )	( )	( )
• Provides public access to experts, authorities and leaders.	( )	( )	( )	( )

**5: Very Effective      4: Effective, 3: Fairly Effective      2:Ineffectivevery**

**1:Ineffective**

	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>
19. How sufficient are Radio citizen policies and strategies in conflict prevention?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
20. How do you rate the performance of talk shows in conflict resolution?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
21. How do you rate vernacular FM radio stations content of broadcast in identifying and preventing conflict?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
22. How effective has vernacular stations gone beyond being fact-deliverers to conflict resolvers?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
23. How do you rate the performance of Radio citizen in socio-political conflict prevention?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
24. At what stage/phase of conflict should radio broadcasting be heavily involved in a resolution role?					
a) Latency		<input type="checkbox"/>			
b) Emergence		<input type="checkbox"/>			
c) Escalation		<input type="checkbox"/>			
d) Acute conflict		<input type="checkbox"/>			
e) De-escalation		<input type="checkbox"/>			
f) Negotiation		<input type="checkbox"/>			
g) Settlement		<input type="checkbox"/>			
h) Peace-building		<input type="checkbox"/>			

**APPENDIX III: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR SENIOR MANAGEMENT**

Radio station.....

Position.....



1. How long have you worked in this station?
2. What is the significance of radio broadcasting in conflict resolution in Kenya?
3. How do you rate the performance of Radio Citizen in sociopolitical conflict resolution in Kenya?
4. What are the challenges or obstacles faced by Radio Citizen in sociopolitical conflict resolution in Kenya?
5. How does ownership of radio stations affect their capacity for sociopolitical conflict resolution in Kenya?
6. Has Radio Citizen integrated socio-political conflict resolution techniques in its broadcasting programming and schedules?
7. What conflict resolution strategies has Radio Citizen mainstreamed in its broadcast programming?
8. What advantages does a national radio broadcaster have over vernacular broadcaster in conflict resolution in Kenya?
9. Do you have regular training programmes for your staff on how to handle sociopolitical conflicts in their broadcasting work?
10. How would you rate radio broadcasting in solving conflict?

**APPENDIX IV: RESEARCH WORK PLAN**

<b>Activity</b>	<b>Duration</b>
1. Problem identification and Proposal Writing	JUNE-JULY2009
2. Proposal submission and Defence	JULY 2009
3. Research design pre-test	JULY 2009
4. Questionnaire production and Data collection	AUGUST 2009
5. Data analysis	NOVEMBER 2009
6. Report writing	NOVEMBER 2009
7. Report binding and submission	DECEMBER 2009

## APPENDIX V: RESEARCH BUDGET

Activity	Item description	Cost (Kshs)
<b>1. Data collection and analysis</b>	i) Questionnaire preparation and (80QS) administration including :	5,000
	-Travel (Eldoret - Nairobi)	10,000
	-Commuting: (Nairobi& Eldoret)	6000
	- Data analysis	10,000
	<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>31000</i>
<b>2. Proposal writing</b>	i) Stationery	500
	ii) Typesetting and printing (5)	5000
	iii) Binding	500
	<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>6000</i>
<b>3. Proposal defence</b>	i) Proposal typesetting and printing (5)	500
	ii) Binding	5000
	<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>5500</i>
<b>4. Thesis Report writing</b>	i) Typesetting and printing	1600
	ii) Binding	600
	<i>Subtotal</i>	<i>2200</i>
<b>5. Miscellaneous expenses</b>	Communication, accommodation, meals. hospitality	30000
<b>6. Overheads</b>		7470
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>82170</b>

## APPENDIX VI: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION LETTER

## APPENDIX VI: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION LETTER

REPUBLIC OF KENYA



## NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Telegram: "SCIENCETECH", Nairobi  
 Telephone: 254-020-241349, 2213102  
 254-020-310571, 2213123  
 Fax: 254-020-2213215, 318245, 318249  
 When replying please quote

P.O. Box 30623-00100  
 NAIROBI-KENYA  
 Website: www.ncst.go.ke

Our Ref:

Date:

NCST/RRI/12/1/INF-011/51/4

14<sup>th</sup> September, 2011

Mildred Nyachiengá  
 Moi University  
 P. O. Box 3900  
 ELDORET

**RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION**

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*The role of radio broadcasting in socio-political conflict resolution in Kenya: A study of citizen radio*" I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Sondu District** for a period ending **28<sup>th</sup> February, 2012**.

You are advised to report to the **District Commissioner & the District Education Officer, Sondu District** before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit **one hard copy and one soft copy** of the research report/thesis to our office.

**P. N. NYAKUNDI**  
**FOR: SECRETARY/CEO**

Copy to:

The District Commissioner  
 Sondu District

The District Education Officer  
 Sondu District

**APPENDIX VII: RESEARCH PERMIT**

**APPENDIX VII: RESEARCH PERMIT**

**PAGE 2**


**THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:**  
 Prof./Dr./Mr./Mrs/Miss/Institution  
*Mildred Nyachienga*  
 of (Address)Moi University  
 P.O BOX 3900, Eldoret  
 has been permitted to conduct research in

Sondu Nyanza	Location District Province
-----------------	----------------------------------

on the topic: *The role of radio broadcasting in socio-political conflict resolution in Kenya: A study of citizen radio.*

for a period ending 28<sup>th</sup> February 2012


**PAGE 3**  
 Research Permit No. NCST/RRU/12/1/INF011/51  
 Date of issue *28 September 2011*  
 Fee received



*[Signature]*  
 Applicant's Signature      Secretary  
 National Council for  
 Science and Technology

**CONDITIONS**

1. You must report to the District Commissioner and the District Education Officer of the area before embarking on your research. Failure to do that may lead to the cancellation of your permit
2. Government Officers will not be interviewed with-out prior appointment.
3. No questionnaire will be used unless it has been approved.
4. Excavation, filming and collection of biological specimens are subject to further permission from the relevant Government Ministries.
5. You are required to submit at least two(2)/four(4) bound copies of your final report for Kenyans and non-Kenyans respectively.
6. The Government of Kenya reserves the right to modify the conditions of this permit including its cancellation without notice



**REPUBLIC OF KENYA**  
**RESEARCH CLEARANCE PERMIT**

(CONDITIONS—see back page)

GPK6054Cmt10/2011