THE CONTRIBUTION OF RADIO TO CONFLICT RESOLUTION: A CASE STUDY OF RADIO AMANI, NAKURU

BY

JOSEPH ONDARI MOMANYI

K50/69808/2013

PRESENTED TO:

DR. ELIAS MOKUA

A RESEARCH PROJECT REPORT PRESENTED TO THE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN COMMUNICATION STUDIES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

NOVEMBER, 2015

DECLARATION

This project report is my original work and has not been presented for the award of a degree in any other institution.

Signature: …………………………….   Date……………………………

Joseph Ondari Momanyi

K50/69808/2013

This project report has been submitted to The University of Nairobi for examination with my approval as the supervisor.

Signature……………………………….…   Date………………………………….

Dr. Elias Mokua

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

DEDICATION

To my loving wife Sella, your support, love and encouragement kept me going to the completion of this project, thank you and May God bless you abundantly.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Definition of Terms

Conflict: A struggle or difference in perception or interpretation between individuals or collectives, over values, status, power or scarce resources.

Conflict transformation: Transition from violent conflict to non-violent conflict

Mediation: The process of helping parties in conflict to reach an agreement by getting them to talk to each other.

Media diplomacy: The use of or action of media to bring parties in conflict to negotiation to resolve conflict.

Track-two diplomacy: Unofficial mediators and informal forms of negotiation.

Conflict resolution: all activities undertaken by parties to a conflict, or outsiders, to limit and reduce or do away with the level of violence in conflict and to create understanding on the key issues in conflict.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

USAID - United States Agency for International Development

UNDP – United Nations Development Program

DFID - Department for International Development

UK – United Kingdom

LRA - Lord's Resistance Army

IRFJ - the Interactive Radio for Justice

SFCG - Search for Common Ground

UNAMSIL- United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone

ABSTRACT

This study investigated the contribution of Radio to conflict resolution, using the case of Radio Amani in Nakuru County. The study was guided by four specific objectives: to find out how ownership of Radio Amani influences its intervention in reporting conflict, to find out how government regulation of media influences the contribution of Radio Amani to conflict resolution in Nakuru, to find out if the intervention by Radio Amani has influenced the escalation or de-escalation of violent conflict in Nakuru, to find out if Radio Amani faces any hindrances in promoting conflict resolution. The data for this research was collected using questionnaires which were administered to 350 respondents. Data was also collected using interviews, three county administrators, four media practitioners and two representatives of organizations involved conflict resolution initiatives were interviewed. The data was analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). The data was thematically analyzed by classifying major issues covered and recurrent themes and presented in narrative form. The findings of the study were: radio, being an appropriate, cheap and easily accessible medium of passing peace messages, contributes considerably to the de-escalation of conflict and in reducing the frequency of conflict; the ownership of radio greatly influences the contribution of radio to conflict resolution in terms of peace programming and the way radio is perceived by its audience; media regulation has a big influence on the depth and extent to which radio can deal with issues of conflict; radio faces many hindrances in contributing to conflict resolution and for it to contribute significantly to conflict resolution, it must overcome these challenges. The conclusions of the study are that radio can contribute significantly to conflict resolution if media regulation is not a hindrance and if media owners and broadcasting policies of media houses favour programming suitable for conflict resolution. Moreover, radio must overcome financing, technological, staff turnover and qualification challenges as well as collaborate with other stakeholders and government in conflict resolution. Therefore, the study recommends that further research be done on ways in which radio can be harnessed in order to contribute to conflict resolution more effectively, and on how partnerships can be established amongst radio, the government and other stakeholders in conflict resolution. Moreover policies to involve radio in conflict resolution should be formulated and that less restrictive and more enabling media laws be formulated for radio to contribute more significantly to conflict resolution. Furthermore media organizations should give more prominence to conflict resolution issues.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

Media, whether government, private or religious owned,play an extremely important role in society.Theyfunction as a space in which the conflicts arising in society can be openly articulated, and solutions for peace generated. Through events such as press releases, concerts, or radio programs,media can be used tounlock deadlocks and facilitate negotiations.For example, in Burundi, Studio Ijambo is attempting to harness the power of radio for constructive purposes. Beginning in 1995, Search for Common Ground set up Studio Ijambo with a team of twenty Hutu and Tutsi journalists to promote dialogue, peace, and reconciliation(Gilboa, 2002).Therefore, though media are known more to escalate conflict, they have the potential to de-escalate and contribute to conflict resolution and peace building.

In Africa and indeed Kenya, the influence of the media, particularly the electronic media, continues to grow with time as demonstrated by the increasing number of media outlets, such as radio stations well as the growing prominence of the internet as a medium of mass communication. (Kroker & Weinstein, 1994)

Nearly all Kenyans are radio listeners and they use radio as a source of news and information rather than for mere entertainment. The most prevalent method of listening to radio broadcasts is FM radio; AM waveband is a popular second. Shortwave and mobile phone listening are also alternative listening methods used on a consistent basis. However, internet and satellite radio listening lags far behind other media. (Bowen, 2010)

The liberalization of the media waves in Kenya has seen an increase in the number of both public and private radio stations in the country over the years. Among the most popular stations are Radio Citizen, Coro FM, Inooro FM, Kameme FM, Easy FM, Radio Jambo, Hope FM, Family FM, Radio RAHM, Baraka Radio, Radio Waumini, Iqra FM, Biblia Husema Radio, Watchman FM, Jesus is Lord Radio, Radio Amani, KBC, Classic FM, Capital FM, Milele FM, Kiss 100 FM, Egesa FM, Homeboys Radio, Radio 316, East FM, Mulembe FM, Pwani FM, Kass FM among many others

Radio Amani is a community radio based in Nakuru County. Nakuru, one of the towns greatly affected by the post election violence in 2008, isone of the main agricultural towns in Kenya.

The main reason for which Radio Amani was started was to promote reconciliation peaceful coexistence among communities in the Nakuru region. It was established in the year 2009 and from that time it has provided a platform for peace building initiatives through public participation. The radio station has both full time and part time staff. A lot of theprogramsaired allow for the community members to call in and give their views about particular social topics.

The studio, based in Nakuru, has a transmitter on Karbanet Hill which is at a frequency of 88.3 Mhzand it uses a satellite microwave link to send signals to thetransmitter.The studio has a standard studio microphone, a mixer and a desktop computer which is connected to the transmitter. The mixer is particularly useful;microphones are connected to the setup when guests are being hosted in the station.The station also engages members of the audience on social media.

1.1   Background of the Study

Focus on conflict resolution in Kenya has grown over time since various efforts to resolve several violent flare ups in the country have not seen the conclusive resolution of these conflicts, neither have they successfully resulted in lasting peace. Kenya,whichhasabout 42 ethnic communities, has had various outbreaks of political and ethnic violencefrom time to time. For instance,in 1991, two thousand Kenyans were killed in the Rift Valley.Theone factor in most casesthat has led to the outbreak of conflict is land scarcity - and its distribution – aggravated by other factors such as the increasing rate of population and land degradation.(Brown, 2003)

According to Apollos (2001), most of the debates about the conflict situation in Kenya surround ethnicity, violence, the fight for democracy and the struggle for scarce resources between communities, especially those in arid and semi-arid areas; factors which were responsible for ethnic conflict which has been both pre election and post election as evidencedby the 1992 Rift Valley clashes and the 2007 post election violence. Later conflicts in Kenya have also taken the form of terrorism associated with the radicalization of Muslim youth. This was manifested recently during the Westgate, Mpeketoni, Mandera and Garissa massacres.

Although many places in Kenya have experienced conflict, perhaps more than any other place, the Nakuru region has borne the biggest brunt of ethnic violence with many instances of loss of life and vast displacement of people. The conflict in the area and the surrounding regions such as Naivasha, Njoro, Molo, Laikipia, and Kuresoi, has always taken an ethnic dimension since Nakuru is predominantly occupied by two communities: the Kalenjin and the Kikuyu.

It is instructive that for many years, the two communities voted on opposite sides of the political divide which ensured that they remained extremely polarized. This rift was often exploited by politicians posing as champions and spokesmen of their community against the other in order to gain political mileage. Several attempts by the government to resolve the conflict did not amount to much as the attempts failed to address the thorny issue of land ownership in the Rift Valley adequately and conclusively.

The media's framing and reporting of the ethnic violence in the Rift Valley did not make matters better. The media's reportingofethnic violence in Laikipia and Njoro in January and February 1998 exposed the press as keener to promote 'hate journalism' through exaggeration and politicization of ethnic tensions rather than accurate and responsible journalism. While the tendency was for private press critical of government to portray the Kalenjin (the then President, Moi's ethnic group) 'as the villains in the clashes' and other ethnic groups, the Kikuyu especially, as innocent victims; the state owned Kenya Broadcasting Corporation and pro-government media focused on the Kalenjin as victims. As a whole, the press 'settled on politics as the cause, and whipped up political emotions often without bothering to 'venture into the battle front' (Charo and Makali 1998)

The media, particularly local language radio, has been accused of being responsible for fuelling ethnic hatred and violence in the aftermath of the Kenyan 2007 presidential elections. Similar accusations have been made concerning the 2005 referendum campaign. Local language radio stations are accused of routinely partisan and unethical reporting.

Akinfeleye (2008) states that before the violence in Kenya, the media had good rating as a result of the democratic era together with economic deregulation and advances in civic education by civil society groups; and enhanced media freedom in the country, thereby making the media a more influential and credible mechanism to serve as a watchdog of government action.

1.2 The Statement of the Problem

The media's role in conflict situations has generated a lot of controversy. Many see the media more often as exacerbating conflict while others have pointed out that the media play a critical role in conflict resolution and peace building. According to (Wolfsfeld, 2004), while a democratic media may serve to encourage dialogue, tolerance and interaction among communities; and raise the legitimacy of those supporting peaceful negotiations and building lasting peace, at times media can also report negatively on political opponents.

Many constraints stand in the way of the media's contribution to peace building and conflict resolution.Often, media operate in an environment that they have little control over. The media have to contend with government control and regulation which often impacts negatively on the media's editorial independence. Media also are subject to ownership controls which, apart from playing a gate keeping role, also involve investment returns considerations.

According to Herman & Chomsky (1998), the media firms which are quite large businesses are controlled by very wealthy people or by managers who are subject to sharp constraints by owners and other market-profit-oriented forces. Mediafirms also have important common interests, with major corporations, banks, and government. Therefore, they are compelled to report in certain ways that do not necessarily support conflict resolution efforts.

The media often pander to the desires of advertisers in order to maintain business; in most cases the biggest advertiser is the government. According to Herman & Chomsky (1998) advertisers generally avoid complex and controversial programs. They seek lightly entertaining programs that fit in with the primary purpose of program purchases - the dissemination of a selling message. This implies that the media have limited independent space to operate in. Puddephatt (2006) observes that 'the Media sometimes […] is mobilized for partisan purposes,' especially local media.

This study sought to find out the contribution of radio, particularly Radio Amani, to conflict resolution in Nakuru County, despite the constraints that media face and therefore, whether media can be harnessed as an effective tool in conflict resolution processes.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 Main Objective

The main objective of this study was to find out the contribution of Radio Amani to conflict resolution in Nakuru County.

1.3.2 SpecificObjectives of the Study

The following were the objectives of this study:

1.   To find out how ownership of Radio Amani influences its intervention inreporting conflict.
2.   To find out how government regulation of private media affects the contribution of Radio Amani to conflict resolution in Nakuru.
3.   To find out howtheintervention by Radio Amani influences the escalation or de-escalation of violent conflict in Nakuru.
4.   To find out if Radio Amani faces any hindrances in promoting conflict resolution.

1.4 MainResearch Questions

What is the contribution of Radio Amani to conflict resolution in Nakuru County?

1.4.1 Specific Research Questions

The following were the specific research questions that guided this study

1.   How does the ownership of Radio Amani influence its intervention in reporting conflict?
2.   How does government regulation of private media affect the contribution of Radio Amani to conflict resolution in Nakuru?
3.   How has the intervention by Radio Amani influenced the escalation or de-escalation of violent conflict in Nakuru?
4.   DoesRadioAmanifaceany hindrancesin promoting conflict resolution?

1.5 Justification of the Study

Since the media play a significant role in conflict resolution, this study will help to show the contribution that Radio Amani has made in resolving conflict and helping lessen hostilities between parties in conflict. Thus this study will help to draw attention to the need for the government and other conflict resolution agencies to engage and support the media in conflict resolution processes.

The study will also bring to light the opportunities that Radio Amani and other private media can take advantage of in order to make a more significant contribution to conflict resolution efforts. In addition, this study will hopefully create a paradigm shift in the thinking among private and other media organizations and underscore the important need for them to play a more act active role in peace building and conflict resolution processes.

This research will also help to change perceptions as far as conflict resolution methods and mechanisms are concerned so that Radio Amani as well as other private media may be recognized as viable avenues for conflict resolution among communities in Kenya. The study will also bring to the fore the need for the inclusion of private media in conflict resolution efforts.

The findings of this study will help conflict resolution agencies, particularly the security organs, the county government of Nakuru and the national government in formulating effective policies and conflict resolution mechanisms that involve the media, especially private media in combating conflict.

This research will provide a lot of insight into what contribution the media, particularly private media, can make in resolving conflict in other conflict prone areas such as Turkana, Baringo, Mandera, Lamu and other regions.

Since the research done on the contribution of media to conflict resolution is largely inadequate, this researcher hopes in Wolfsfeld's words "[…] that a growing awareness of the central role the media play in other political processes will lead to an increased focus on the role they play in attempts to bring peace" (2001, 45).

1.6 Theoretical Framework

This research study was guided by The Manufacturing Consent Theory by Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky. This theory seeks to explain how news media operate in capitalist economies. It posits that corporate-owned news media organizations often produce news content which is conforms to the interestsofeconomic and political elite, and which therefore serves the interests of those in power.

According to the theory, "the raw material of news" goes through five filters: (concentrated ownership, owner wealth and profit-orientation of the major media firms, advertising as the main source of income, reliance on information from "expert" and official sources, flak as a way of disciplining the media) which ultimately shape and determine the news received by audiences. These filters determine what is considered newsworthy, how it is covered, where it is placed within the media and the coverage it receives.

The manufacturing consent theory was used to identify and explain the constraints that stand in the way of the radio's contribution to conflict resolution resulting fromgovernment and the media owners' vested interests. It was also used to explain how those constraints influence the extent to which media contributes to conflict resolution. On it was used to show that when media (radio) and government interests converge and the interests of the political and economic elites and media elites are fulfilled, the controls and constraints that affect media in capitalistic settings do not affect media.

1.7 Methodology

In this study, the researcher adopted a case study research design which was appropriate for this study since the study sought to look at Radio Amani within the context in which conflicts have taken place so as to find out its contribution to conflict resolution. Questionnaires and interview guides were used to collect data for the study. Questionnaires yielded a wide variety of useful information as they had both closed and open ended questions and they were to collect data from many and varied respondents in addition to mitigating the time constraints of the study.Interviews were used to collect information about programming, frequency of peace programs and the challenges faced.

1.8 Significance

The findings of this research will draw attention to the need to formulate more effective methods of conflict resolution not only on the part of the media but also government and conflict resolution agencies. In this way conflict can be better dealt with lessened in future.

Moreover, the findingswillexpose the need for a concerted effort by the government, media, conflict resolution agencies and the general public in dealing with conflict resolution and thus trigger new thinking in so far as media regulation, ownership controls are concerned in order to enable a more significant and greater contribution by the media to conflict resolution.

This findings of this studywill also create a paradigm shift in so far as conflict resolution methods are concerned so that apart from the recognition of Radio as a viable avenue for conflict resolution, its important contribution of including the masses in peace building efforts through participatory programming may be exploited as a key ingredient in dealing with issues of conflict.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter summarizes the findings of other researcheron the contribution of Media to conflict resolution. First of all, it attempts to give a definition of conflict and then examines the concept of conflict resolution, which in this is the researcher's main concern, in relation to radio.It also gives a brief history of scholarship in conflictresolution and the main approaches to conflict resolution. It then examines the history of conflict in the Rift Valley,in which Nakuru County is located, and the efforts that have been made to resolve the conflict. The role of the media, and specifically radio in conflict resolution and peace building, is also examined as well as the factors hindering media from contributing to conflict resolution.

2.1 What is Conflict?

Different authors have defined conflict in many varied ways. Goodhand and Humle, (1999) define 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. Conflict has also been defined as 'a process that begins where one party perceives that another party has negatively affected, or is about to affect something that the first party cares aboutnegatively.' (Robbins, 2005) This may imply that conflict is indeed about perceptions, not necessarily real hard facts.

Pruitt and Rubin, (1986) define conflict as "a perceived divergence of interest, or a belief that the parties' current aspirations cannot be achieved simultaneously."(p.4). Conflicts arise out of the parties' belief that the aspirations of both sides cannot be satisfied simultaneously. The aspirations are expressed in terms of goals, specific targets and standards, or acceptable minimums. What contributes to the parties' perception that their aspirations are incompatible are: the party's own level of aspiration, their perception of the other party's level of aspiration, and their perception of the availability of integrative solutions.

Glasl, (1999) views social conflict as an interaction involving at least two parties with at least one party experiencing difference in perception, thinking, imagination, interpretation, feeling and desires to the other party in such a way as to make them feel that the potential for the realization of their ideas is affected.Conflict could also be viewed as the natural, expected and inevitable outcome of any group interaction (Meuss& Deysters, 2011).

2.2 What is conflict resolution?

Bercovitch and Jackson (2009) define conflict resolution as a range of formal or informal activities undertaken by parties to a conflict, or outsiders, designed to limit and reduce the level of violence in conflict and to achieve some understanding on the key issues in conflict, a political agreement or jointly acceptable decision on future interactions and distribution of resources. They argue that conflict resolution is about accepting conflict, recognizing that there are many ways out of it and engaging in some tacit or explicit coordination without which none of these goals can be achieved.

These scholars' views focus on the active and actual process of conflict resolution but give little importance to other activities that may impact on the process of conflict resolution such as drawing attention to the conflict that may influence actors in the conflict to take conflict resolution measures.

2.3 A Brief History of Conflict Resolution

Conflict resolution has come a long way over the years. According to Ramsboth, Miall and Woodhouse (2011), conflict resolution as a defined field of study, started in the 1950s and 1960s at the height of the cold war, when development of nuclear weapons and the conflict between superpowers seemed to threaten human survival.

A group of pioneers from different disciplines studied conflict resolution as a general phenomenon. They saw the potential of applying approaches that were evolving in industrial relations and community mediation settings to conflict in general, including civil and international conflicts.

A handful of people in America and Europe began to establish research groups to develop new ideas. However, professionals in international relations, having their own categories for

understanding international conflict, did not welcome theses interlopers. The combination of analysis and practice implicit in the new ideas was not easy to reconcile with established scholarly institutions or the tradition of diplomats and politicians.

However, having attracted interest, the field began to grow and spread. Scholarly journals in the field were created and institutions to study the field were established and their number rapidly increased. By the 1980s, conflict resolution ideas were increasingly making a difference in real conflicts. In the closing years of the cold war, the climate for conflict resolution was changing radically. With relations between the superpowers improving, the ideological and military competition that had fuelled many regional conflicts was fading. Protracted regional conflicts in southern Africa, Central America and East Asia moved towards settlement.

The dissolution of the Soviet Union brought to a close the long period in which a single international conflict dominated the international system. In this new climate, scholars of international relations and comparative politics turned to internal conflicts, ethnic conflicts, conflicts over secession and power struggles within countries which had become common in the 1990s.

International statesmen began to use the language and international organizations such as The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and The Organization of African Unity (OAU) set up conflict resolution mechanisms and conflict resolution centres. Development and Aid workers who had earlier seen their function as 'non political' became interested in linking their expertise to conflict resolution approaches because many areas they were most concerned with were conflict zones.

Overseas development ministries in several countries set up conflict units and began funding conflict prevention and resolution initiatives on a significant scale. International financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank also took up conflict prevention roles. The UN secretary general declared the prevention of violent conflict to be a central goal for the international community in the new millennium and peaceful settlement of disputes between states became a familiar theme in international relations and strategic studies.

2.4 Main Approaches to Conflict Resolution

Processes of conflict resolution rely heavily on communication and in cases where there are limited or no ready channels of communication, the media plays an important mediation role that involves not only providing a platform for communication between the parties in conflict but also sometimes initiating dialogue and setting the peace agenda. An examination of conflict resolution approaches reveals the contribution of media to conflict resolution.

Though mainstream peace building literature commonly recognizes three schools of peace building (Management, Resolution and Transformation). Paffenholz (2009) identifies two more: the Complementary School and the Alternative Discourse School.

2.4.1 The Conflict Management School

The main approach of this school is to end conflicts through different diplomatic initiatives. In this school, peace builders are external diplomats from bilateral or multilateral organizations. The school aims to identify and bring into negotiation, leaders of the parties in conflict. Its main focus is on the short-term management of armed conflict. Recent examples include the Sudan or Aceh peace accords (Miall et al. 1999; Richmond 2005).

The most important contribution of the Conflict Management School is its focus on those in power with the ability to end large scale violence through a negotiated settlement. However, this approach has been criticized because of the fact that mediators tend to concentrate solely on the top leadership of the conflicting parties (Lederach 1997)**,** many times ignoring the need for facilitation by different internal and external actors before, during and after the negotiations (Paffenholz 1998). The approach also ignores the deep causes of conflicts (Hoffman 1995).

2.4.2 The Conflict Resolution School

The Conflict Resolution School approaches conflict by seeking to solve its underlying causes of and rebuild destroyed relationships between the parties. Peace builders in the early Conflict Resolution School were majorly Western academic institutions that carried out conflict resolution workshops with non-official actors close to the conflict parties (Fisher 1997; Kelman 1992). The evolution of the approach saw the scope of actors substantially broadened. An earlier

more elite based civil society approach became a general civil society and grassroots approach; including actors ranging from individuals to communities and organized civil society groups.

The common features of modern (second generation) conflict resolution approaches can be identified as follows: involved actors, who do not represent a government or an international organization, aim at addressing the root causes of conflict with relationship- building and long-term resolution- oriented approaches. The main suppliers, international NGOs, often work together with national and local NGOs. The actors mainly undertake dialogue projects between groups or communities, peace education, conflict resolution training to enhance the peace building capacity of actors from different groups, and conflict resolution workshops.

From a conflict management perspective, The Conflict Resolution School has been criticized for the assumption that improving communications and building relationships between conflicting parties necessarily results in an agreement to end the war (Bercovitch 1984). The approach has also been criticized for its assumptions that the work with civil society and the grassroots does not automatically spill over to the national level (Richmond 2001).

2.4.3 The Complementary School

This approach focuses on the likely similarity between the Conflict Management and Resolution Schools. This school takes into account the fact that peace building is needed from the top and from below. From the early to mid 1990s, various approaches were developed that sought to do away with the distinction between conflict management and resolution. The three main approaches are a) the "Contingency model for third party intervention in armed conflicts" (Fisher and Keashly 1991), b) Bercovitch and Rubin's similar model (1992), and c) the Multi-Track Diplomacy approach (Diamond and McDonald 1996).

The main critique of this approach points out that in practice, different types of interventions can take place at the same time (Bloomfield 1995; Webb et al. 1996; Paffenholz 1998 and Fitzduff 2000) and do not fully address the issue of coordination (Paffenholz 1998).

2.4.4 The Conflict Transformation School

The Conflict Transformation School focuses on transformation of deep-rooted armed conflicts into peaceful ones. John Paul Lederach developed the first comprehensive and widely discussed

transformation-oriented approach (Lederach 1997). It suggests replacing the term "conflict resolution" with the term "conflict transformation" (Rupesinghe 1995).

According to Lederach, there is need to resolve the dilemma between short-term conflict management and long-term relationship building, as well as the resolve the underlying causes of conflict. For Lederach proposes the building of "long-term infrastructure" for peace building. He also sees the need to rebuild destroyed relationships, focusing on reconciliation within society and the strengthening of society's peace building potential. According to Lederach, Third party intervention should concentrate on supporting internalactors and coordinating external peace efforts while being sensitivity to local culture.

This approach mainly focuses on peace constituencies by singling out mid-level individuals or groups that should not only be supported directly, but also in consideration of the wider peace-building arena, empowered to build peace and support reconciliation. Empowerment of the middle level is assumed to then influence peace building at the macro and grassroots levels.

Lederach divides society into three levels, which can be approached through different peace building strategies. Top leadership can be accessed by mediation at the level of states (track 1) and by the outcome-oriented approach. Mid-level leadership (track 2) can be reached through more resolution-oriented approaches, such as problem-solving workshops or peace-commissions, and with the help of partial insiders (i.e., prominent individuals in society). The grassroots level (track 3), which represents the majority of the population, can be reached through a wide variety of peace building approaches, such as local peace commissions, community dialogue projects, or trauma healing.

The largest contribution of the conflict transformation school is its focus on local actors and its emphasis on civil society and ordinary people. Though The Conflict Transformation School has not been subject to any fundamental critique for a while, (Paffenholz 1998), points to several deficiencies: First, the linkage between the tracks is not sufficiently elaborated, as conflict management is still necessary but is under-conceptualized in Lederach's approach.

Secondly, she also points out that external actors should not only support insiders directly but they also need to consider the wider peace building arena and might also lobby for peace

building vis a vis other actors like regional or international governments. Moreover, civil society organizations can also take up a conflict management approach.

Thirdly, she contends that though, the emphasis on the incorporation of traditional values and local voices in Lederach's approach is essential, it needs to be critically analyzed, since in the contemporary world, these structures are often transformed by modern developments.

Finally, the main focus on the middle level might not work in all societies, and the option to work directly with the grassroots in a bottom-up community peace- building approach should be better conceptualized.   (Paffenholz 2003 and 2006b) Other critiques point to the lack of a power analysis in Lederach's approach (Featherstone 2000)

2.4.5 The Alternative Discourse School of Peace building

Although it does not present an overarching theory, the Alternative Discourse School points to the need to refocus on the everyday peace of ordinary people (Featherstone 2000; Richmond 2005).According to Bendana (2003), peace building must involve the management and resolution of fundamental conflicts over resources and power, in order re-establish and legitimize a fundamental status quo respectful of a national and international market economy.

The school advocates for the alternative approach of transformative peace building, leading to a post-hegemonic society (Featherstone 2000), where voices of the oppressed are listened to and respected. The biggest contribution of the Alternative Discourse School of peace building is its focus on ordinary people, oppressed voices, the critical analysis of power structures and an assessment based on realities instead of normative assumptions.

Therefore, it also points to the need for structural changes and the recognition that peace building is mainly a Western enterprise that needs to engage in a serious South-North dialogue.

2.5 A History of Conflict in the Rift Valley

At the advent of colonialism in Kenya, communal ownership and access-for-all rights of land were interfered with. The Colonial government seized vast tracts of arable land and placed it under colonial control for cultivation. Indigenous populations that originally inhabited them were displaced from the 'white highlands', as these territories came to be known. They were forced

into marginal reserves. Kimenyi and Ndung'u's (2005) show that overcrowding in the reserves forced large numbers people mainly the Luo, Kisii, Luhya and Kikuyu to migrate to the white highlands of the Rift Valley, who then lived as squatters and provided cheap labour for the settlers.

Once Kenya gained independence, it began to address issues of private property. Thus in order to accelerate the transfer of power, all Kenyan communities withdrew their claims for the return of their pre-colonial land to them and let the settlers to sell this land to willing buyers. Most migrants therefore, eventually settled in areas other than their ancestral ones, particularly in the Rift Valley province, where the land was more suitable for farming.

A number of ethnic groups now live in the Rift Valley, the largest of which are the Kalenjin (approximately half of the population); the second major tribe is the Kikuyu (over 19% of the population); the Kisii and the Masai form smaller groups. The inequalities in land ownership have endlessly been the cause of political tension that has often turned into violent conflict. A deep seated inter-ethnic animosity exists between the Kalenjin - who, just like the Masai, claim the former white highlands of the Rift Valley as their ancestral land- and the Kikuyu, who migrated there and subsequently purchased some of the land. As the CIPEV Report clarifies on page 31, this state of affairs '[…] has created the notion of "insiders", who are native to a place and "outsiders" who have migrated there, a notion that has been tapped by aspiring politicians'.

According to the CIPEV report, many Kalenjins argue that the 2007-2008 post-election violence was a product of longstanding anger over land distribution after independence. They further argue that land alienated by the colonial government was unfairly allocated to the Kikuyus and other ethnic groups who are seen as outsiders. Others, however, pointed out that people from different ethnic communities lived side by side for many years until the introduction of multi party democracy when opposition party voters were violently killed and displaced to prevent them from voting. Thus, though the promise of getting land for those had been displaced was used to entice youth into violence, the desire for political power and not land was the causal factor. In reality, what had been seen as ethnic conflicts, were actually social, political and economic conflicts between adversarial ethnic groups.

According to Branch and Cheeseman (2009) the unnatural emphasis placed on the significance of ethnicity is typically a consequence of decisions taken in institutional and political contexts, and rarely is it the cause of the discord.

Roberts (2009) argues that political parties in Kenya are very tribal, and they place more importance on ethnicity than political ideology and policy. This is because of the perception that the party offers the best chance for one within the tribe to ascend to power and then share resources with members of his or her tribe. This has resulted in tribal prejudice and favoritism.

2.6 Efforts to Resolve the Conflict in the Rift Valley

Endless ethnic clashes in the Rift Valley during the early 90's caused a lot of concern both at the international and local level. This prompted humanitarian organizations to look for ways and means of resolving the conflict. Some of the organizations, particularly the Robert Kennedy Memorial Centre for Human Rights, the Commonwealth Observer Group, Human Rights Watch (Africa), the Kenya Human Rights Commission, the National Elections Monitoring Unit, the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission, the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK) began among other things, fact-finding missions to conflict-hit areas as well as peace building initiatives as interventions in the conflicts. (Amisi undated)

Locally, the Church played a significant role of speaking on the victims' behalf even though the government did not tolerate criticism. Through their Pastoral Letters, the Catholic bishops, for instance, pointed out the political nature of the clashes, the selective protection of certain ethnic communities such as the Kalenjin, and the unwillingness of the government to put a stop to the clashes. The church organizations also supported the displaced victims in material terms.

Local based donor organizations and diplomats also pressured the government to address the issues of conflict in the Rift Valley. They spoke out on the link between the continued flow of aid to the country and meaningful efforts to restore peace and search for a solution to the ethnic violence. In this connection, the aid conditionality had significantly influenced the government's decision to legalize multipartyism in December 1991. Notably, pressure came from the USA, Germany and Denmark. (ibid)

The State on its part remained largely lukewarm and openly hostile to some of the suggested solutions to the problems. However, at some point during the clashes, the government seemed to have a change of heart when it began to mobilize the provincial administration and security forces to prevent further attacks. In practice, however, this response was generally ineffective. (Amisi undated, ICJ Report)

As part of the state efforts to contain the violence, in September 1993, two years after the violence began; President Moi invoked the Preservation of Public Security Act and declared Molo, Elburgon, Londiani and Burnt Forest areas "Security Zones". On a number of occasions, the provincial administration, following a presidential directive, organized meetings between the elders of the affected ethnic groups in attempts at achieving peace and reconciliation. With time fresh impetus on the part of the government and especially the president to have the situation normalized was seen.

UNDP efforts beginning early 1994 to resettle the clash victims did not receive enthusiastic support from the government. According to a UNDP Report, about 250,000 people were affected by the clashes, with between 10 000 and 20 000 moving over to camps, and that by August 1994, only 30% of those displaced in camps had been resettled. (UNDP 1994) In summary, due to the land situation in Rift Valley, the province has remained ever volatile.

2.7 The Media and Conflict Resolution

The media has the ability to reach and influence vast numbers of people; therefore, the media carry immense power to shape the course of a conflict. Despite the fact the media is often seen as contributing to the escalation of violent conflicts; through objective, fair and accurate journalism and media content that enhances confidence and counteracts wrong perceptions, the media may have the potential to prevent and transform conflict.

According to Manoff (1998), an independent media has an advantage which is not enjoyed by other media, in the sense that they are unrestricted in their capability of contributing to peace building. In addition, the functions of media are ideally suited to peace building and conflict resolution, because the traditional functions of the media are similar to those of conflict resolution, namely providing information to correct misperceptions; analyzing issues to frame

the context of the conflict; identifying the interests of conflicting parties; defusing mistrust and providing outlets for self expression.

Extensive research,however, is yet to be carried out in the area of media and conflict resolution.According to Gilboa (2009) despite the significant role played by media in conflict and conflict resolution, this area has relativelybeenneglected by both scholars and practitioners. Existing studies mostly focus on the often negative contributions of the media to violence as well as escalation of conflict. Very few studies deal with the actual or potential contribution of the media to conflict resolution.

Most works on media coverage of conflict support theoretical assertions that standard media often perpetuate violent conflict rather than contributing to its peaceful resolution. Historically, news media often have been used in promotion conflict. An example of this is the fact that the media, particularly radio and television, were instrumental in fomenting conflict and violence in places such as Rwanda and Bosnia.   Similarly, news media helped the Allies further their goals in World War I (Creel, 1920; Lasswell, 1927; Bernays, 1928) and enabled manipulation of the masses by Nazis (Jowett and O'Donell, Cole, 1998; Thomson, 1977).

Wolfsfeld (2004) argues that media researchers often concentrate on analyses of conflicts, rather than peace processes. In the same way, Dunsky&Nyama (2003) point out that the media in Africa has failed to be critical and analytical on conflicts and shaping the peace agenda. A close link has been demonstrated between media and violence throughout the last 15 years of the 20th century. Case studies by Metzl (1997a, 1997b), Thompson (1999), Naveh (1999), Hoijer, Nohrstedt and Ottosen (2002), Kondopoulou (2002), and others highlight the deep interconnections between media coverage and military aggression in various conflicts around the globe. (Price and Thompson, 2002)

Despite such a strong indictment, the mediamakes a significant contribution to conflict resolution. In Bratic's words, 'if the media is often found to support forces that lead to violent conflicts, it should also have the power to support forces to peace'. (Bratic, 2006, 6)

According to Spencer (2004), journalists are "full and active participants in contestations and dialogues about peace" (p. 604), they not only gather and deliver information from some "outside" space but also affect the events they report; thus the media have the powertodetermine

the direction of events in a conflict. In this regard, the media can actually set the agenda of conflict resolution and in a big way, influence major actors, such as the government to take steps towards resolving a conflict. For instance, in the case of Rwanda, Tutsis and Hutus have been working together using radio as a voice of hope in finding solutions to end ethnic animosities (Gardner (2001). Therefore, media can play the role of promoting tolerant and diverse viewpoints. (Botes 1996)

Communication media in 'ideal type' democratic societies can play five functions towards the resolution of conflict. The first function is to inform citizens of what is happening around them. Secondly, the media serve to educate the masses concerning the meaning and significance of the 'facts' of a conflict. The third function is to provide a platform for public political discourse that must include the provision of space for the expression of dissent. Fourthly, the media serves to give publicity to governmental and political institutions (the watchdog role of journalism), and finally the media serves as a channel for the advocacy of political viewpoints. (McNair, 1999)

Consequently, the media have a large potential for creating a common basis and thus cultivating conditions for conflict transformation. First, they can serve an informative and educational function by providing accurate and constructive information, counteracting misperceptions, identifying the interests underlying the issues, and helping to build a consensus. (Manoff, 1998) This may include providing information about human rights as much as about the principles of good governance and parliamentary democracy and democratic election.

Secondly, they can further build confidence and mediate between conflicting parties by fostering communication, generating alternatives to violent conflict, reflecting the ordinary person's need and desire for peace, communicating the process of negotiations to the constituencies involved and providing a forum for on-going dialogue. (Siebert, 1998)

Thirdly, they may act as a watchdog on leaders to help ensure long-term accountability, monitor human rights violations and, in a broader sense, provide some early warning on potential escalations of the conflict. Since the essence of conflict transformation is the transformation of mentalities, both within the society and the individual, societies have to be involved from the top-down and the bottom-up. The media have the potential to be a gateway through which to reach the largest possible number of people. (Melone, 1997)

Media are not just neutral information agencies that avail a forum for other actors but they play an active role in political processes. This is by the way the media select and structure information, interpret and evaluate the stream of events that are continuously taking place and by supporting or rejecting particular policy options (Jarren 1996). In this way, the media can influence policy decisions and the handling of conflicts by governments and in that way force actions geared towards conflict resolution. The media in this wayplays the role of watchdog, critically observing the political process and ensuring a certain degree of accountability on the part of the political actors.

Aho (2004) argues that since it has the capacity to reach vast or influential population segments within a short time, and to provide factual information, analysis and opinion, the mass media helps shapes popular perceptions about the nature of society. Moreover, the mass media can greatly transform the ideas of freedom of opinion and expression into a concrete reality, by communicating information and ideas openly and by playing a 'watchdog' role on leaders and public institutions. Thus, the principal roles of the media are to expose shortcomings of the government, to educate the public; and to promote peace initiatives and dialogue.

Aho further mentions that for media to promote peace building, media have to carry out intended outcome programming (Aho, 2004 p.39). In this regard, the media must deliberately design and air programmes that are mainly meant to promote reconciliation, to transform attitudes and diffuse conflicts.

"Professional journalists do not set out to reduce conflict. They seek to present accurate and impartial news. But it is often through good reporting that conflict is reduced" (Howard 2003a, 8). According to Howard the media plays eleven "unconscious roles" of journalism: "channeling communication, educating, confidence-building, correcting misperceptions, making them human, identifying underlying interests, emotional outlet, framing the conflict, face-saving/consensus-building, solution-building and encouraging a balance of power" (Ibid., 8-9).

According to Gilboa (2001) the media plays a mediation role which he refers to as media diplomacy. He defines media diplomacy as all those aspects of public diplomacy in which the media are involved as well as others not associated with public diplomacy. These include the sending of signals by governments through the media, and the use of the media as a source of

information. Officials use the media to communicate with state and non state actors, to build confidence among the conflicting parties, toadvance negotiations, and to mobilize public support for agreements. Sometimes, during grave international crises, the media provides the only channel for communication and negotiation between rival actors.

Robinson (1999) contends that the present day's pervasive media puts pressure on politicianstoact on media reports of conflict urgently. Operation Restore Hope in Somalia, for instance, in 1992 was forced upon the United States by media pressure. However, media pressure may lead to what may be seen as ill thought out intervention. Foreign policy 'experts' argued that media coverage of suffering people in Somalia had usurped traditional policy making channels triggering an unplanned response.

Media diplomacy is pursued through various routine and special media activities including press conferences, interviews and leaks, as well as visits of heads of state and mediators to rival countries and spectacular media events organized to usher in new policies.

Theories of negotiation and conflict resolution emphasize the significance of 'pre-negotiation stages', the role of 'third parties' and, 'track-two diplomacy'. During the pre-negotiation stage, the conflicting sides explore the merits and demerits of a specific negotiation process and decide whether to enter formal negotiations or not based on information received from the other party and other domestic andexternal considerations. Third parties play the role of helping enemies begin negotiations. Third parties may be formal representatives of superpowers, neutral states, international and global organizations, or ordinary individuals, that facilitate negotiations by acting as a link between the parties in conflict and persuading them to consider negotiationas a viable option.

Track two diplomacy refers to unofficial mediators and informal forms of negotiation. Journalists frequently act as third parties particularly in pre-negotiation stages. According to Arno (1984) the news media, as third parties in national and international conflict, serve primarily to transmit messages between the two sides.

In his discussion of the globalization of electronic journalism, Gurevitch (1991) also noted the new role of journalists as 'international political brokers'." He cited Walter Cronkite from CBS News, who helped arrange Sadat's historic visit to Jerusalem, and television news anchors,

such as Dan Rather from CBS News, who rushed to interview Saddam Hussein in Baghdad during the 1990-91 Gulf conflict

2.8 Radio and Conflict Resolution

Currently, radio is the most useful and widespread communication medium for social and political development in Africa. Statistical data on the development and spread of radio transmitters and the distribution of radio sets in Africa indicates that radio is the only modern communication medium which has attained the status of a mass medium in the region with access to radio in the region rising steadily. Indeed radio has the widest geographical reach and the highest audiences compared with TV, newspapers and other ICTs. (Myers, 2008)

Radio and new information and communication technologies (ICTs) – particularly mobile phones – are the most pervasive media available in Africa today. Although the area of radio and ICTs for development in Africa is increasingly being researched, adequate research on the uses of radio and ICTs in conflict resolution is yet to be done. (De Bruijn, Nyamnjoh, and Brinkman, 2009; Bosch, 2011; Gunner, Ligaga and Moyo, 2012)

Though the reach of most radio stations in Africa is limited, a number of radio stations have begun airing programs aimed at creating an avenue for conflict resolution and peace building. This is particularly in those African countries that have experienced violence and political turmoil.An example is TerYat, which is a weekly political talk show broadcast on Mega FM, a community based radio station in Gulu, northern Uganda. It was explicitly set up to promote dialogue and better public understanding in order to defuse tensions.

TerYat is aired on Saturday mornings and political leaders and opinion makers discuss issues of regional and national importance. Ministers, members of parliament, religious leaders, politicians and rebels talk in the studio or by phone and give their views on the ways to foster peace and development and answer questions through phone-ins (UNDP, 2006).

Another is Studio Ijambo which was established in Burundi in 1995 to help curb the negative effects of mid-1990s hate radio in the African Great Lakes region. Funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Studio Ijambo program had two purposes: first, to enhance peace building efforts in Burundi and second, to assist in resolving conflict while

strengthening local capacity. Until Studio Ijambo's formation, "the Burundian press not only reflected the deep ethnic division but also actively promoted it (and its members tried to) rival each other over calls to kill, or in packing and advancing their mutually macabre ideologies (generating) mutual terror and distrust based on historical fears" (Hagos 2001)

In northern Uganda, an area that has been brutalized by the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) for decades, Mega FM, funded by the UK's Department for International Development (DfID), is beginning to have an impact. It has been instrumental in encouraging rebels to come out of the bush. Mega FM is among several such stations set up by the United Nations, donor agencies, church organizations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Africa to help communities deal with the challenges of re establishing peace after war.

Other stations seeking to promote peace include UNAMSIL Radio, set up by the UN peacekeeping mission in Sierra Leone, and Radio Okapi in the DRC, jointly run by the UN peacekeeping mission there and the Swiss foundation Hirondelle. Radio Okapi is credited with easing tensions; counteracting propaganda and helping people in eastern Congo rebuild their lives after war. (Kimani, 2007)

Similarly, the Interactive Radio for Justice (IRFJ) in Ituri, in the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), where thousands perished during the country's civil war, has sought to raise awareness of human rights among the people and the options for dealing with crimes during and after the war. IRFJ produces programmes in which members of the public ask questions and get answers from local and international officials. The project's programmes are intended to help people understand local and international law. It was set up in June 2005 with funding from MacArthur Foundation (ibid)

In West Africa, the NGO Search for Common Ground (SFCG) produces and airs radio programmes on peace, disarmament and reconciliation in Liberia, using 22 partner radio stations —10 in the capital, Monrovia, and 12 in rural communities. In 2004, when the office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees needed to repatriate 340,000 Liberians from neighbouring countries, the SFCG developed a programme with UN updates, news on the peace process and information on safe areas. (ibid)

Other programmes produced by SFCG's Talking Drum Studio are still aired in neighbouring Sierra Leone, which has also been recovering from war. In areas where ethnic and political factions have incited hate or spread propaganda, UN-run stations have sought to counteract the messages of such broadcasts, especially after extremist leaders used radio in the early 1990s to fan ethnic hatred and incite genocide. The SFCG runs radio projects in eight countries emerging from conflict, including Angola, Burundi, Sierra Leone and Liberia.(ibid)

Burundi's Studio Ijambo radio program also followed precedent in Africa, which, according to Ould-Abdallah (2000) meant: "due to lack of education and resources, the impact of the written press is largely confined to the urban elite able to read and buy newspapers. The radio, however, reached out to the masses, and at times of conflict has a remarkable ability to inflame or quiet the situation" (150).

2.9 Factors Hindering the Media from Contributing To Conflict Resolution

Having considered the contribution that media can make to conflict resolution, it is important to note that a number of factors may hinder or prevent the media from making as meaningful a contribution to conflict resolution as would be desirable.

The media are businesses and those that have invested in the media, whether the government or private owners expect to make returns from their investment. The media are very unlikely to wade into a conflict if it will impact negatively on their market opportunities. However, the most common element of news is conflict; therefore, media depend on conflict situations to increase their circulation. (Carruthers 2000) Thus, media has a tendency of watching over the potentials of war and they act as a channel between fighters themselves and others.

Moreover, individual journalists' conflicting loyalties have got in the way of objective reporting of conflict. This means that where journalists may be required to be impartial, they have identified with cultural communities seeking recognition and representation in conflict situations, as well as served competing interests of religion and ethnicity. These competing claims are responsible for their apparent contradictions, hypocrisy and double standards. (Nyamnjoh 2005:57) inadvertently, therefore, the media end up either failing to play a conflict resolution or actually fuelling the conflict further.

The media has at times taken sides in conflict and it has been used as a propaganda instrument to discredit Media has also engaged in the need to hit back at the other side in times of conflict. Kasoma (1996) points out regarding the whole of the African continent that the independent tabloids in particular have spared no one in their muckraking journalistic exploits, libeling, invading privacy and generally carrying out a type of reportage that can best be described as "vendetta journalism." (op.cit 83)

According to Khan (1998) infighting and the quest for stardom have compromised the ethical standards of journalists. While journalists in government media are fighting one another for administrative positions and sinecures, those in private press are battling for survival through blackmail and slander, commonly referred to as 'cheque-book', 'yellow', 'attack-collect' or 'brown envelope' journalism.(op. cit 86) this hardly leaves space for the noble task of peace journalism.

It is thus true that where objective reporting could have highlighted the real issues in a conflict and influenced conflict resolution, taking sides by journalist has ended up having the opposite effect. Indeed, often the desire to get the juiciest story at all cost has overridden the responsibility to report correctly and objectively. 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'll 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.

Eilders states that for the media to have a strong impact on politics, a high congruence of the different media outlets is required. Only if all media are focusing on the same issue (focusing), frame it in a similar way (consonance), and if they do so with perseverance (persistence), can the media be expected to strongly impact the political agenda (Eilders, 2001). It has been observed that different media outlets often take opposing positions in reporting conflicts with some openly taking sides and supporting one of the warring parties. This has a polarizing effect which complicates conflict resolution processes. On the other hand, when media report a conflict uniformly and objectively highlight the effects of the crisis that begs action, the impact is likely to be very powerful and most likely to compel the government to take remedial action.

According to Gumucio Dagron, A. (2005), one of the main problems for radio in Africa is economic sustainability. This is true even of commercial entertainment-oriented radio, and even more so for radio services aspiring to public service and to developmental content.

According to Myers (2008) the prevailing culture of African radio is that of the live broadcast, rather than pre-prepared programmes (dramas, magazines, talk-shows involving experts). Moreover, African radio journalists are poorly paid. They also face problems of little job-security and poor organization. This has led to corruption and low standards within the profession.

Myers adds that African radio journalists is that they are mostly poorly trained, if trained at all, and there is a high turnover and brain-drain out of the profession, as such African media lacks trained media experts with sufficient knowledge of peace.

In addition, Radio stations face many technical challenges. According to Myers (2008), weak and often inadequate technical facilities for media organizations continue to present a big challenge with satellite based broadcasting not seeming to have had a big impact. The advantages offered by the internet are still hampered mainly by cost and infrastructure problems, but African broadcasters are gradually getting on-line and using the web to network with each other, enhance their output, get themselves.

The media in Africa have not been fully harnessed to drive processes of peace resolution. Inconsistent utilization of communication as an intervention for peace-building and the poor and limited access to modern communication and information media for the majority of people in Africa has blurred the impact of these media in peace-building.

Onadipe and Lord (1998) identify governmental constraints particularly stringent regulation and oppressive media laws, economic instability, and poor management of media business, technological deficiencies, and unstable political situations as some of the major problems affecting the media in Africa.

In summary, the main argument in this chapter is that the media has a crucial role play in conflict resolution, especially religious media, because of its near universal appeal to vast audiences. The

researcher argues that the media by highlighting crises can influence policy formulation and also influence major actors in conflict resolution such as governments to act in order to end conflict.

The researcher also argues that media is crucial in provision of a platform to discuss issues regarding conflict and to highlight ways of resolving conflict since the media reach many people. He argues that media has a role to inform, sensitize and set a peace agenda for the masses and the authorities as well as play a watchdog role on government while highlighting issues of human rights, though a number of factors stand in the way of media's way as far as conflict resolution is concerned.He argues that religious organizations the world over,includingmedia have made attempts to contribute to conflict resolution with considerable success.

Much as this is the case, conflict continues to occur especially in Kenya raising the question: why is there continued conflict despite the contribution of religious and other media to conflict resolution efforts and what if any are the reasons for the continued occurrence of conflict. It is thus imperative that the contribution of media to conflict resolution in Kenya be investigated in order to identify challenges and areas that require to be looked into in order to deal with conflict in society and to address issues of violence and loss of valuable human lives.

2.10 Media Regulation in Kenya

In order to understand the conditions in which media, and therefore radio, contributes to conflict resolution in Kenya as well as Nakuru County, it is important to understand media regulation in Kenya. In Kenya, the media is regulated by the Media council of Kenya established under the Media bill 2013.The bill establishes a Complaints committee charged with the task of investigating complaints against journalists or media enterprises.

A person who is aggrieved by any publication, the conduct of a journalist or a media enterprise; or any action against a journalist or media organization that limits or interferes with the constitutional freedom of expression of such journalist or media house, may make a complaint in writing to the Complaints Committee explaining the grounds for the complaint, the nature of the injury or damage suffered and the remedy that is being sought.

Once the Complaints Committee has considered the complaint, it mayrecommend to the Media Council to dismiss the complaint, if it considers that the complaint has no merit or substance; to

order the offending party to publish an apology and correction in the manner that the Complaints Committee may specify; publicly reprimand the journalist or media enterprise involved; or any other recommendations it may consider appropriate.

The Council may, upon consideration of the recommendations of the Committee, adopt or reject the recommendations. The Council will then communicate its decision to the concerned parties within fourteen days from the date the decision is made. The Media Council may publish or publicize its decision if it finds it necessary to do so.

Once a determination of the matter has been made, if not satisfied bythe decision of the Media Council, the injured party may seek redress at the High Court inaccordancewithArticle 165(6) of the Constitution. Ifthe decision of the Council is notchallengedwithin 30 days from the date of thedecision, theCouncil'sdecisionwill be final and binding.

The journalists and media enterprises are required to keep and maintain professional and ethical standards and at all times, comply with the journalist's code of conduct.It is the Media Council's responsibilitytoapproveandaccreditforeign journalists in Kenya.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

3.1 Research Design, Methods and Instruments

3.1.1 Research Design

In this study, the researcher adopted the research design(plan, framework or blue print specifying the methods and procedures for collecting and analyzing the needed information) of a case study. A case study is an intensive analysis and descriptionof a single unit bound by space and time (Hancock &Algozzine, 2006). The insights gleaned from this case study can used to directly influence policy, procedures and future research. (Merriam, 2001)

A case study design was appropriate for this study since the study sought to look at Radio Amani in the context in which conflicts have taken place so as to find out its contribution.

The research design was also descriptive. A descriptive research design reports findings as they are and attempts to describe such things as possible behavior, attitudes, values and characteristics. (Kothari, 2005) This research was also suitable because it was concerned with describing the characteristics of a particular individual or group of individuals.

3.1.2 Methods and Instruments

Questionnaires and interviews were used to collect data for the study. Questionnaires yielded a wide variety of useful information as they had both closed and open ended questions and they were to collect data from many and varied respondents in addition to mitigating the time constraints of the study.

Interviews were used to collect information about programming, frequency of peace programs and the challenges faced. They provided in depth and detailed data which it could not have been possibleto obtain through questionnaires. They also afforded an opportunity for the researcher to see clarification. (Mugenda & Mugenda, 1999)

3.2 Reliability and Validity

Reliability is a measure of the degree to which a research instrument yields consistent results or data after repeated trials (Mugenda & Mugenda, 1999). According to Phillips (1771), a measurement of a given phenomenon is viewed as a valid measure if it successfully measures the phenomenon. To test reliability and validity, 10 questionnaires were pretested and the responses analyzed in order to ensure clarity, ease of administration. Where it was necessary changes were made before the actual process of data collection began.

To ensure reliability and validity in the interviews, the researcher secured the willing, cooperation of the respondents. Moreover, the researcher explained the purpose of the study and what the informationwas intended for once obtained. The researcher also assured the respondents of absolute confidentiality.

3.3 Population

According to Mugenda and Mugenda (1999), a population is a complete set of individuals, cases or objects with some common observable characteristics. A target population is a universal set of the study of all members of real or hypothetical set of people, events or objects to which a researcher wishes to generalize the result.

The target population for this study was media practitioners attached to Radio Amani and other media in Nakuru, leaders in Nakuru County, other stake holders such as, civil society, NGO's, international organizations, and the general population. Nakuru County has a total population of 1, 603, 325 people of which 50.2% male and 49.8%arefemale, according to the 2009 National Census.

3.4 Sampling Techniques and Sample Size

Sampling is the process by which a relatively small number of individuals, objects or events is selected and analyzed in order to find out something about the entire population from which it has beenselected(Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999). A sample size is a selection of elements, members or units from a population. An ideal sample is one that provides a perfect representation of a population (Blaikie, 2009). The sample,for thestudyconsisted of a total of 384subjects. Theresearcher targeted media personalities drawn from Radio Amani and other

media, members of NGO's and other international organizations based in Nakuru County, County and National Government officials and members of the public.

The following sample size formula for infinite population was used to arrive at a representative number of respondents (Godden, 2004):

SS = (Z^2-p(1-p))/M^2

Where: SS= Sample Size for infinite population (more than 50,000) (n)

Z = Z value (1.96 for 95% confidence level)

p = population proportion (expressed as decimal).

M = Margin of Error at 5% (0.05)

n=(〚1.96〛 ^2×0.48(1-0.48))/ 〚0.05〛 ^2

n=(3.8416×0.2496)/0.0025

n=383.5 ~384.

Therefore, the sample size is 384 respondents. This was a representation of the total population.

Purposive sampling was used to identify respondents from the media, the government and NGO's and international organizations since these respondents hadvaluable information that could not obtained through random sampling. The members of the general population were sampled using simplerandom sampling and snowballing in order to get anunbiasedsample,withrepresentativesfrom constituencies in the county.

3.5 Data Collection

During the study, the researcher interviewed radio presenters of Radio Amani and the program producer in order to obtain data on programming schedules, durations, content and frequency, and the response of the audience. The researcher also interviewed county and leaders to obtain information on the impact of Radio Amani in Nakuru County.

The researcher also used questionnaires to collect data from the general public. Five research assistants were trained on questionnaire administration and interviewing and used to distribute questionnaires to members of the general public and to collect back them once filled.A letter of introduction from the university was used to obtain consent and cooperation from the respondents.

3.6 Research Site and Time Frame

This research was carried out in Nakuru,Nakuru County, Kenya. It was carried out between the months of January and October. Nakuru has a history of violent tribal clashes since independence in Kenya; therefore, it was a suitable place to carry out the study. It is, also the location of Radio Amani. Since many places in Kenya have experienced conflict of a nature similar to that of Nakuru, the study would generate vital data that could be generalized to those other areas, in order to find viable ways of dealing with conflict.

3.7 Data Analysis

After data had been collected, it was checked for completeness, accuracy, errors in responses, omissions and inconsistency. The statistical package for social sciences (SPSS) was used for the purpose of coding and analysis.Quantitative data was collected using questionnaires and analyzed using descriptive statistics using SPSS. The qualitative data was logically arranged into themes and presented in prose.

The information on the questionnaires wasput into categories to ensure that all the information provided by the respondents was captured. In addition, the computer program was be used to automatically generate percentages, frequency distribution tables, and graphs for the items on the questionnaire.

3.8 Scope of the Study

The research focused on the contribution of Radio Amani to conflict resolution in Nakuru County in the Rift Valley region of Kenya. It primarily focused on Nakuru because for a long time Nakuru County has been the flashpoint of frequent violent ethnic clashes, therefore, it was an ideal place to investigate what contribution the radio (Radio Amani) has made in resolving the recurrent conflict. The research was undertaken within a period of ten months.

In this work, the researcher argues that Radio makes a considerable contribution to conflict resolution in Nakuru County and that though there are a number of factors that have influenced the radio's contribution; Radio Amani continues to make a felt contribution in resolving conflict.

3.9 Limitation of the Study

Being an academic study, this research was confined to Nakuru County owing to limitations of time and resources. The researcher did not manage to interview the desired number of interviewees as some were unavailable or unwilling to grant interviews.

CHAPTER FOUR

SECTION A: DATA PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter contains an analysis of the data collected from the accessible population of this study. The data is presented in form of statistical information, graphs, charts and narratives. This chapter also presents an interpretation of the data in relation to the aims and objectives of the study.

4.1 Response Rate

The researcher distributed 382 questionnaires to respondents in Nakuru County. Out of those, a total of 350 questionnaires were returned. This represents a 92% response rate.

4.2 Demographics

4.2.2 Age

The respondents fell into the age groups of 18-20 years, 12-30 years, 31-40 years and 41 and above. The highest number of respondents was that of those of age 41 and above at 33%followedat 28% by those between 31-40 years. Those between 18-20 years were 22% while 17% were between 21-30 years.

Table 1: Age Categories of Respondents

Age category	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
18-20	78	22%	22%
21-30	60	17%	39%
31-40	98	28%	67%
41& above	114	33%	100%
Total	350	100%	

Source: Field Survey 2015

The highest number of respondents: those in the age category of 41 and above (33%) and the age category of 31-40 (28%) constituted the people most likely to be affected by conflict as they are married and who most likely live with their families in Nakuru County, and who have investments in the County. Therefore, they are most likely to bear the biggest brunt of any outbreak of violence.

Being the adults and thus in a position to influence opinion, the attitudinal predisposition of this group towards conflict and therefore, conflict resolution initiatives was important in revealing the influence of radio and its contribution to conflict resolution. They were thus very likely to take a lot of interest in radio programming geared towards peace building.

Those between the agecategoriesof 18-30 who constituteda cumulative percentage of 39% were most likely to take part in violence should conflict arise. They were therefore a very appropriate target for radio's peace programs.

4.2.3 Gender

In terms of gender, out of all the respondents, the male respondents constituted the bigger number at 53% while 47% were female.

Figure 1 : Gender Distribution of Respondents by Age Categories
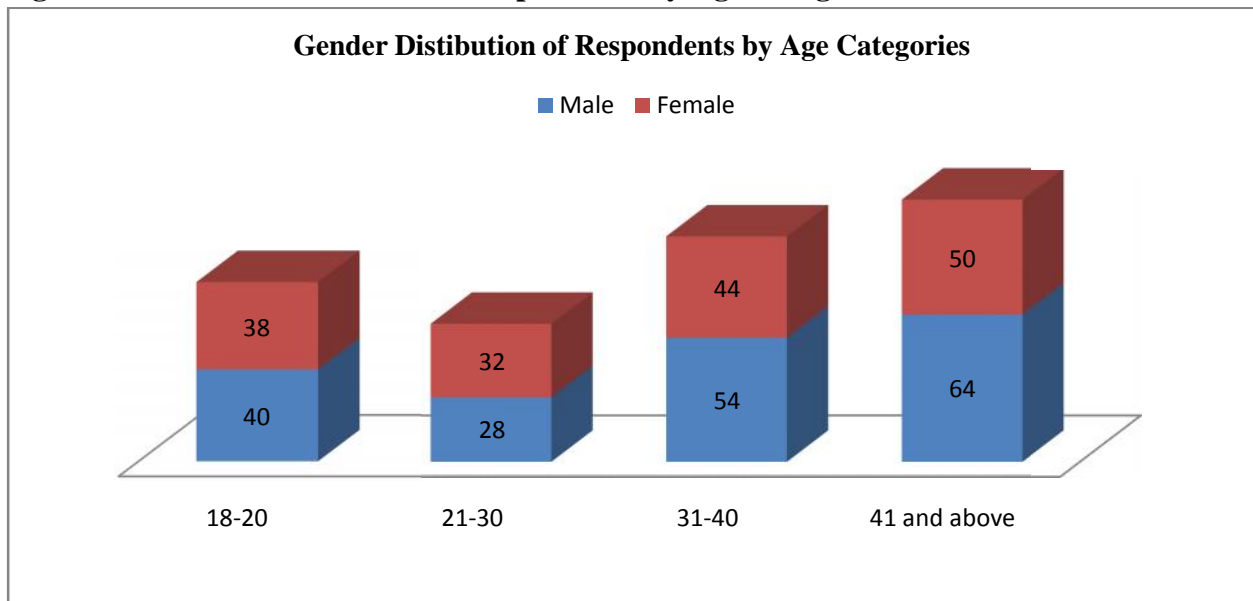
Source: Field Survey 2015

That almost half of the respondents (47%) were women is significant. Whenever violent conflict breaks out, women in most cases bear the biggest brunt. For this reason, their disposition and response towards peace building initiatives was vital in understanding the contribution of radio to conflict resolution.

On the other hand, men are often more involved in conflict more than women, either directly or indirectly. The fact that the gender composition of the respondents is almost balanced reflects the reality that conflict affects all people and therefore, radio peace programs should target all people.

4.2.4 Marital Status

Out of all the respondents in the survey, those that were married constituted 53% while those that were single constituted 47%.

Figure 2: Distribution of Respondents by Marital Status
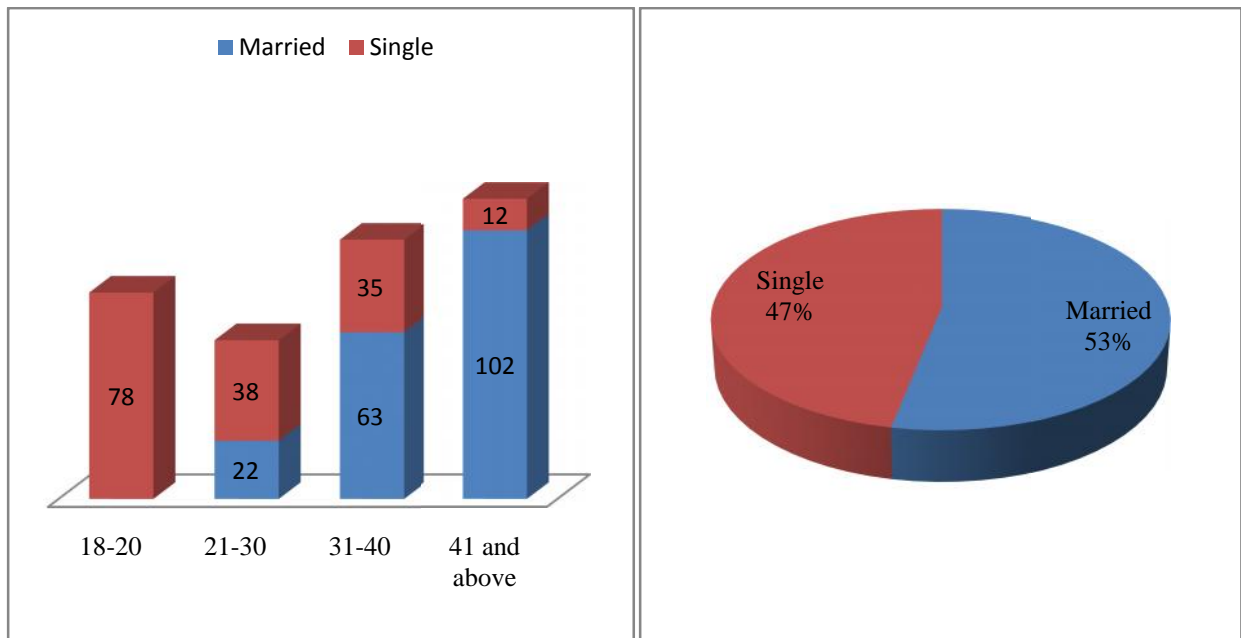
Source: Field Survey 2015

The largest numbers of respondents, (57%) are married and have therefore, most likely settled in Nakuru County. Conflict would affect this group very adversely leading to loss of property and displacement from their homes; therefore, they have a big interest in issues of conflict resolution.

Radio peace programs are likely to appeal to them more than those who are not married. Their attitudes and response towards conflict resolution efforts by radio through peace programs is crucial in determining the contribution of radio to conflict resolution.

Those who are single, also a significant percentage at 47%, have as big an interest in conflict resolution. Most respondents in this group are students and any outbreak of violent conflict would affect their studies; moreover,being the youth, those in this category are most likely to take part in violence. Their views regarding Radio Amani's peace programs wouldprovide very valuable insights into the contribution of radio peace programming in conflict resolution.

4.2.5 Occupation

The highest number of respondents, 34%, had formal employment; 30% were informally employed, 11% were self employed while 12% were students. Many of the respondents, therefore, were literate and they had formal education.

Figure 3 : Pie Chart Occupation of Respondents
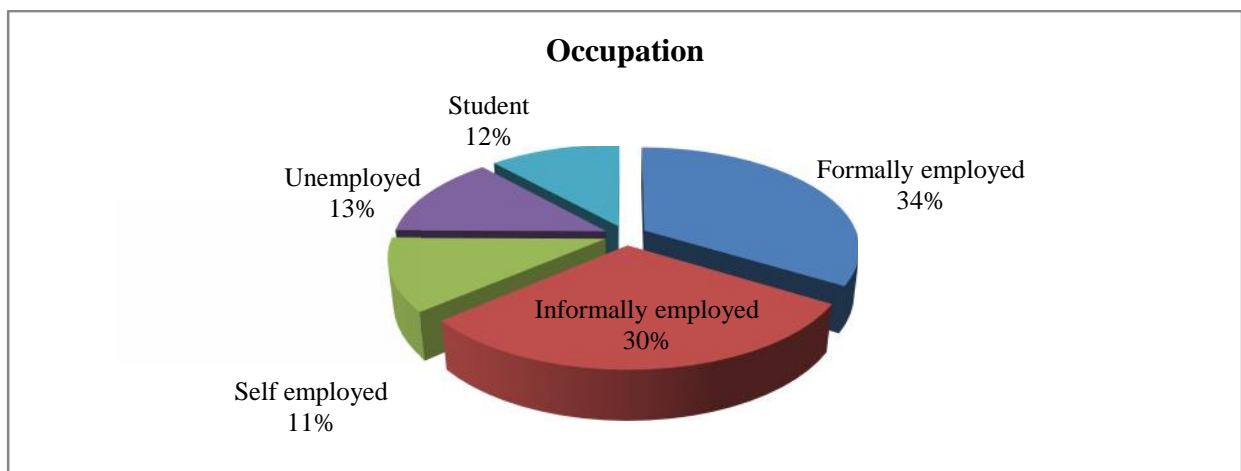
Source: Field Survey 2015

The fact that the highest number of the respondents of this study had formal employment (34%) and informal employment (30%) means that they have adequate levels of literacy and they could provide reliable information since they were most likely to have a better understanding of issues surrounding radio and conflict resolution.

Since they are engaged at work most of the day, they do not listen to radio except in the evening, the time during which Radio Amani's peace program is aired,andduring the mornings. However, since, conflict is likely to have a direct impact on their source of livelihood; theyhave an interest in issues of conflict and peace building.This is also true of the 11% that are self employed. Both are therefore, likely to give valuable information on the influence of radio on conflict resolution and peace building.

Those who are unemployed have all the time to listen to radio. They are also the most likely to engage in conflict by virtue of not being engaged in any meaningful economic activity. They are an appropriate target of Radio peace programs. Their attitude towards Radio Amani's peace program is valuable in assessing the outcome of the program in terms of conflict de-escalation. On the other hand the 12% who are students do not listen to radio much; therefore, they are likely to have little information on the influence of radio on conflict resolution.

4.3Distribution of Respondents per Constituency

The study involved respondents from all the eleven constituencies of Nakuru County. Nakuru East had the highest number of respondents at 15% followed by Nakuru West which had 14% of the respondents. Naivasha constituency accounted for 3% of the respondents while Molo accounted for 12% of the respondents. Bahati constituency had 11%; Gilgil had 4% while Njoro constituency constituted 13% of the respondents. Subukia constituency had 9% while Rongai had 13%. Kuresoi North and Kuresoi South constituencies each accounted for 3% of the respondents.

Thus, from the percentages, each of the eleven constituencies of Nakuru County was fairly well represented.

Figure 4 : Pie Chart on Distribution of Respondents per Constituency

Distribution of Respondents per Constitiuency
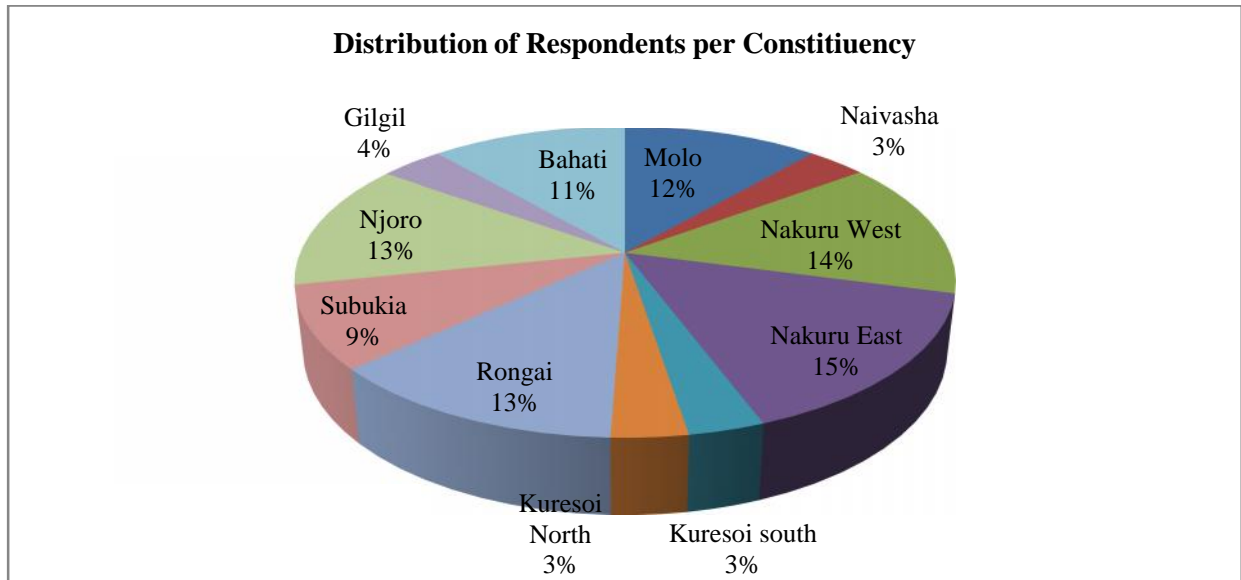
Source: Field Survey 2015

The fact that there were respondents from each constituency, means that the results of the study can be loosely generalized to the whole County; furthermore, it means that the influence of radio, particularly Radio Amani, on the frequency and intensity of conflict can be determined as well as its contribution to conflict resolution.

It would also be possible to examine the attitudes and perceptions that influence the extent to which people trust and regard radio as a tool of conflict resolution and peace building in Nakuru County.

4.4 Listenership of Radio in Nakuru County

The researcher found out that 94% of the respondents listened to radio while 6% do not. Therefore, listenership of radio in Nakuru County is high. This shows that radio is a very appropriate medium of communicating peace messages and an apt instrument of conflict resolution during the actual conflict and peace building during the post conflict period.

The fact that radio is so popular in Nakuru County means that even those who do not deliberately and actively listen to radio may sometimes find themselves in circumstances where

there is radio for instance in public transport, restaurants or some places of work, therefore they also listen to radio.

Figure 5 : Pie chart 6 on Listenership of Radio in Nakuru County

Listenership of Radio in Nakuru County

Do not listen
6%

Listen to Radio
94%
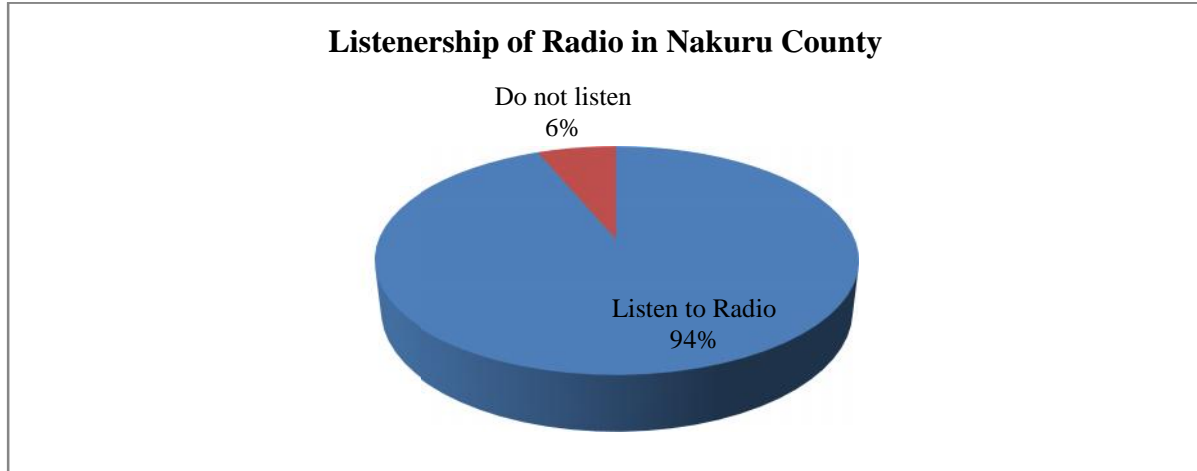
Source: Field Survey 2015

It was found that, in terms of preference KBC, Radio Citizen, Classic FM andKamemeFMare the most popular Radio stations in Nakuru County. 12% prefer KBC, 12% prefer Radio Citizen, 10% prefer Classic FM and 10% prefer Kameme FM. It also emerged that 9% prefer Capital FM, 7% Radio Amani, 6%Inooro FM and 6%MileleFM.Kiss 100 FMis preferred by 6%, Coro FM 5% and Kass FM 5% and Radio Jambo5%. The researcher also found out that Nation FM is preferred by 4% while 3% prefer other Radio Stations.

From this, it is evident that Radio Amani is one of the most popular and preferred radio stations in Nakuru County The fact that such a high number of people listen to radio means that radio, due to the liberalization of the airwaves, iseasily accessible; moreover, it shows that the media if used appropriately, is a very powerful medium of disseminating peace messages in times of conflict and during the post conflict period. The findings also show that, inadvertently, other radio stations have had an impact in terms of conflict resolution and peace building through programs that involve calling in and in news broadcasts.

Figure 6 : Pie chart 7 Preference of Radio Stations in Nakuru County

Preference of Radio Stations in Nakuru County

Radio Amani 7%
Others 3%
Radio Citizen 12%
Kass FM 5%
classic FM 10%
Kiss 100 FM 6%
Capital 9%
KBC 12%
Nation FM 4%
Kameme 10%
Inooro FM 6%
Milele FM 6%
Coro FM 5%
Radio Jambo 5%
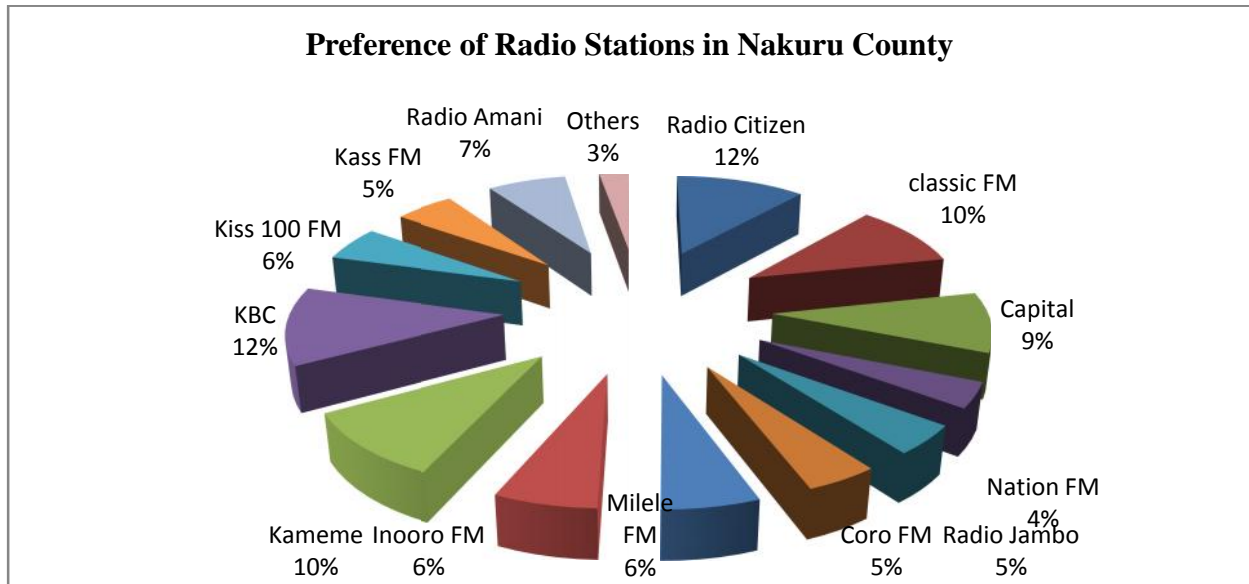
Source: Field Survey 2015

4.5 Listenership of Radio Amani in Nakuru County

The study found out that despite the fact that many of the respondents had specific radio stations they preferred most, 51% of the total respondents had listened to or listened to Radio Amani while 49% did not.According to the Radio programming manager and presenters of Radio Amani, the station broadcasts over a span of 100 kilometre radius from Nakuru town.

Figure 7 : Pie Chart Showing Listenership of Radio Amani in Nakuru County

Listenership of Radio Amani in Nakuru County

Dont listen to RadioAmani 49%
Listento Radio Amani 51%
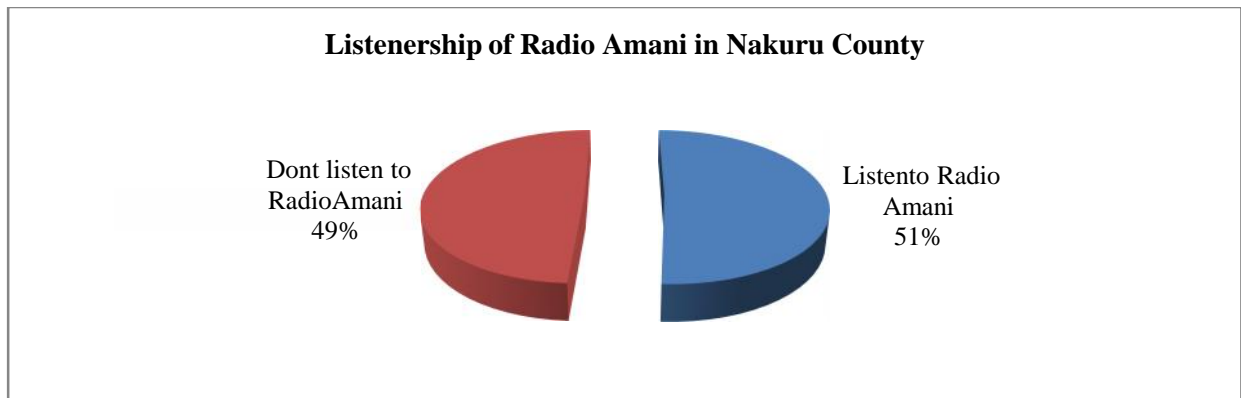
Source: Field Survey 2015

This means that Radio Amani is very popular in Nakuru County. Furthermore, in addition to being popular, Radio Amani's programs resonate with the needs of its audience. The study also shows that Radio Amani reaches a big percentage of the people in Nakuru County through its peace programs. Thus many people have at one time or the other listened to peace and conflict resolution programs by Radio Amani.

4.6 Distribution of Listeners of Radio Amani per Constituency

A comparative analysis of Radio Amani's listenership across the eleven constituencies revealed that the constituencies with the highest number of listeners were Nakuru East with 17%, Molo with 16%, Bahatiwith 14% and Nakuru West with 12%. Rongai accounted for 9%, while Njoro accounted for 9% and Subukia 8%. The constituencies with the lowest number of listeners were Gilgil with 5%, Naivasha 4% and Kuresoi South and Kuresoi North each with 3%.

Figure 8: Pie Chart 9 Showing Distribution of Radio Amani per Constituency in Nakuru County
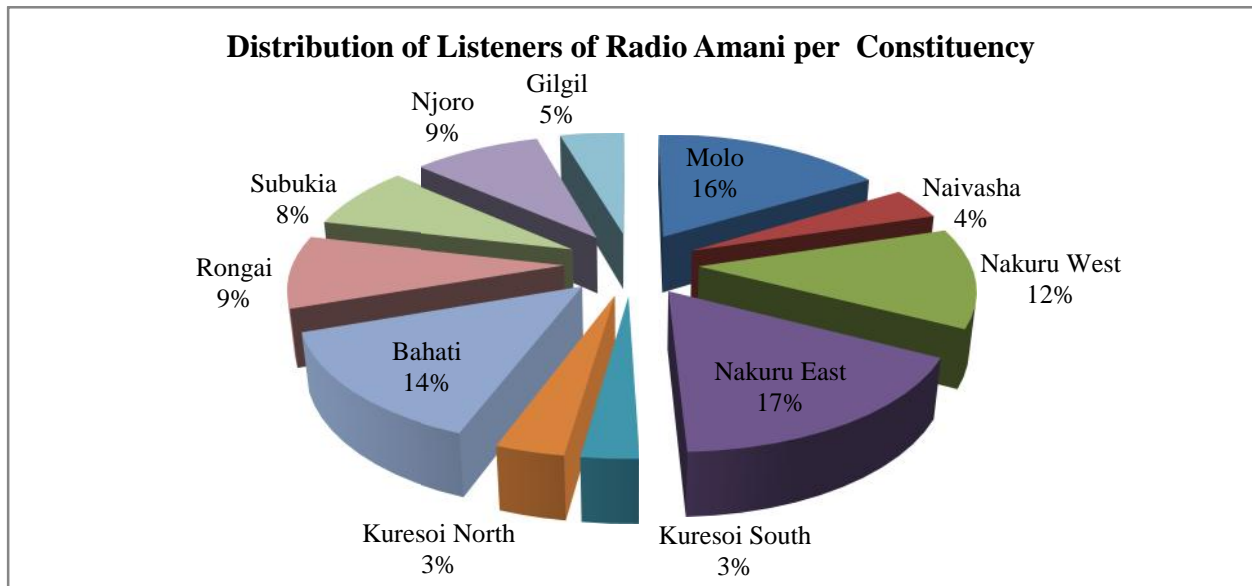
Source: Field Survey 2015

4.7 Time at Which Respondents Listen to Radio Amani

The study found out that the largest number of those that listen to Radio Amani, 56%, do so between 7pm and 10 pm. 28% listened to Radio Amani between 6 am and 10 am while the least number of respondents listened to radio between 10 am and 6 pm. 9% listen to Radio Amani between 10 am and 1 pm while 7% listen between 1 pm and 6pm. From the findings of this study, the audience of Radio Amani spans the entire County of Nakuru. The constituencies of Kuresoi North, Kuresoi South, and Naivasha; which have for long been the hotspots of violent conflict in Nakuru County, and Gilgil, have the lowest number of listeners. This is, firstly, because of their distance from Nakuru town; secondly because those listeners who are not Catholic may have a negative attitude towards Radio Amani, being Catholic owned station and also because they possibly view Radio Amani as a business and one of the many Radio stations rather than as a media station that has the potential to make a positive intervention in issues of conflict; thirdly because the reach of Radio Amani in terms of broadcast and reception may not be as good as in those areas surrounding Nakuru town and lastly, because many people in those remote areas may not actually be aware of the existence of Radio Amani or even its peace programs.

Figure 9 : Pie Chart Showing the Time at Which Respondents Listen To Radio Amani
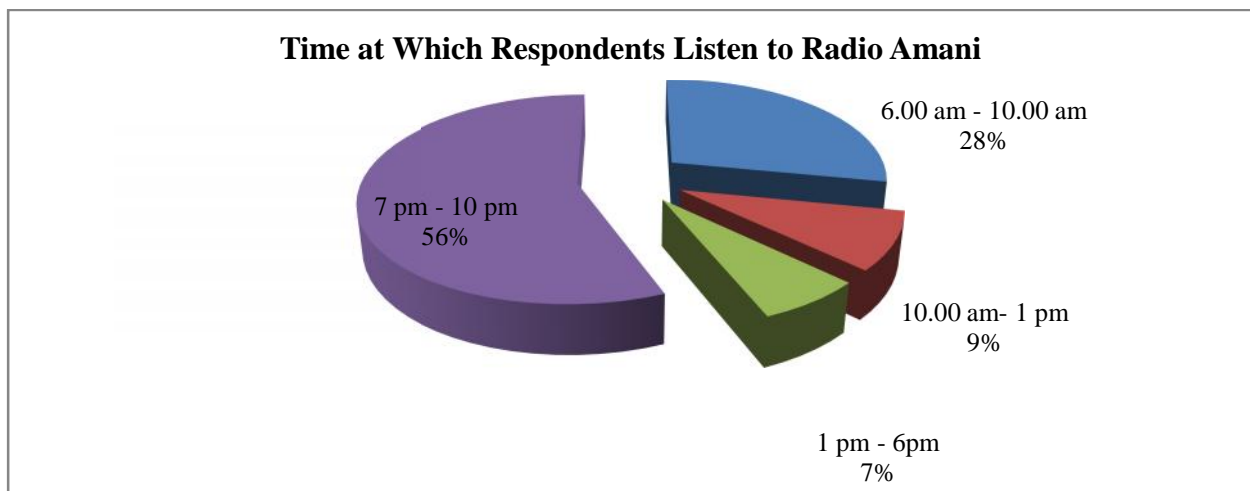
Source: Field Survey 2015

The fact that the largest percentage of the respondents listen to Radio Amani in the morning and evening hours is because many of the listeners are engaged in economic activities during the day. A total of 75% either are formally employed, informally employed or self employed hence they may not actually find time to listen to radio during the day.

4.8 Preference of Programs on Radio Amani

The researcher found out that out of those who listen to Radio Amani, the number of those who listen to news are 32% while those who listen to peace programs are 31%. It was found out that 23% listen to music on Radio Amani, 8% listen to religious programs while 6% listen to talk shows. The number of those that listen to news was almost equal to the number of those who listened to peace programs. News, peace programs and music were clearly the most preferred programs on Radio Amani. Thus Radio Amani meets the main audience needs of information and entertainment.

Figure 10 : Pie Chart Showing Preference of Programs on Radio Amani
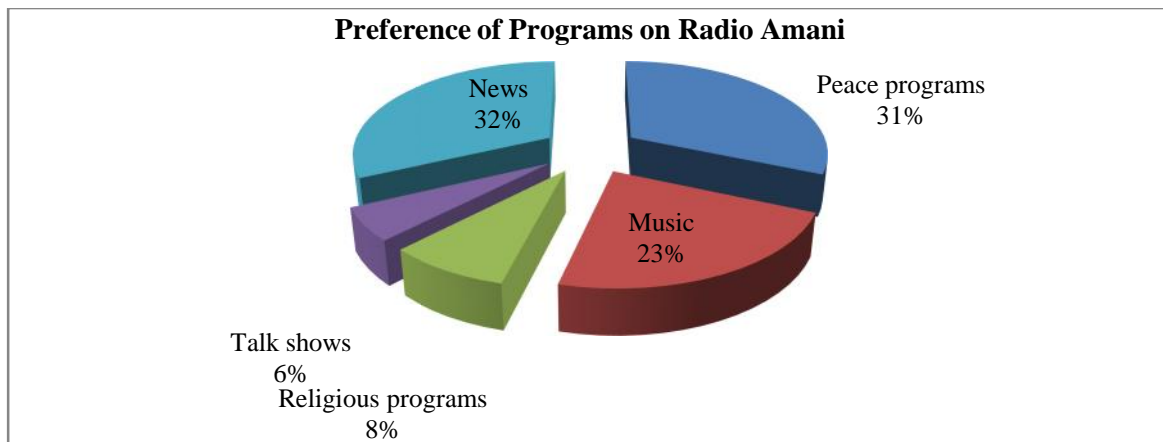
Source: Field Survey 2015

This implies that news, peace programs and music have one thing in common: they all contain an aspect of peace messages. In news bulletins, the government articulates policies to do with security and peace, furthermore, various county and national leadersarticulate peace messages.

Being a catholic owned station, Radio Amani plays a lot of gospel music, which in line with Christian teachings by its very nature together with the religious programs, reinforces peace and cohesion. Talk shows are the least listened to because most people are at work during the day when the programs are aired.

4.9 Intervention of Radio Amani in Conflict Resolution

On the question of whether Radio Amani has a program or programs that promote conflict resolution and peace or not, 51% of all the respondents answered affirmatively while 49% were not sure.County leaders, who were interviewed, said that indeed Radio Amani has a peace program aired weekly

Figure 2 : Pie Chart Showing Whether Radio Amani Programs Promote Conflict Resolution
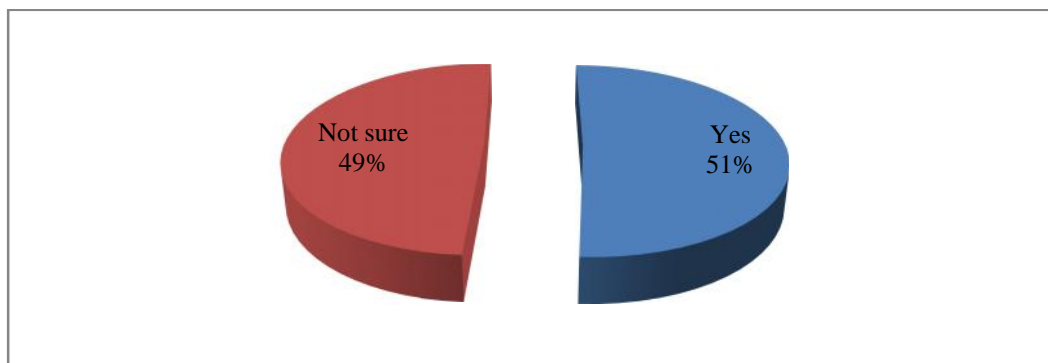
Source: Field Survey 2015

All the 51% who listened to Radio Amani were able to identify the peace program as 'Haki na Amani.Indeed, media personnel from Radio Amani who were interviewed said that Radio Amani has a peace program that is broadcast for one hour and it is aired from 8.00 pm. The program is sponsored by The Catholic Justice and Peace Commission and The Catholic Diocese of Nakuru. According to the interviewees, the program targets the general audience and it is intended to promote peace and harmonious coexistence among local communities.This is a clear indication that media, and particularly Radio Amani, makes an intervention in issues of conflict and specifically in Nakuru County being a hotspot of violent conflict. Thus the Catholic Church is a major stakeholder in issues of peace in Nakuru County.

4.10 Outcomes of Radio Amani's intervention: Frequency and Intensity of Conflict

Regarding the question of whether the peace programs aired by Radio Amani had contributed to the reduction the frequency of conflict in Nakuru, 50% of the respondents said that the peace programs had helped reduce frequency of conflicts in Nakuru while 14% felt it hadn't. A further 36% said they were not sure whether such programs helped reduce frequency of conflicts in Nakuru or not.

Figure 12 : Pie Chart on Radio Amani's Contribution to the Reduction of the Frequency of Conflict
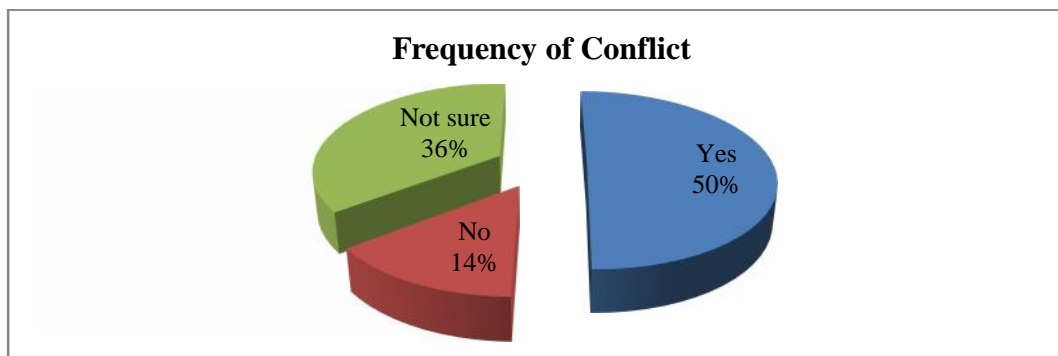
Source: Field Survey 2015

On whether peace programs by Radio Amanicontributed to the de-escalation of conflicts in Nakuru or not, 49% said that Radio Amani had contributed to the de-escalation of conflict, 18% felt that it hadn't,while 33% were not sure.

Figure 3 : Pie Chart on Radio Amani's Contribution to the De-Escalation of Conflict
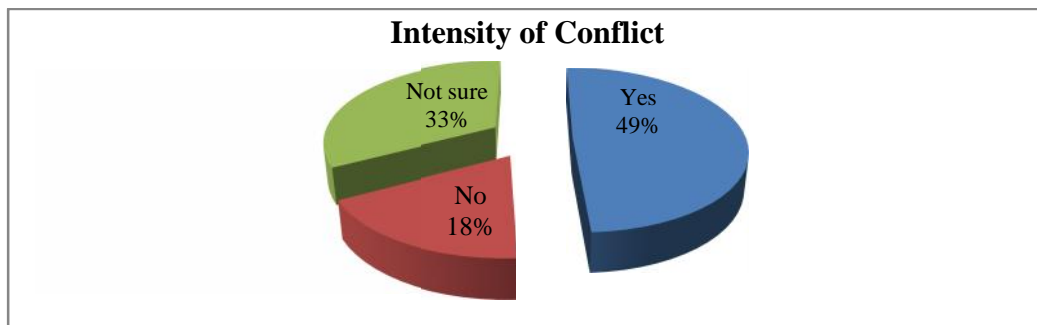
Source: Field Survey 2015

Radio Amani personnel interviewed said that Radio Amani's peace programs have led to the containment of the violence witnessed in 2007/08. Furthermore, conflict hotspots are now peaceful and people are now engaged in economic ventures. County leaders interviewed said Radio Amani has provided a forum for constructive dialogue on peace amongst the warring communities and the peace programs have complemented government efforts to promote peaceful co-existence contrary to the belief that media fuels conflict. The fact that half of the respondents felt that Radio Amani has helped reduce the frequency and intensity of conflict in Nakuru County shows that media,when positively harnessed, significantly contributes to conflict resolution and peace building. Those who are not sure of the contribution of Radio Amani to conflict resolution constitute a significant portion; however, the fact that they have a negative view of Radio Amani's contribution to peace building is itself an indicator that Radio Amani does make an important contribution to conflict resolution.Those that do not think Radio Amani has made any contribution are most likely those who do not listen to Radio Amani and therefore, they neither understand the relationship between media and conflict resolution norbelieve that media has the ability to intervene in matters of conflict.

4.11 Ownership and Conflict Resolution

Of all the respondents, 56% knew the owner of Radio Amani, 29% didn't know while 15% were not sure. On the issue of whether the ownership of Radio Amani had any influence on the Radio's reporting and promotion of conflict resolution or not, 28% said it has an influence, 57% said it has no influence while 15% were not sure whether ownership has an influence or not.

Figure 4 : Pie Chart on the Influence of Ownership on Peace Programming
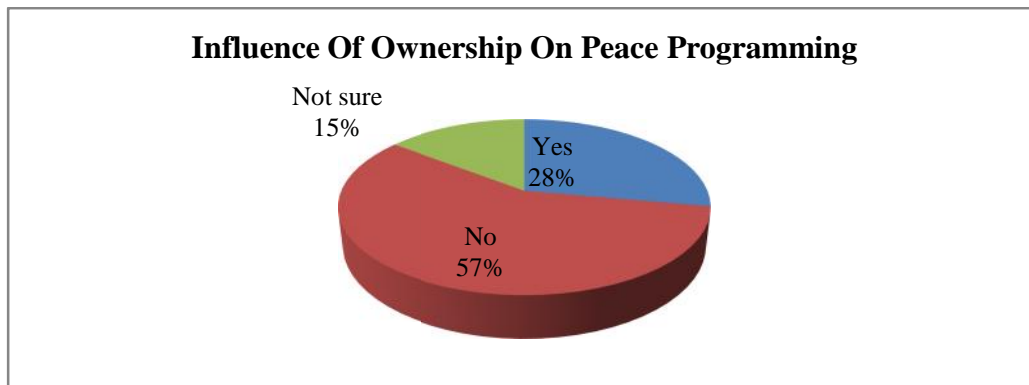
Source: Field Survey 2015

The largest percentage, 54% of those who felt that the ownership of Radio Amani influences it programming regarding conflict and peace building, said that the owners of Radio Amanideterminethecontent and frequency of the peace programs. 26% were of the view that business considerations influence peace programming since the station is a business. 20% felt that the station is run according to the dictates of the ownership.

Figure 5 : Pie Chart on the Influence of Ownership on Peace Programming

How Ownership Influences Peace Programming

Business considerations **26%**

Ownership determines how the station is run **20%**

Content and frequency of peace programs. **54%**
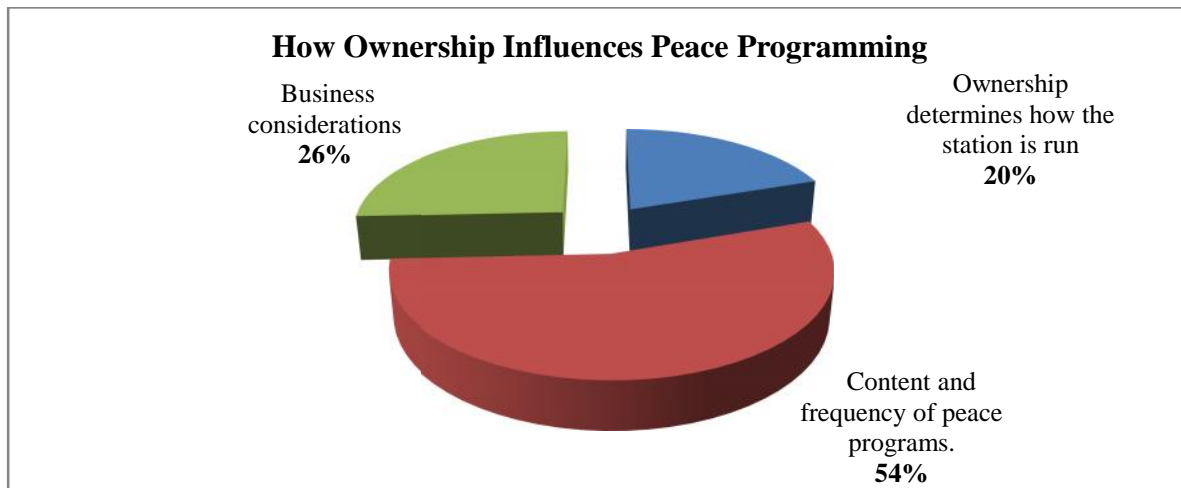
Source: Field Survey 2015

According to the employees of Radio Amani who were interviewed, the fact that Radio Amani is owned by the Catholic Church has led to a negative perception of the station and its programs by a section of its audience especially those who are non-Catholics and who feel the station's programs lean heavily towards Catholic Doctrines. However, County leaders who were interviewed felt that the ownership of Radio Amani did not have any major influence on its peace initiatives. In their opinion, it has in fact made it appear as a neutral arbiter in issues of conflict. Similarly, interviewees from the NGO's that involved in peace initiatives felt that the fact that Radio Amani is Catholic owned has favoured it enabled it to act as a neutral arbiter in conflict issues.

From this it is clear that ownership has a big influence on Radio Amani's peace programming. The fact that the Catholic Church is a stakeholder in peace issues in Nakuru County and the owner of Radio Amani makes it to sponsor Radio Amani's peace programs. It is significant

thatthere is a convergenceof interest between the ownership, the government and the public: the need for conflict resolution and peace building. Also influences the perception the public has of Radio Amani's peace program. 20%, probably non-Catholics,felt the station is run according to the dictates of the ownership, thus the stations programs are seen as conforming to Catholic doctrines.

4.12 Media Regulation and Conflict Resolution

The researcher established that only 32% of the respondents were aware of specific regulations put in place to control the media while 68% per cent, though aware of government regulation of the media, could not point out any specific ones.

Figure 6 : Pie Chart on Awareness of Media Regulation by Government

Awareness of Media Regulation by the Government

Aware
32%

Not aware
68%
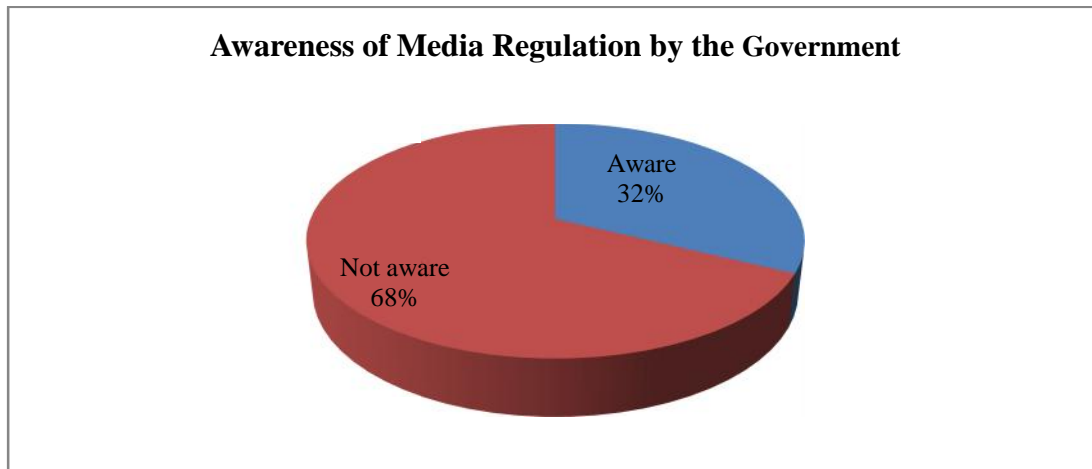
Source: Field Survey 2015

The findings show that a large percentage of the people in Nakuru County lack awareness of the regulation of the Media by the government. Therefore, they lack an understanding of the relationship between regulation, media programming and broadcasting.

Of those who had knowledge of government regulation of the media, 40% were aware that there is a code of ethics that guides the conduct of media practitioners, 14% were aware that there is a

media act that regulates media operations in Kenya, 20% knew that journalists may face stiff penalties for breaching provisions of the Media Act and their code of ethics. 26% knew that are strict guidelines on what the media may air. Clearly even among those respondents who have formal education, particularly those in employment and business as well as those in college or university; there is limited awareness of media regulation.

Figure 7 : Pie Chart on How Government Regulates Media
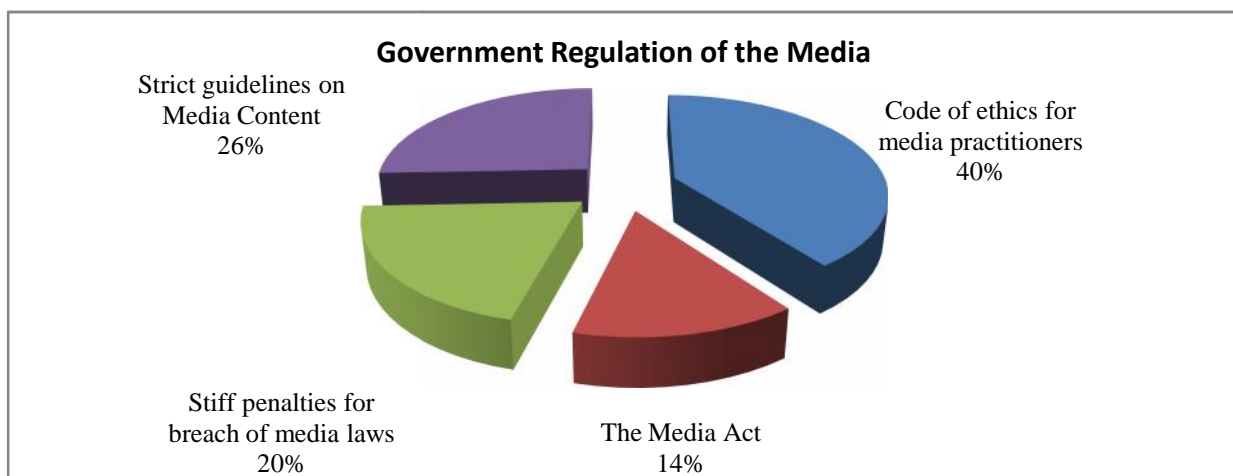
Source: Field Survey 2015

Regarding the severity government regulation of the media, 31% of the respondents felt that the government regulation was too stringent, 28% felt that regulation was too relaxed while a larger percentage, 61% were not sure. That such a big percentage felt that media laws are too relaxed can be attributed to the lack awareness of how regulation affects the media and what the function of regulation is. This shows that media awareness campaigns are necessary not only to create awareness of media roles in society but also to bridge the gap between audiences and media organizations as a way of fostering closer cooperation between the two in addressing conflict issues.

Figure 8 : Pie Chart on Chart on the Severity of Media Regulation

Severity of Regulation

- Too stringent 31%
- Too relaxed 8%
- Not sure 61%
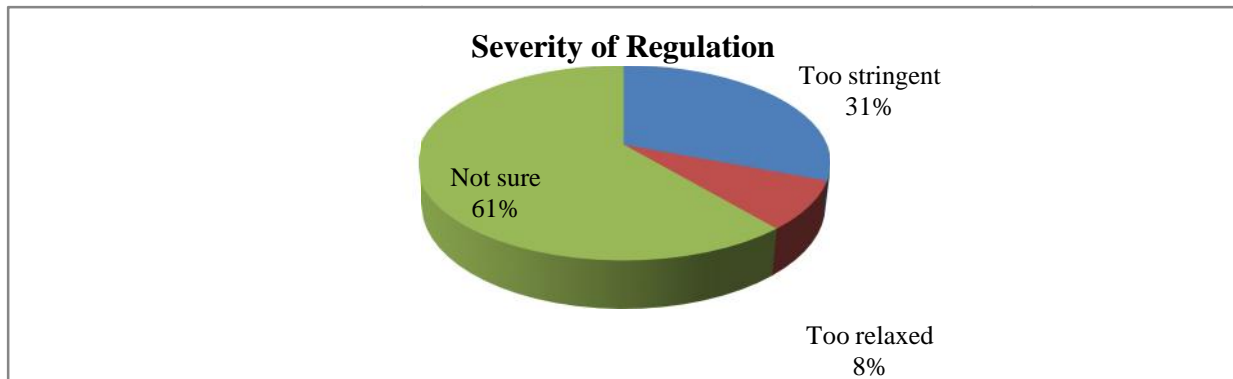
Source: Field Survey 2015

4.13 The Influence of Regulation on the Reporting of Conflict and Peace Programs

On whether strict regulation by the government hindered Radio Amani's efforts in peace building and conflict resolution, 30% felt that regulation hindered Radio Amani's efforts, 16% felt that regulation by government has promoted Radio Amani's efforts while 54% were not sure.

Figure 9:The effect of Media Regulation

The Effect of Media Regulation

- Hinders 30%
- Promotes 16%
- Not sure 54%
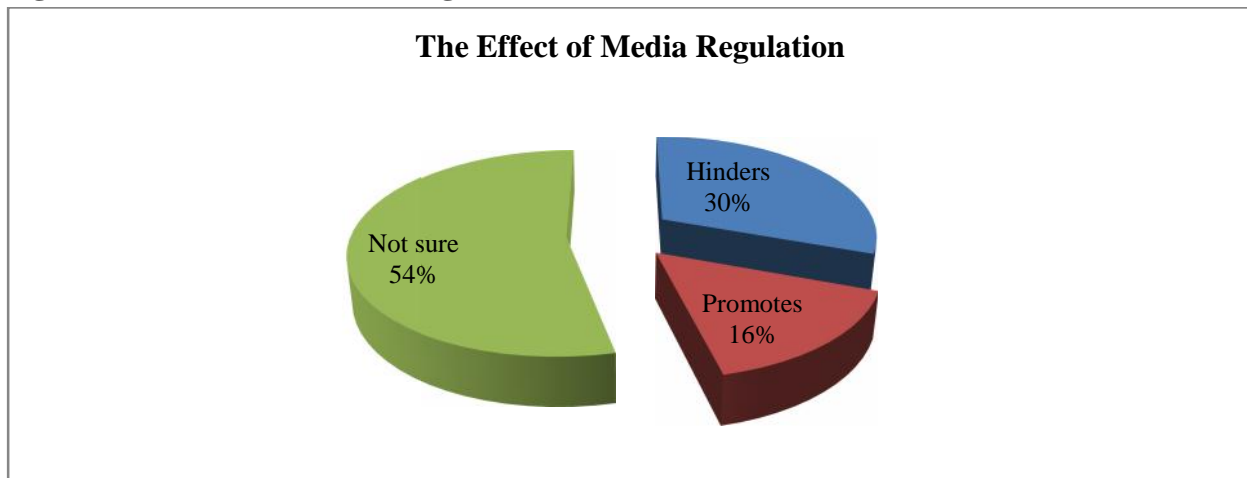
Source: Field Survey 2015

Those who felt that government regulation is a hindrance to Radio Amani identified five main ways in which regulation is a hindrance to the Radio's efforts.16% felt that regulation created the

fear of being victimized and being given stiff penalties amongst the owners and staff of Radio Amani.20% felt that regulation curtails media freedom. 18% felt that Radio Amani cannot handle sensitive issues of conflict because of media regulation.27% said that regulation gagged Radio Amani while 19% were of the view that the core issues in conflict were not being dealt with by Radio Amani because of media regulation.

Figure 2010:Pie Chart on How regulation Hinders Radio Amani
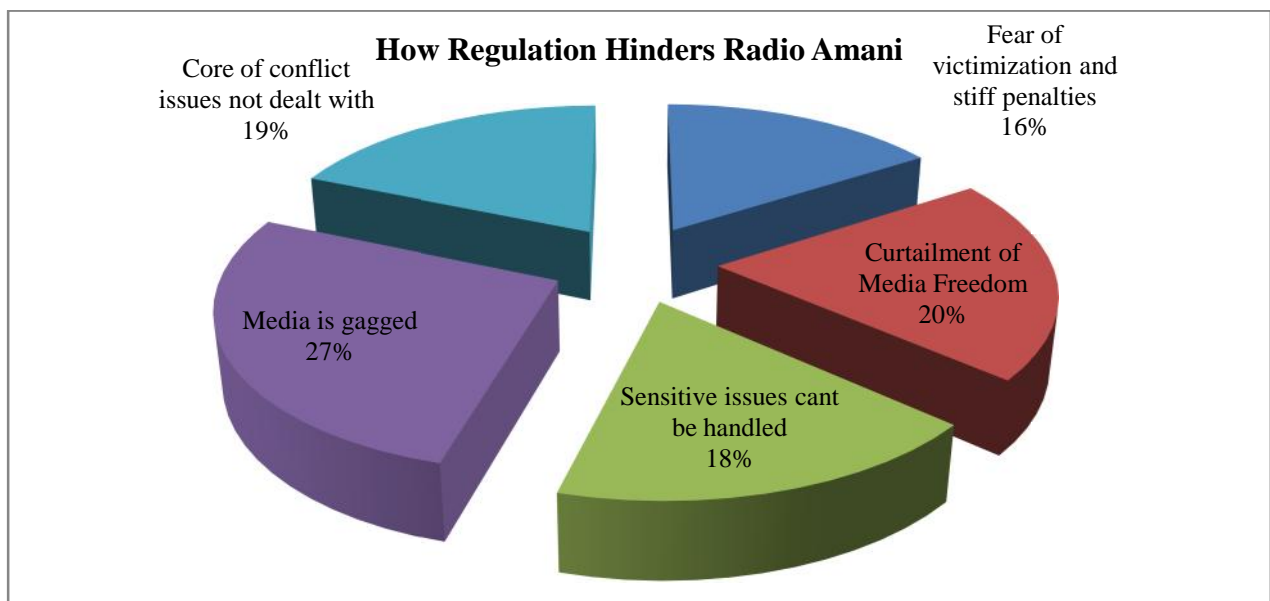
Source: Field Survey 2015

On the part of those who felt that government regulation promotes Radio Amani's efforts in conflict resolution, 35% said that regulation would make Radio Amani report and address conflict issues in a more sensitive manner with regard to its audience. 31% said that with regulation Radio Amani would be more objective and fair in handling conflict issues. 11% felt that it would lead to balanced coverage of conflict by the Radio. 9% felt that it would enhance professionalism. Radio Amani personnel who were interviewed said that government regulation has not affected Radio Amani's efforts to advocate for conflict resolution or it airing of peace

programs. This they said is because peace is a core concern of the government and it welcomes any efforts geared towards promoting peace and cohesion.

Figure 21: How Regulation Promotes Radio Amani's Conflict Resolution Efforts
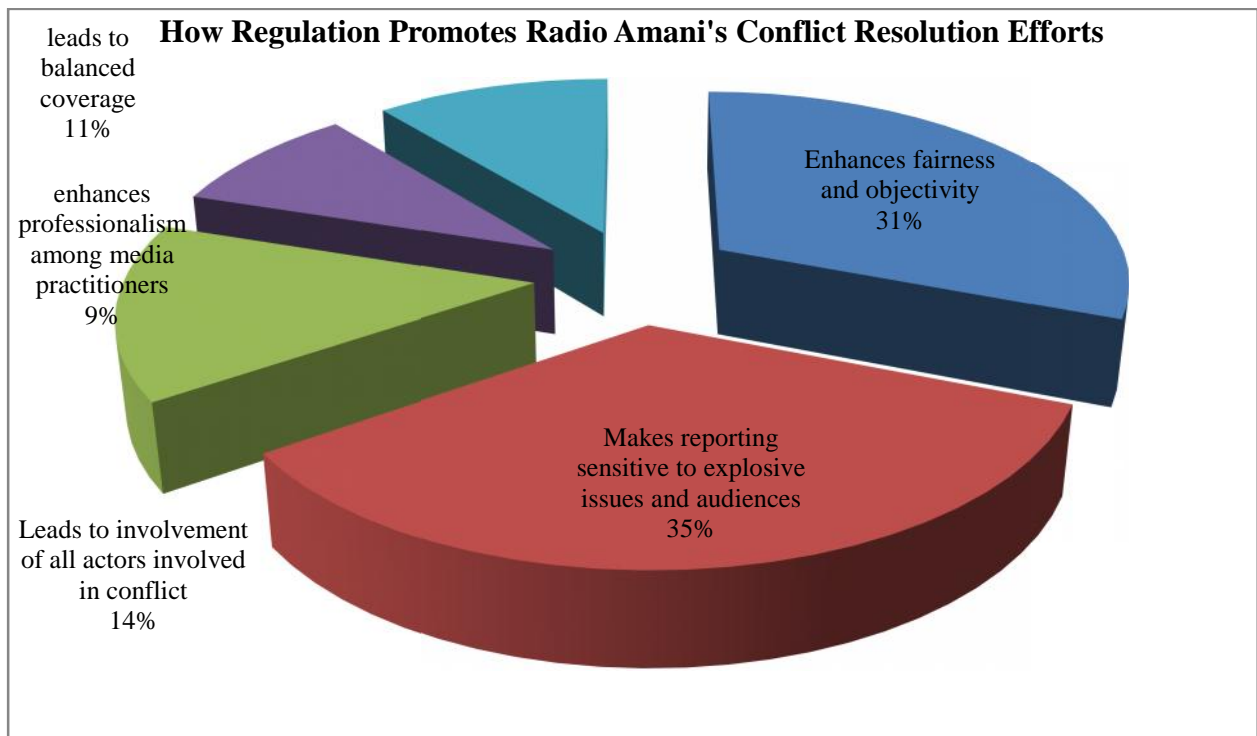
Source: Field Survey 2015

On whether government regulation of has influenced the frequency of Radio Amani's peace and conflict resolution programs, 60% of the respondents said they were not sure while 32% felt that government regulation decreased the frequency of such programs. A further 8% felt that such regulations increased the frequency of such programs.

Figure 11 : Regulation and Frequency of Peace Programs by Radio Amani

Regulation and Frequency of Peace Programs by Radio Amani
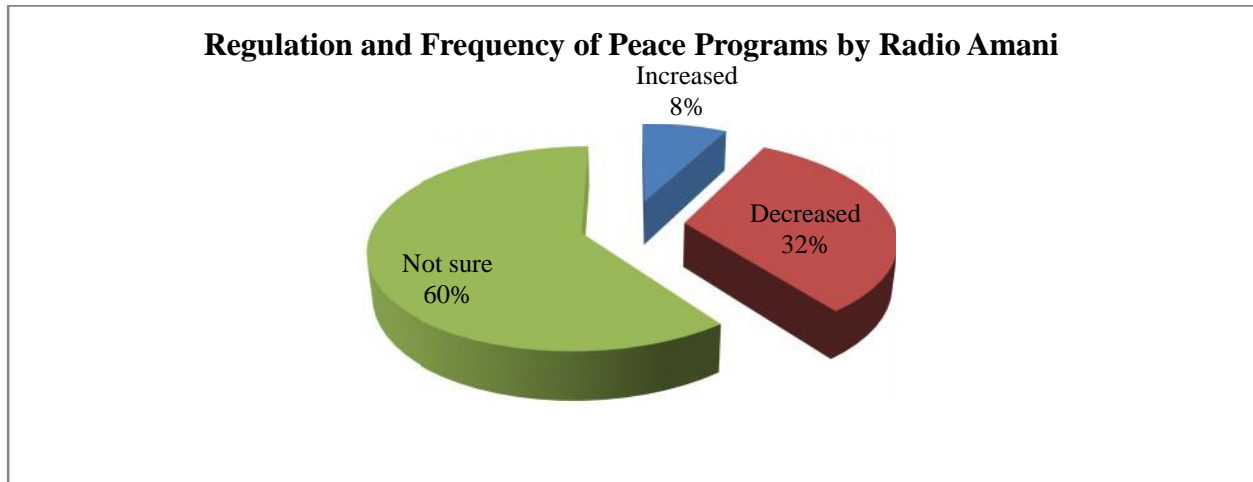
Source: Field Survey 2015

With regard to the influence of government regulation of media on peace and conflict programs, the researcher sought to find out whether such regulations influenced the attention given to peace and conflict resolution issues by Radio Amani. Of all the respondents, 60% said they were not sure if regulation had any influence while 33% felt that government regulation decreased the attention given to issues of conflict resolution and peace. A further 7% felt that such regulation increased the attention given to such issues.

Figure 12 : Regulation and Attention to Conflict issues by Radio Amani

Regulation and Attention to Conflict issues by Radio Amani
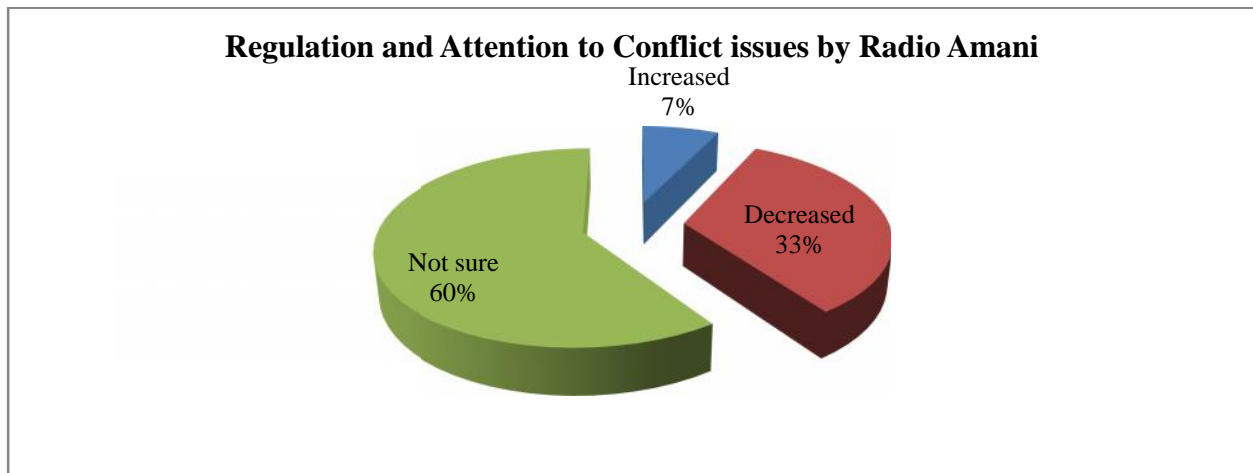
Source: Field Survey 2015

These findings indicate that regulation influences the extent and depth to which media can address issues of conflict both during and the post conflict periods. The fact that journalists and media owners face the risk of being fined heavily or even shut down is a hindrance in dealing with core conflict issues.

They also reveal the fact that many people in Nakuru County lack knowledge of how regulation affects media programming. Moreover it shows the limited understanding of media regulation itself. While a small percentage (32%), are aware of the negative impact regulation can have on media programming, the majority are either not aware at all (60%) or they have a very little understanding of such regulation (8%).

4.14 Hindrances Faced by Radio Amani

On the question of whether Radio Amani faced any hindrances in advocating for conflict resolution, 25% answered affirmatively while 27% felt that the Radio did not face any challenges. 48% were not sure.

Figure 13 : Pie chart showing whether Radio Amani is faced with Hindrances

Pie chart showing whether Radio Amani is Faced with Hindrances
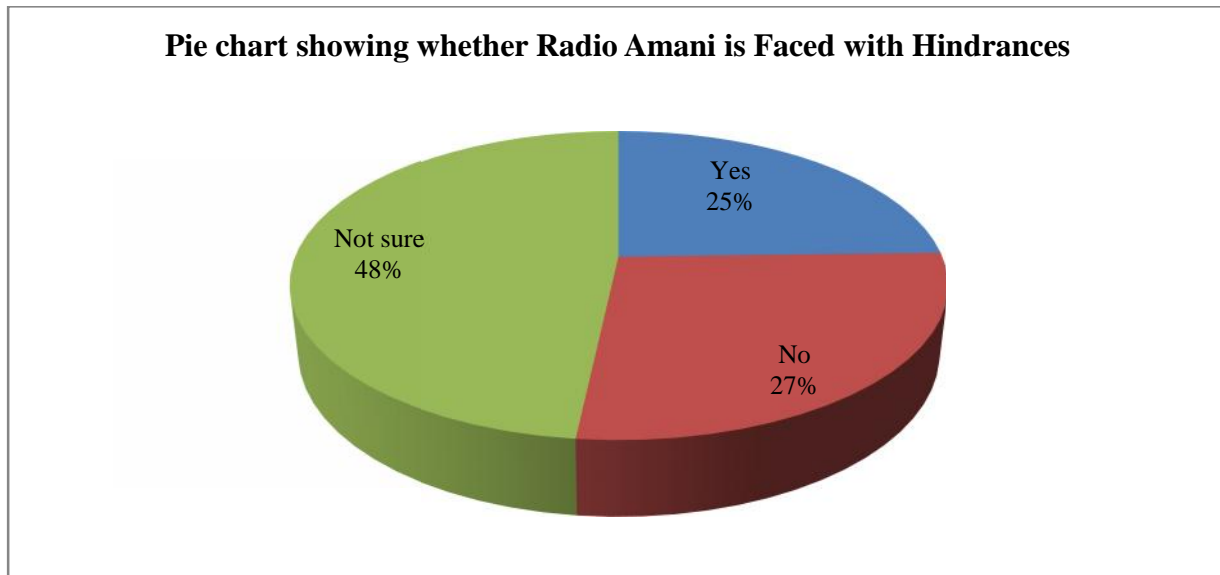
Source: Field Survey 2015

Of those who said that Radio Amani faces hindrances. 26% were of the opinion that the biggest challenge was lack of funding, 26% felt that the main challenges faced by Radio Amani were those of technology, infrastructure and reach. 21% felt that ethnicity and negative attitudes from the audiences of Radio Amani stood in the Radio's way in so far as promoting conflict resolution and peace were concerned. 10% cited personnel problems while a further 10% pointed out that a part of its potential audience were unaware of the Radio's existence as well as its peace program. 7% cited failure by Radio Amani to partner with the government and other stakeholders to promote conflict resolution and peace building.

Figure 14 : Hindrances faced by Radio Amani
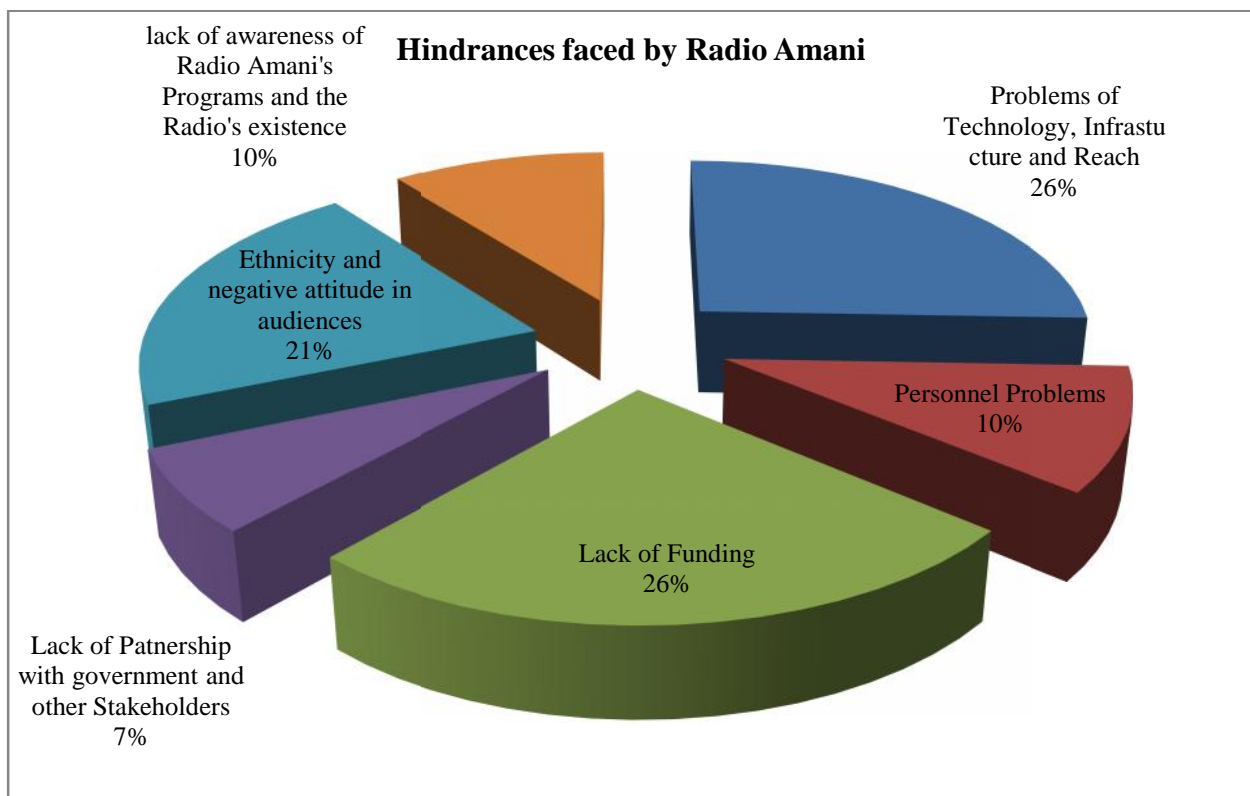
Source: Field Survey 2015

Media practitioners interviewed said that the biggest problem facing Radio Amani in promoting peace and cohesion in Nakuru County is lack of adequate funding. This has made it hard for them to report on conflict in remote areas. In addition they cited high staff turnover, technological challenges as well as lack of adequate equipment.

57

County government officials interviewed, felt that if there are any challenges facing Radio Amani in promoting conflict, they are minimal. They added that communities are the owners of peace and living harmoniously is a choice for them to make.

From the findings, it emerges that, firstly; there is little awareness of how media operates among the people of Nakuru County. Indeed, it reveals the fact that few people outside media circles fully understand and appreciate the challenges that media face. Secondly, the relationship between funding and Radio Amani's operations as well as coverage and reporting of conflict is very significant. It is clear from the study that lack of funding not only negatively affects Radio Amani's access and coverage of conflict in far flung areas but also its ability to attract and retain qualified staff. Furthermore, lack of funding has a direct influence on the radio's ability to acquire the latest technology and equipment which also has an impact

SECTION B: DATA ANALYSIS

This research sought to find out the contribution of radio to conflict resolution, which for a long has been a hotspot of violent conflict. This is in addition to other agencies including local and international ones involved in conflict resolution and peace building initiatives.

The researcher found out that 94% of the respondents listen to radio; therefore, radio is very popular in Nakuru County. This is a reflection of the fact that nearly all Kenyans are radio listeners and they use radio as a source of news and information rather than for mere entertainment (Bowen, 2010).

It emerged from the research that Radio Amani, whose reach covers an area of one hundred square kilometres, commands a considerable audience of (7%) of the population of Nakuru County. It is notable that other radio stations also have considerable audiences in the county. Together with Radio Amani, these other radio stations have had an impact in terms of conflict resolution and peace building. That radio is popular and widely listened to in the county means that it is not only accessible but also a very powerful medium of disseminating peace messages in times of conflict and during the post conflict period if used appropriately. Therefore, despite studies such as the case studies by Metzl (1997a, 1997b), Thompson (1999), Naveh (1999), Hoijer, Nohrstedt and Ottosen (2002), Kondopoulou (2002), and others that link media to conflict escalation (Price and Thompson, 2002), media can make contribute to conflict resolution.

Manoff (1998) asserts that the media are ideal for peace building and conflict resolution, since their traditional functions are similar to those of conflict resolution, chiefly in the provision of information to correct wrong perceptions; objectively analyzing and framing conflict issues correctly; identifying and channeling the interests of conflicting parties; defusing mistrust and providing a medium for self expression. This is a clear indication that where media (radio) is deliberately used and programs specifically designed to 'achieve intended outcomes' (Aho, 2004 p.39), that is, to promote peace building, a positive result in terms of influencing conflict resolution is certain to be achieved.

Radio Amani has a peace program aired weekly that is aimed at promoting conflict resolution and peace building. The peace program, 'Haki na Amani' is sponsored by The Catholic Justice

and Peace Commission and The Catholic Diocese of Nakuru. The program targets the general audience and it is intended to promote peace and harmonious coexistence among local communities. The program's participatory approach enables the presenters to pass messages that urge for peace while allowing for discussion. Members of the audience call in and share their views and also pass peace messages to the public. In this way issues of conflict are discussed and peaceful alternatives generated. Thus as Siebert (1998) argues, media (radio) play a role in confidence building and mediation between conflicting parties by fostering communication, generating alternatives to violent conflict, reflecting the ordinary person's need and desire for peace, communicating the process of negotiations to the constituencies involved and providing a forum for on-going dialogue.

It was found out that the peace program has contributed to a considerable reduction of the frequency and intensity of conflict in Nakuru County. Moreover, the peace program has contributed to the de-escalation of violence in Nakuru County. Furthermore, the radio has complemented government efforts to promote peaceful co-existence among citizens in the county. Therefore, used appropriately, radio has the potential to contribute to conflict resolution. Botes (1996), contends that media can play the role of promoting tolerant and diverse viewpoints when positively harnessed, significantly contributing to conflict resolution and peace building. This is true of radio as it provides a participatory forum for the citizens affected by conflict to discuss the facts of the conflict and come up with solutions for peace.

The research found out that media owners greatly influence programming and reporting of conflict by the media and therefore, the contribution of media to conflict resolution. In the case of Radio Amani, the owner (the Catholic Church), has a major stake in conflict resolution and peace building in Nakuru County; it is significant that Radio Amani's peace program is sponsored by The Catholic Justice and Peace Commission and The Catholic Diocese of Nakuru. Because of this, it is clear that the programs are in line not only with the Christian (Catholic) doctrines that advocate for peace, love and cohesion but also in line with the government's efforts to resolve conflict and enhance peace within the larger, hitherto conflict torn Rift Valley region in which Nakuru County lies.

These findings are in line with Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model the Manufacturing Consent Theory, however in a positive sense. The model suggests that corporate-owned news

media outlets consistently produce news content that is aligned with the interests of political and economic elites, and which, therefore, serves the interests of established power, which would hinder the media. However, in airing its peace program, Radio Amani does not really serve the government's interests; its own interests (peace building and conflict resolution) converge with those of the government and the public. Therefore, the Manufacturing Consent Theory applies positively to its peace program and thus furthers its interests enabling it to contribute to conflict resolution.

According to Myers (2008), media in Africa have not been fully harnessed to drive processes of peace resolution, although radio continues to make a contribution towards this to a large extent as is the case with Radio Amani. For Radio and other media to make a significant contribution to conflict resolution, the media must be an independent voice in the midst of conflict zones; free from government, political and economic interests. Otherwise the interests of media must be aligned to the interests of government, political and economic elites. Although this was found to serve Radio Amani, it often gets in the way of media freedom and objectivity in reporting and promoting conflict resolution.

It was found from the study that the way in which the public, especially so in regions experiencing conflict, perceive the media in terms of its credibility to intervene in conflict issues is influenced by its ownership. The fact that Radio Amani is owned by the Catholic Church has led to a negative perception especially by the non-Catholic segment of its audience. However, Radio Amani has been able to overcome this perception. It is now regarded as a neutral arbiter in issues of conflict. Media ownership therefore, has a big influence on the contribution of media to conflict resolution. This is especially so where it intervention takes a participatory angle as is the case with radio Amani.

The extent to which the media can contribute to conflict resolution is highly dependent on whether parties in conflict can trust the media to help them in resolving and transforming conflict. As Aho (2004) argues, the media has the capacity to reach vast or influential population segments within a short time, and to provide factual information, analysis and opinion, the mass media helps shapes popular perceptions about the nature of society. Moreover, the mass media can greatly transform the ideas of freedom of opinion and expression into a concrete reality, by communicating information and ideas openly and by playing   a 'watchdog' role on leaders and

public institutions. This is only possible in cases where the parties understand and appreciate the role and contribution of the media in situations of conflict.

This underlines the need for robust awareness campaigns both by the media and the government to educate the masses and even stakeholders in the media about the important role media can play in conflict resolution especially the role of track-two diplomacy, and the need to build partnerships amongst all participants since everyone has a stake in peace building.

The researcher established that government regulation of media has a big influence on the frequency of Radio Amani's peace programming. This is because the government and Radio Amani have the common objective of peace building and conflict resolution. It was found that government regulation significantly influences the extent and depth to which radio can deal with issues of conflict in peace programs. This confirms Onadipe and Lord's (1998) assertion that media is affected by governmental constraints particularly stringent regulation and oppressive media laws. Thus conflict issues considered to be too sensitive such as the actual causes of the conflict or those bordering on national security may be avoided by media for fear of contravening media laws and the attendant reprisals such as hefty fines, prosecution and even deregistration. It was, however, found that a large percentage of the people in Nakuru County lack awareness of the regulation of the media by the government and its effect on media programming and broadcasting. It was found that even among respondents with formal education, there was not much awareness of media regulation.

The research findings identified five main ways in media regulation influences the reporting and intervention by radio in conflict situations.

These were: the fear of individual journalists being victimized by the government, the fear of being fined heavily amongst the owners and staff of Radio Amani, curtailment of the station's freedom to report and deal with conflict issues exhaustively, the fact that Radio Amani could not handle sensitive issues of conflict, and the fact that core conflict issues could not be addressed by Radio Amani because of prohibitive media regulation. This is in line with Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model. Thus the content of Radio Amani's peace program is aligned with the interests of political elite such that probing sensitive conflict issues which in reality are the core issues would be going against these very interests. This is a contributing factor to the

observation by Dunsky & Nyama (2003) that the media in Africa has failed to be critical and analytical on conflicts and shaping the peace agenda.

This study found out that though in reporting conflict, Radio Amani faces hindrances; it nevertheless contributes to conflict resolution. The findings indicated that the biggest challenge is lack of funding. According to Gumucio Dagron, A. (2005), one of the main problems for radio in Africa is economic sustainability. This is true even of commercial entertainment-oriented radio, and even more so for radio services aspiring to public service and to developmental content. Myers (2008), points out that weak, and often inadequate technical facilities for media organizations continue to present a big challenge. These challenges continue to place roadblocks on the way of media especially community radio stations with little economic muscle like Radio Amani.

As was said by a media practitioner, lack of adequate funding has made it hard for radio to report on conflict in remote areas. Lack of funding has impacted negatively on the radio's ability to access and provide coverage in remote areas; hence, people in some areas of Nakuru County are not even aware of Radio Amani's existence or its peace program. Myers (2008) contends that one of the main challenges for developmental content on African radio is the need to produce programmes on a tight budget.

Staff turnover and lack of qualified personnel also presents a challenge to Radio Amani although this problem is not unique to Radio Amani alone but a widespread challenge for radio across the African continent. As Myers (2008) puts it, African radio journalists are mostly poorly trained, if trained at all, and there is a high turnover and brain-drain out of the profession, as such African media lacks trained media experts with sufficient knowledge of peace. This is compounded by failure by Radio Amani to partner with the other stakeholders in promoting conflict resolution and peace building. This is a pointer to the inconsistency in the utilization of communication as an intervention in conflicts for purposes of peace building. Input by experts on peace and conflict resolution issues would go a long way in helping further Radio Amani's efforts while increasing the credibility of it intervention in conflict in situations.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter contains a summary of the findings of this study in response to the four research questions that guided it, the conclusions derived thereof and recommendations based on an analysis of the findings of the research in chapter four. This chapter also discusses the contribution the study makes to the general field, its implications and recommendations for future research and policy.

5.1 Summary of Key Findings

This study sought to find out what contribution radio makes to conflict resolution through reporting of conflict and peace programs. The study focused particularly on Radio Amani in Nakuru County.

The first objective of the research was to find out how the ownership of Radio Amani influences its intervention in reporting conflict. The research findings showed that the ownership of Radio Amani greatly influences reporting of conflict and programming by the radio. They also showed that media owners influence the way radio and other media are perceived by audiences. It was found that ownership directly influences the content and frequency of peace programs of radio.

The study also found out that, being owned by the Catholic Church, Radio Amani was perceived by a section of the audience, especially non Catholics, as airing programs heavily skewed towards Catholic Doctrines. However, it has overcome this perception and it is now seen as a neutral arbiter in issues of conflict.

The second objective was to find out if government regulation influences the contribution of radio to conflict resolution. The researcher established that government regulation influences the frequency of Radio Amani's peace programs. It was also established that regulation influences the extent and depth to which the radio can deal with sensitive issues of conflict as well as those that touch on issues of national security, in view of the fact that any contravention of media laws is certain to be met with stiff penalties as prescribed in the Media Act 2013.

The third objective was to find out whether the intervention by Radio Amani had influenced the escalation or de-escalation of violent conflict in Nakuru County. The researcher found out that Radio Amani has considerably contributed to the de-escalation and the reduction of the frequency of conflict in Nakuru County.

The fourth objective was to find out if Radio Amani faces any hindrances in promoting conflict resolution. The researcher found out that the biggest problem facing Radio Amani is lack of adequate funding. In addition, Radio Amani faces challenges of high staff turnover, technological challenges as well as lack of modern equipment. The researcher also established that the station faces the problem of ethnicity and a negative attitude from the audience. It was also found that many people in Nakuru County were unaware of Radio Amani's existence as well as its peace program. Failure by Radio Amani to collaborate with the government and other stake holders in promoting conflict resolution and peace building was also found to be a hindrance to Radio Amani.

5.2 Conclusion

In view of the findings of this research, it can be concluded that radio contributes to conflict resolution. It is evident that radio is a suitable media for disseminating messages of peace in conflict torn areas not only during the actual conflicts but also during the post conflict period.

Many studies concentrate on the role of media during the conflict period and on the media's contribution to conflict escalation. However, as Gilboa (2009) puts it, very few studies deal with the actual or potential contribution of the media to conflict resolution. For instance, though in Rwanda radio was used to incite violence, Tutsis and Hutus have been working together using radio as a voice of hope in finding solutions to end ethnic animosities (Gardner (2001).Thus radio is a double edged sword that can be used to escalate as well as de-escalate conflict depending on how it is used and the conditions in which it operates.

The findings show that through its peace program, Radio Amani has made a big contribution to conflict resolution in terms of reducing both the frequency and intensity of conflict in Nakuru County. Moreover, it continues to provide a platform on which area residents discuss social issues, chief among them being the need to build and maintain peace.

The findings of the study reveal that the contribution of radio to conflict resolution depends on a number of conditions. Firstly, radio is likely to contribute to conflict resolution if the owner's editorial and programming policies do not hinder reporting and promotion of conflict resolution. This is the case with radio Amani whose owners advocate for and support conflict resolution and peace building just like the government in Nakuru County.

Secondly, if media laws are favourable, radio is likely to contribute significantly to conflict resolution and peace building. In this study, it became apparent that regulation greatly affects the depth and extent to which radio can go in reporting conflict and promoting conflict resolution. It also emerged that if media houses contravene the stringent media laws, they face stiff penalties which limits the contribution of radio to conflict resolution.

Thirdly, radio must overcome various challenges in order to contribute significantly to conflict resolution. The researcher found out that the main problem experienced by Radio Amani in promoting conflict resolution is lack of adequate funding. Staff turnover and lack of qualified personnel also presents a challenge to Radio Amani, technological challenges as well as and lack of adequate equipment. Moreover, many people in Nakuru County are unaware of Radio Amani's existence as well as its peace program. Failure by Radio Amani to partner with the government and other stake holders in promoting conflict resolution and peace building was also found to be a challenge.

5.3 Recommendations

From the findings of this study, radio is a suitable, cheap and easily accessible medium of passing peace messages; moreover, it contributes considerably to conflict resolution and peace building; therefore, the following are recommendations of the study:

5.3.1 Recommendations for Future Study

The researcher recommends that further research be done on ways in which radio and indeed all other media can be harnessed in order to contribute to conflict resolution more effectively, and how partnerships can be established amongst radio, the government and other stakeholders in conflict resolution such as NGO's involved in conflict resolution for purposes of conflict resolution and peace building in conflict prone areas.

5.3.2 Recommendations for Policy Makers

1. The researcher recommends that the Government should formulate policies that make it possible to involve radio in conflict resolution efforts, since radio is cheap and easily accessible to many people.

2. The researcher also recommends that the government should formulate media laws that are less restrictive and more enabling in order for radio to play a more significant role in conflict resolution and peace building in conjunction with other stakeholders.

3. The researcher also recommended that media organizations should come up with broadcasting policies that give more prominence to issues of conflict resolution and peace building especially with regard to the frequency of peace and conflict resolution programming. In addition, the media should design programs meant for conflict resolution in such a manner as to allow audience participation since issues of conflict touch on all people.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aho, M. C. (2004) Media's Role in Peace building (A Thesis). George Mason University.

Retrieved from http://www.unitarpoci.org/en/extra/cotipso/aho.pdf on March 14 2006.

Akinfeleye, R., A. (2008). The media and development in Africa: local and global initiatives.http://www.wmin.ac.uk/mad/PDF/Africa_Media_Conference_Programe_ rev 25 Mar 08.pdf (accessed 8 February 2009).

Amisi, B. K. "Conflict in the Rift Valley and Western Kenya: Towards an Early Warning Indicator Identification."

Appleby, R. S. (2000) The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence and Reconciliation (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield).

Appleby, R. S. (2006) Building sustainable peace: the roles of local and transnational religious actors. Paper presented at the Conference on New Religious Pluralism in World Politics, Georgetown University, Washington, DC, March.

Arno, A. (1984). 'The News Media as Third Parties in Nationaland International Conflict,' in Andrew Arno and WimalDissanayake (eds.), The News Media in National and International Conflict (Boulder: West view), pp.229-38.

Bendaña, A. (2003). What Kind of Peace is Being Built? Stock Taking of Post-Conflict Peace building and Charting Future Directions. Paper prepared for the Inter- national Development Research Council (IDRC) on the 10th anniversary of An Agenda for Peace. Ottawa, Canada.

Bercovitch, J. (1984). Social Conflicts and Third Parties. Boulder, CO: West view.

Bercovitch, J., Rubin, B. 91992). Mediation in International Relations. Multiple

    Approaches to Conflict Management. London: St. Martin's Press.

Bartoli, A. (2005) Conflict prevention: the role of religion is the role of its actors, New Routes,

    10(3), pp. 3–7.

Bloomfield, D. (1995). Towards Complementarity in Conflict Management. Resolution and

    Settlement in Northern Ireland. Journal of Peace Research 32 (2):151-164.

Bosch, T. (2011). "Talk radio, democracy and citizenship in (South) Africa". In Herman

    Wasserman (Ed.), Popular Media, democracy and Development in Africa. London:

    Routledge.

Botes, J. (1996). "Journalism and Conflict Resolution", in Media Development, Vol. 43,   No.   4,
    April, pp. 6-10.

Bouta, T., Kadayifci-Orellana, S. & Abu-Nimer, M. (2005) Faith-Based Peace-Building:
    Mapping and Analysis of Christian, Muslim and Multi-Faith Actors (The Hague,
    Netherlands: Institute of International Relations).

Bowen, H., 2010, 'Information at the grassroots: Analyzing the media use and communication
    habits of Kenyans to support ef- fective development,' research report prepared
    InterMedia, African Development Research Series, London, U.K., viewed August 1,
    2011, http://www.intermedia.org/brochures/AudienceScapes_Kenya%20Quant.pdf.

Branch, D. &Cheeseman, N. (2009). Democratization, sequencing, and state failure in

    Africa:

Bercovitch, J. & Jackson, R., 2009.Conflict resolution in the twenty-first century: Principles,

    methods, and approaches. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Bernays, Edward (1928). Propagand.New York: H. Liveright.

Blaikie, N. W. H. (2009). Designing Social Research: The logic of Anticipation.Cambridge:

        Polity; 2nded.

Bratic, Vladimir (2006). Media effects during violent conflict: Evaluating media contributions to

        peacebuilding. Conflict and communication online, vol.5/1 (2006),

        http://www.cco.regener-online.de/20061/pdf 2006-1/bratic.pdf (20.10.20120

Brown, D., & Corwin S. (2003). "Media and Clergy: Influencing the influential?" Journal of

        Media and Religion 2: 75-92

Carruthers, Susan L. (2000). The media at war: Communication and conflict in the twentieth

        century. New York: St Martin's Press

Charo, T., and Makali, D. (1998).'New media and the hate campaign: ethnic conflict brings out

        the best of hate journalism', Expression Today 4, March.

Creel, George (19200.How We Advertised America: The First Telling of The Amazing Story of

        the Committee of Public Information that carried The Gospel of Americanism to

        every corner of the Globe, New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers

Dunsky, M. and Nyama,B.(2003). "Israel Palestinian Conflict: Roadmap to a Balanced media

        Picture" in News Routes a Journal for Peace Research and Action Vol 8, no 2. 9 - 10

CIPEV (2008, October 15). Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Post-Election Violence

(CIPEV) - The Waki Report, The Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation

Secretariat, Nairobi.

DeBruijn, M., Nyamnjoh, F.B., & Brinkman, I. (2009). Mobile Phones: The New Talking

        Drums of Everyday Africa. Bameda and Leiden: Langaa& African Studies Centre.

Diamond, L., J. M. (1996). Multi- Track Diplomacy: A Systems Approach to Peace,

      West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press.

Edward, S. Herman & Noam Chomsky (1988).Manufacturing Consent: A Propaganda

      Model Pantheon Books.

Eilders, C. (1997). The impact of editorial content of the political agenda in Germany:

      Theoretical assumptions and open questions regarding a neglected subject in mass

      communication research (Berlin: WZB Discussion Papers, FS III).

Eilders, C. (2000). Media as Political actors? Issue Focusing and Selective Emphasis in the

      Germany quality press. German Politics, 9 (3), 181-206.

Eilders, C. (2001). Conflict and Consonance in Media Opinion: Political Positions of five

      German Quality Newspapers .Discussion Paper P 01-702.Wissenschaftszentrum   Berlin
      fürSozialforschung (WZB).

Eytan, G. (2009), Media and Conflict Resolution: A Framework for Analysis, 93 Marq.

      L. Rev. 87.

Featherstone, A. (2000). Peacekeeping, Conflict Resolution and Peace building: A

      Reconsideration of Theoretical Frame- works. International Peacekeeping 7

      (1):190-218.

Fisher, R. (1997). Interactive Conflict Resolution. In Peacemaking in International Conflict:

Methods and Techniques, ed. Zartman/Rasmussen. Washington, D.C.: United States

Institute of Peace Press.

Fisher, R. J. & L. Keashly(1991). "The potential complementarity of mediation and

consultation within a contingency model of third party intervention." Journal of
Peace Research, 28: 29-42.

Fitzduff, M. (2000).First- and Second- Track Diplomacy in Northern Ireland. In Peace
building, A Field Guide, ed. Reychler/Paffenholz, 110-120 Boulder,CO: Lynne
Rienner.

Gardner, E. (2001). 'The Role of The Media in conflicts,' in Reychler, L. &T., Paffenholz
(Eds.) Peace building a Field Guide, London and Colorado: Lynne Rienner
Publishers, Inc.

Gilboa E. (2001). Diplomacy in the media age: Three models of uses and effects,
Diplomacy Statecraft, 12:2, 1-28,

Gilboa, E. (2002). Media and Conflict: Framing Issues, Making Policy, Shaping Opinions.
Ardsley, NY, USA: Transnational Publishers Inc.

Gilboa, E. (2009). Public Diplomacy. In George T. Kurian (Ed.), Encyclopedia of Political
Science.Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press.

Glasl, F. (1999). Confronting Conflict: A First-Aid Kit for Handling Conflict

Godden, L. (2004). 'A Wash in a Tide of History: "Responsibility" for Cultural Violence – A
Comparative Analysis of Nulyrimmaand Voss' in A Kenyon and P Rush (eds), An
Aesthetics of Law and Culture: Texts, Images, Screens, Elsevier, New York 203–220

Goodhand, J. & Humle, D. (1999). From Wars to Complex Political Emergencies:
Understanding.

Gumucio, D. A. (2005). 'Sustainability is not just about money' in Voices for Change:
Tuning into community radio ID21 Insights series no. 58 November 2005
(www.id21.org)

Gunner, L., Ligaga, D.,& Moyo, D. (Eds.). (2012). Radio in Africa: Publics, Cultures,

Communities. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Gurevitch, M. (Eds.).(1991). Mass Media and Society. London: Edward Arnold

Hagos, A. (2001). Case study six: Media intervention in peace building in Burundi - the   Studio
Ijambo experience and impact. In Greater Horn of Africa Peace Building
Project.Washington,   DC: United   States   Agency   for   International
Development/Management Systems International.

Hancock, D. R. &Algozzine,B.(2006). Doing Case Study Research: APracticalGuide

For Beginning Researchers. New York: Teachers College

Haynes, J. (2009) Conflict, Conflict Resolution and Peace-Building: The Role of Religion in
Mozambique, Nigeria and Cambodia.Commonwealth& Comparative PoliticsVol. 47,
No. 1, 52 – 75, February 2009

Heathershaw, J. (2008). Unpacking the liberal peace: The Dividing and Merging of Peace

building Discourses. Millennium: Journal of International Studies 36 (3):597-   621.

Hoffmann, M. (1995).KonfliktlösungdurchgesellschaftlicheAkteure.Möglichkeiten und

Grenzen von Problemlösungs-Workshops. In FriedlicheKonfliktbearbeitungin
der Staaten- und Gesellschaftswelt, ed. Ropers/Debiel, 284-303.Bonn: Dietz
Verlag.

Hoijer, B., Nohrstedt, S. A. &Ottosen, R. (2002). The Kosovo War in the Media-Analysis of a
global discursive order, conflict & communication online, 1(2), at
www.cco.regener-online.de

Howard, R. (2003). Conflict sensitive journalism: A handbook by Ross Howard.Vancouver,
BC: Institute for Media, Policy and Civil Society and International Media Support.

International Commission of Jurists (2000). The Political Economy of Ethnic

   Clashes in Kenya. Kenya Section; Nairobi: ICJ.

Kasoma, F. (1996). 'The Foundations of African Ethics (Afriethics) and the Professional Practice

   of Journalism: The Case for Society-Centred Media Morality', Africa Media Review

   10(3): 93–116

Kelman, H. (1992). Informal Mediation by the Scholar/Practitioner. In Mediation in International

   Relations: Multiple Approaches to Conflict Management, ed. Bercovitch/Rubin.

   London: Macmillan.

Kimenyi, M. S. & Ndung'u, N. S. (2005). Sporadic Ethnic Violence: why has Kenya not

   experienced a full-blown civil war?, pp.123-156 in COLLIER, P. & SAMBANIS, N.

   (Eds.) Understanding Civil War, The World Bank, Washington DC.

Kondopoulou, M. (2002).The Greek media and the Kosovo crisis, conflict & communication

   online, 1 (2), pp.1-11.

Kroker, A., & Weinstein, M. (1994). Data trash: The theory of the virtual class. New York: St.

   Martin's Press.

Lasswell, H. (1927). Propaganda techniques in World War.New York: Knopf.

Lederach, J. P. (1997). Building Peace.Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies.

   Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press.

Lessons from Kenya, in African Affairs, Vol.108, No.430, pp.1-26

MacGinty, R. (2006). No War, No Peace: The Rejuvenation of Stalled Peace Processes and

   Peace Accords. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Manoff, R. (1998). "Role Plays", inTrack II, Vol. 7, No. 4, December, pp. 11-15.

Mary Kimani (2007, October). Africa Renewal Magazine.

Media under Siege (2003).Media Monitoring project. Zimbabwe.

Meeus, M. T. H. & Deysters, G. (2001).Variations in Organizational Science. In honor of
    Donald T. Campbell. London: Sage.

Melone, S. D.(1997). "NGOs, the Media and Conflict Prevention," in Peter Cross (ed),
    Contributing to Preventive Action, Conflict Prevention Network Yearbook 1997/1998,
    pp. 185-202, Baden-Baden: Nomos

Merriam, S. B. (2001). Qualitative research and case study applications in education. San
    Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Metzl, J. (1997a). Information intervention: When switching channels isn't enough, Foreign
    Affairs, 76 (6), pp. 15-30.

Metzl, J. (1997b). Rwandan genocide and the international law of jamming, American Journal
    of International Law, 91 (4), pp. 628-651.

Mugenda, O.M. and Mugenda, A.G. (1999) Research Methods: Quantitative and Qualitative
    Approaches. Acts Press, Nairobi.

McNair, B. (1999). An Introduction to Political Communication, Routledge.

Miall, H., O. Ramsbotham, &T. Wood- house. (1999). Contemporary Conflict Resolution.
    Cambridge: Polity Press.

Myers, M. (2008). Radio and Development in Africa: A Concept Paper Prepared for the
    International Development Research Centre (IDRC) of Canada.

Naveh, C. (2002). The role of the media in shaping Israel public opinion in the peace process

   (1992-1996). In S. Sofer (ed.), Peacemaking in a divided society. London: Frank Cass.

Onadipe, A.&Lord, D. (n.d.). African media and conflict.Conciliation Resources.

   Universal resource link at cr.org/pubs/occ_papers/af_media/contents.shtml.

Otfried, J. (1996).Auf demWeg in die „Mediengesellschaft"?MedienalsAkteure und

   institutionalisierterHandlungskontext. TheoretischeAnmerkungenzumWandel des

   intermediären Systems. In: Imhof, K./Schulz, P. (eds.). PolitischesRaisonnement in der

   Informationsgesellschaft, 79-96. Zürich: Seismo.

Ould-Abdallah, A. (2000). Burundi on the brink: 1993-95, Perspectives series. Washington, DC:

   United States Institute of Peace.

Paffenholz, T. (1998).KonflikttransformationdurchVermittlung.Theoretische und praktische

   ErkenntnisseausdemFriedensprozess in Mosambik (1995-1996). Main:

   Grunewald.

Paffenholz, T. (2003a). Community-based Bottom-up Peacebuilding. The development of the

   Life & Peace Institute's approach to peacebuilding and Lessons Learned from the

   Somalia experience   (1990-2000). Uppsala: Life & Peace Institute.

Paffenholz, T. (2006b). Community Peace building in Somalia - Comparative Advantage of

   NGO Peacebuilding – The example of the Life & Peace Institute's Approach in

   Somalia (1990-2003). In Subcontracting Peace: NGOs and Peace building in a

Paffenholz, T. (2009). Civil Society and Peacebuilding CCDP Working Paper Number 4, Centre

        on Conflict, Development and Peacebuilding (CCDP), Graduate Institute of

        International and Development Studies, Geneva

Puddephatt (2006, April). Voices of war: Conflict and the role of the media: International Media

        Support.

Pruitt, D.G. & Rubin, J.Z. (1986). Social Conflict: Escalation, Stalemate and Settlement, New

        York: Random House.

Ramsbotham, O., Miall, H., & Woodhouse, T. (2011). Contemporary conflict resolution: The

        prevention, management and transformation of deadly conflicts. Cambridge, UK:

        Polity.

Richmond, O. (2001). Rethinking Conflict Resolution: The Linkage Problematic Between 'Track

        I' and 'Track II'. The Journal of Conflict Studies Fall '01.

Richmond, O. (2005). The Transformation of Peace. London: Palgrave Mac Millan.

Richmond,O. et al,(ed.) Dangerous World. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishers.173-182

Roberts, M. J. (2009). Conflict Analysis of the 2007 Post-Election Violence in Kenya, in New

        Dominion Philanthropy Metrics, No.14,

Robinson, P.(1999). The CNN effect: can the news media drive foreign policy?. Review of

        International Studies, 25, pp 301-309.

Robbins, S.P. (2005). Organizational Behavior (11th Ed) New Jersey: Pearson Education,

        Inc.423.

Rupesinghe, K. (1995). Conflict Transformation. London: St. Martin's Press.

Siebert, H. (1988). Debunking the 'Big O', in Track II: Constructive Approaches to Community and Political Conflict, Vol 7. No. 4, p. 3.

Smock, D. (Ed.).(2006) Religious Contributions to Peacemaking. When Religion brings Peace, not War (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace).

Spencer, G. (2004). The impact of television news on the Northern Ireland peace negotiations. Media, Culture & Society, 26(5), pp. 603-623.

Thompson, M. (1999). Forging war: The media in Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Luton: Univ. of Luton Press.

Thomson, O. (1977). Mass persuasion in history. New York: Crane, Russak & Company.

UNDP. (2006). Communication for Empowerment: developing media strategies in support of vulnerable groups - Practical Guidance Note United Nations Development Programme Bureau for Development Policy Democratic Governance Group: Oslo

Webb, K., V. Koutrakou, & M. Walters(1996). The Yugoslavian Conflict, European Mediation, and the Contingency Model: A Critical Perspective. In Resolving International Conflict. The Theory and Practice of Mediation, ed. J. Bercovitch, 171-189. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner. Reychler/Paffenholz, 110-120. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

Wolfsfeld, G. (2001). The news media and peace processes: The Middle East and Northern Ireland. Vol. 37, Peaceworks. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace.

Wolfsfeld, Gadi. (2004). Telephone interview by author.Tape recording. Athens, OH. March 14.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE
MA COMMUNICATION RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

I am a student of the University of Nairobi undertaking a Master's Degree in Communication Studies. I kindly request you to fill this questionnaire to help me gather information for the purpose of my project. Your responses will be used strictly for academic purposes and will be treated with outmost confidentiality.

PART 1: BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Please tick as appropriate

1. Age of the respondent ☐ 18 -20 yrs

☐ 21 -30 yrs

☐ 31- 40 yrs

☐ 41 and above

2. Gender ☐ Male

☐ Female

3. Marital status ☐ Single

☐ Married

4. Occupation ……………………………………………………………………………….

5. Constituency……………………………………………………………………………..

PART 2: INTERVENTION ANDESCALATION /DE-ESCALATION

1. Has the peace program(s) aired by Radio Amani helped reduce the frequency of conflict in Nakuru? Yes ☐ No ☐

2. Radio Amani has helped

Decrease the intensity of conflicts in Nakuru ☐

Increase the intensity of conflicts in Nakuru ☐

PART 3: OWNERSHIP AND REPORTING CONFLICT

3. 1. Do you listen to radio?   Yes   ☐

                                                  No   ☐

4. If yes, which radio station do you listen to?

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

5. Have you ever listened to Radio Amani? Yes   ☐   No   ☐

6. If yes, what program(s) do you listen to on Radio Amani?

....

....

7. At what time(s) do you listen to Radio Amani? ....

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

8. Does Radio Amani have any program or programs that promote peace and cohesion?

         Yes ☐   No ☐

9. If yes, list the program(s)………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

10. At what times are the programs aired ………………………………………………………….

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

11. Do you know who or which organization owns or runs radio Amani? Yes   ☐   No ☐

12. Do you think the ownership of Radio Amani influences the way it airs programs on peace

         building?   Yes ☐   No ☐

13. If yes how …………………………………………………………………………………………….

……

……

……

……

PART 3: REGULATION AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

14. Are you aware of government regulation of the media? Yes ☐   No   ☐

15. If yes, what regulations are you aware of that affect the way media reports conflict?

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

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

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

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

16. Do you think government regulation of the media is

Too stringent   ☐

Too relaxed   ☐

17. Would you say that regulation

   a) ☐   Hinders

   b) ☐   Promotes

   Radio Amani in promoting conflict resolution in Nakuru?(**Tick where appropriate)**

18. If (a) above, how do you think media regulation hinders the way Radio Amani in promoting conflict resolution in Nakuru?

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

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

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

19. If (b)above, how do you think media regulation promotes Radio Amani in advocating conflict resolution in Nakuru?

……

……

……

……

20. Would you say that regulation has: (**Tick where appropriate**)

    i.   Decreased the frequency of Radio Amani's peace programs   ☐

    ii.   Increased the frequency of Radio Amani's peace programs   ☐

21. Would you say that regulation has: (**Tick where appropriate**)

    i.   Increased the attention given to conflict issues by radio Amani   ☐

    ii.   Decreased the attention given to conflict issues by radio Amani   ☐

PART 5: HINDRANCES IN PROMOTING CONFLICT RESOLUTION

22. Are there any hindrances that you feel, prevent Radio Amani from being more effective in advocating for peace and conflict resolution in Nakuru?

             Yes   ☐   No   ☐

23. If yes, what would you say are the hindrances?

……

……

……

……

……

Thank you for filling in the questionnaire.

APPENDIX 2:

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR MEDIA PRACTITIONERS

1. What is the area of coverage of radio Amani?

2. Does radio Amani have any peace programs?

3. Who sponsors the peace programs aired on Radio Amani?

4. How often are the program(s) aired and for what duration?

5. At what time(s) are the programs aired?

6. Are any particular audience segments mainly targeted in this programming?

7. What particularly does Radio Amani desire to achieve through these programs?

8. What effect have the programs had on the intensity of violence in Nakuru?

9. What affect have the programs had on the frequency of violence in Nakuru?

10. Who owns and runs Radio Amani?

11. How has this affected peace programming by radio Amani?

12. How has government regulation affected the airing of peace programming?

13. What hindrances does Radio Amani face in promoting conflict resolution?

APPENDIX 3

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR COUNTY LEADERS

1. How serious is the problem of conflict among communities in Nakuru County, and what is the nature of the conflict(s)?

2. What factors in your opinion have contributed to this conflict(s)?

3. Have you ever personally been involved in any conflict resolution initiative? In which way and at what level?

4. Do you listen to Radio Amani?

5. At what time or times do you listen to Radio Amani?

6. Does Radio Amani have a peace program?

7. How often is the program aired and for what duration?

8. At what time is the program aired?

9. What effect has the programs had on the intensity of violence in Nakuru?

10. What effect has the programs had on the frequency of violence in Nakuru?

11. Do you know who owns and runs Radio Amani?

12. Has the ownership of Radio Amani had any effect on its peace program if any?

13. Do you think Radio Amani faces any hindrances in promoting conflict resolution?

APPENDIX 4

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR PEOPLE IN NGO'S INVOLVED IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION

1. Do you listen to Radio Amani?

2. At what time or times do you listen to Radio Amani?

3. Are you aware of any peace program aired by radio Amani?

4. How often is the program aired and for what duration?

5. At what time is the program aired?

6. What effect has the programs had on the intensity of violence in Nakuru?

7. What affect has the program had on the frequency of violence in Nakuru?

8. Do you know who owns and runs Radio Amani?

9. Do you think the ownership of Radio Amani has influenced its peace program?

10. Does your organization ever collaborate with Radio Amani in conflict resolution?

11. Do you think Radio Amani faces any hindrances in promoting conflict resolution?

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES
School of Journalism & Mass Communication

Telegram: "Varsity" Nairobi
Telephone: 254-02-2229168, 318262 Ext. 28080 or 28061
Telex: 22095 Fax: 254-02-229168
E-mail: director-soj@uonbi.ac.ke

P.O. Box 30197
Nairobi,
Kenya.

Date: August 25,, 2015

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: ONDARI, Momanyi Joseph- K50/69808/2013

This is to conform that the above named student in the University of Nairobi's School of Journalism and Mass Communication registered in the Master of Arts degree programme in Communication Studies

Any assistance accorded to him will be highly appreciated.

Njung'e wa Mungai
Assistant Registrar
School of Journalism & Mass Communication

REF: CERTIFICATE OF FIELD WORK

This is to certify that all corrections proposed at the Board of Examiners' meeting held on _12th MAY 2015_ in respect of M.A./Ph.D final Project/Thesis defence have been effected to my/our satisfaction and the student can be allowed to proceed for field work.

Reg. No: _K50/69808/2013_

Name: _JOSEPH ONDARI MOMANYI_

Title: _THE CONTRIBUTION OF RADIO TO CONFLICT_

RESOLUTION : A CASE STUDY OF RADIO AMANI, NAKURU

Dr Elias Mokwa	_signature_	29/10/0045
SUPERVISOR	SIGNATURE	DATE
Dr Samuel Siringi	_signature_	30/10/2015
PROGRAMME COORDINATOR	SIGNATURE	DATE
Dr. Wambui Kiai	_signature_	30.10.15
DIRECTOR	SIGNATURE/STAMP	DATE

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES
SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM & MASS COMMUNICATION

REF: CERTIFICATE OF CORRECTIONS

This is to certify that all corrections proposed at the Board of Examiners meeting held on ___30ᵗʰ OCT 2015___ in respect of M.A/PhD. Project/Thesis Proposal defence have been effected to my/our satisfaction and the project can now be prepared for binding.

Reg. No: ___K50/69808/2013___

Name: ___JOSEPH ONDARI MOMANYI___

Title: ___THE CONTRIBUTION OF RADIO TO CONFLICT RESOLUTION: A CASE STUDY OF RADIO AMANI, NAKURU.___

Dr Elias Mokua
SUPERVISOR   **SIGNATURE**   2/11/2015 **DATE**

Dr Samuel Siringi
M.A. COORDINATOR   **SIGNATURE**   6/11/2015 **DATE**

for Dr Samuel Siringi
DIRECTOR   **SIGNATURE/STAMP**