www.iiste.org

## Evaluating the Contemporary Vernacular Broadcast Media Intervention in Communities Prone to Intra-Ethnic Conflict in Kenya: A Case of the Abakuria

#### John Oluoch

Department of Communication and Media Studies, Rongo University College, Kenya

#### Abstract

The media can be used as an instrument to build as well as to destroy order, harmony and social coexistence in the human society. This study has tried to establish the inherent nature of social conflict and crises in human society as well as the significant role of the media and communication in forming and shaping individual or group perception of events or issues, as well as enhancing human interaction. It also perspectivizes the nature of violence and turmoil to the wellbeing of humanity. Vital roles of the media and the various conflict management apparatus like arbitration, collaboration, mediation, negotiation and reconciliation among other measures put in place to avert or control the recurrent violent conflict among the Abakuria community have also been highlighted.

Keywords: intra-ethnic conflict, conflict resolution, vernacular broadcast media, Abakuria

#### 1. Introduction

It is worth noting that much has been written about conflict<sup>3</sup>, which occurs within the same ethnic group of people<sup>4</sup>, which provide a considerable challenge to regional and local security in Kenya. Intra-ethnic conflict is caused by the interaction of multiple factors which are localized. A sudden structural change, such as collapse of a political and/or economic system, or fight for scarce and ever diminishing resources create a context of instability and general uncertainty about the future, not only in Kenya but globally as well. In this context, ethnic emotions, based on the historical memories of grievances, are revived where institutions lose their capacity to regulate ethnic emotions and relations in a peaceful manner and political entrepreneurs manipulate ethnic groups' emotions/fears of each other to achieve particular political or self-serving goals.

Conflict in most parts of the world has invariably become part of people's lives. In its wake, it has led to massive loss of human lives and usually leaves a trail of destruction to property. Despite the very many shades of conflict that have been experienced in Kenya, the Abakuria ethnic violence is unique as theirs is inter clan .Kungu et al. (2015) says that the Abakuria conflict has become perpetual yet the mechanisms used in managing it have been wanting or downright inadequate due to the fact that they keep recurring, often with disastrous consequences time and again.

According to Kungu, the Abakuria have always had their well established and indigenous mechanism used in managing intra-ethnic or inter-clan conflicts, which is also buttressed by members of the provincial administration, local and international Non-governmental Organizations, Community Based Organizations, Faith Based Organizations, Community Policing members, members of the peace committees, civic leaders, Sub county Security Teams, warriors and community members or victims to previous conflicts.

#### 2. Statement of the Problem

Every ethnic community in Kenya often undergoes internal disagreements that may escalate to some level of active conflict. However, in some cases and among some of the ethnic groups, the conflict escalate beyond the just disagreement into full blown conflict. One of the communities where such has been reported is the Abakuria ethnic group. This problem of intra-ethnic differences has been determined to originate from clan factions and therefore several consultation meetings, initiatives and camps have been held with the view to fact find and bring lasting peace and harmony among the Abakuria clans as has been noted elsewhere in the thesis. These have brought in governmental as well as non-governmental players such as churches, politicians, NGOs and many others. Several roadmaps have been tabled and resolutions made in regard to peace building, creation of harmony and conflict transformation. The efficiency of these efforts have been variable as they have acted largely as a stop gap and situational efforts that need to be continuously buttressed by more sustained and broad-based approaches to ensure lasting peace among members of the community under study. The efforts have

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>This a terminology that includes issues within the same ethnic community, or community speaking the same language but has: dialectal differences, clan differences, or resource use differences (Christem and Mackowitz, 2015)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>This is actually intra-ethnic conflicts in general which are not new to human societies; they are as old as human society because they have been in existence in all spheres of human life since the beginning of history (Danny, Breveon and Morrison, 2013).

mainly been geared towards fostering coexistence and harmony. The Kenya National Human Rights Commission (KNHRC), The National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC), among others have facilitated several consultative meetings which have brought together the local administrators, civic leaders, religious leaders, and political leaders as well.

#### 3. Objectives of the study

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

- iii). Determine the source of information from broadcast media and their role in conflict resolution among the Abakuria
- iv). Evaluate the existing broadcast media reportage of intra-ethnic conflict and how they affect intra-ethnic conflict among the Abakuria

### 4. Significance of the Study

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

A better understanding of these conditions would advance our appreciation of conflict dynamics in at least three ways. First, intra-ethnic conflict is an important phenomenon in its own right, generating thousands of deaths and displacements throughout the world. Second, conflict within groups is intimately connected to conflict between groups. Intra-group dynamics such as extremist outbidding and flanking have frequently been noted as some of the largest obstacles to domestic peace in divided societies (Horowitz, 2015).

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

#### 5. Study Area

The study was conducted in Kurialand in Migori County. The generic term Abakuria has been variously used throughout this research. It literally means and purely refers to "The people of Kuria". The Abakuria are what can be called an ethnic as well as linguistic entity traversing two East African countries. They reside in the Tarime and Serengeti districts of Mara region in Northern Tanzania, and the larger Kuria District which today is divided into Kuria East and Kuria West in Migori County in what was formerly called Nyanza Province in Kenya. However, this study is only applicable to the Abakuria resident in Kenya who straddle the larger Kuria Districts.

Kuria West comprises the Bagumbe and Bakira clans while Kuria East is composed of the Nyabasi and Bwirege clans. According to the census results from the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics conducted in the year 2009, Kuria East had a population of 81,883 persons with 13,513 households spread across two divisions of Kegonga and Ntimaru, while Kuria West had a population of 174,293 persons with 28,257 households spread in two administrative divisions of Mabera and Kehancha. Therefore, the study area has a total population of 256,176 with 51,770 households. Subsequently, one sub-location was identified from each location from which the sample population was derived.

### 6. Research Methodology

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

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

variable is one that forms the focus of research and depends on independent or explanatory variable. In this study, the independent variable is the approach of media coverage and reporting of intra-ethnic conflict situations.

#### 7. Results and Discussion

The study evaluated the contemporary vernacular mass media intervention in communities prone to intra-ethnic conflicts. In doing this, the study relied mainly on secondary sources of data by critically analyzing some sample newspapers, radio, television, internet and news agencies reports during the last 2 years in the area of study. The study also relied on some published books and journals to give adequate background to the topic under study. The study also extensively reviewed related and relevant literature on intra-ethnic conflict, and the role of mass media in solving such conflicts. In the process the study discovered gaps yet to be filled which among other things have to do with the role of the media in solving intra-ethnic conflicts and the consequences of media reportage on such.

The study also made a "chance finding" which will be mentioned in passing but must be noted as significant in the context of the study topic and relationship to national security and peace. The study took note of the fact that the whole swathe of Kurialand borders a foreign country, Tanzania. As such, it is in the best security interest of any country that its borders remain secure at all times. The fact that the Kuria borderline is mostly insecure and occasionally volatile presents a real and serious security threat to Kenya as a country and not just Kuria as an ethnic community. As Collier (2015) asserts, a nation whose borders are plagued by intermittent internal strife create within them a very porous borderline that makes attainment of domestic peace a nightmare. Therefore due to the same intra-ethnic conflict obtaining within this border community, the situation too can create a fertile ground for human trafficking, drug trafficking, illegal arms smuggling, illegal immigrants and great instability and lawlessness.

The study argues that bearing the influence of the mass media in mind, the media owe certain indisputable obligations to society- such obligations as encouraging the preservation of public peace, morality, and security for any meaningful solutions to intra-ethnic conflicts to take place. The study

further argues that the principle of social responsibility is limited when it comes to intra-ethnic conflict reportage which is a relatively new area in journalism practice in Third World Countries.

# 8. Sources of mass media information to local community members and their perceived roles in conflict resolution among the Abakuria

There were discernable cases of conflicts among the three categories of respondents.

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

The study has revealed that there is very low presence and contribution of the mass media and media strategy for the prevention, resolution and management of intra-ethnic conflicts. Although conflicts are ubiquitous and perennial among the Abakuria community, media players may not perceive conflicts as a threat, and develop programmes in support of government efforts. Obviously the role of the mass media in the management of the conflict is ad-hoc passive and reactionary. The personnel selected and trained on conflict management with outside support, are powerless and do not make editorial decisions. Those trained are often moved to other beats. As a result, mass media programmes during the conflict were limited to news that are short-lived. There is not enough time for the curious audience to comprehend and internalize messages. The information that finally gets to the public may not be the truth as perceived by the participants to the conflict, owing to the gate keeping function of the media owners. As a result, there was inadequate feedback mechanism between and among the key parties to the conflict.

# 9. Existing mass media reportage of intra-ethnic conflict and how they have affected intra-ethnic conflict among the Abakuria

According to Ibukun (1997) explained conflict as difference between two or more parties that results in mutual oppositions. Hence, before a conflict could occur, there must be a group, some contest over an interest and a disagreement. Conflict is therefore, an inevitable phenomenon in any organization including among the victims of conflicts. This study also set to explore the nature of communication used between the victims of conflicts and

staff of Abakuria ethnic group aimed at solving the intra-ethnic conflicts interpersonal conflicts. Initial results indicate low frequency of communication between the victims of conflicts and staff during conflicts. Communication among respondents normally entails integrating or linking together people to accomplish a collective set of tasks. However, the lower proportions of respondents attesting then existence of communication among them in the phase of several methods of conflict resolution. Perhaps because of the controversy of identifying cases of physical abuses among the respondents in many countries (Briere and Elliot, 2004; Backer, Rogers and Sopory, 2008), it was difficult for these respondents to effectively communicate information on conflict resolution among themselves. In terms of functional characteristics, formal and informal communication systems seem best suited to different types of activities.

It has been generally agreed that the nature of the communication influences the formality of communication in it (Mirabits and Morgenstein, 1990). In conveying message by the respondents, written forms of communication were found to be common with some differences noted among the respondents on the modes of conveying the information on conflict resolution to the other respondents. It has also been noted that forms of communication itself may partially determine the formality of a communication event.

When communicating conflict resolution information, most of the respondents outwards and upwards dimensions perhaps because of its ability to reach more of the targeted audience (Malcome, 1994; Mirabits and Morgenstein, 1990; Lent, 2004; L'Engle *et al.*, 2006; Morrison and McConnell, 2006). At the heart of what is termed term outward dimension of communication is its *ad lib* nature. Conversations take place at the time, with the participants, and about the topics at hand. None of these characteristics - timing, participants, or agenda - is scheduled in advance during outward mode of communication. Moreover, during its course the communication changes to take into account the participants' current interests and understandings. In this sense, communication is truly interactive but initiated by the professional, with all participants in the communication being able to respond to what they perceive to be the current state of affairs, including the communication up until that point and their perception of the other participants' reactions to it (Lent, 2004).

Language choice during dissemination of information was found to be significant during the study with respondents referring the use of respondents ' language and sometimes coded language to communicate with other respondents . There are both structural and functional characteristics of communication occasions that cause the language of communication to be more or less formal hence preferred mode of communication. Among structural characteristics, the nature of the relationship among the participants and their social roles influences its formal in language than conversations among strangers or among peers. Similarly, conversation among people acting in their official roles will be more formal in language than conversational partners have the ability to communicate with each other in simpler language, they need not stand on ceremony in their communication, and communication is shaped by language style (Brown and Fraser, 1979).

Apart from audio forms of communication, respondents also recommended other non-audio forms of communication were also used as key channels of communication. Newspaper and magazines formed the basis of written form of communication that comprised the print media. Comparatively lower numbers of the residence obtained their conflict resolution information from newspapers and magazines, where more male were reading newspaper than female probably because males would afford them and were more literate than females. This is highly anticipated because most audience obtaining information from newspaper and magazines must be literate, which was better in males than females. It is thus presumed that since the area had less than 5% of the respondents being totally illiterate, it is anticipated that more people would be able to read and comprehend the content of the information within those print media.

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

The information gathered through communication among the respondents were found to be useful in helping

them to manage financial resources mainly through proper budgeting as well as help them to make better decisions concerning the conflict resolution information in homes. There is reason to think that communication among respondents is particularly useful in supporting the social functions of groups. This is because respondents are less explicit in regulating social relationships than they are in regulating other aspects of work procedures. For example, personnel communication guides frequently describe the bureaucratic procedures for annual performance appraisals when information is disseminated, but they neither attempt to regulate the *ad hoc* personal judgments that communication make of the people reporting to them. A vast literature in communication psychology suggests that relatively unstructured and informal communication is at the basis of social processes, such as person perception and liking, which underlie group maintenance and member support (e.g. Fuerstein, 11806; Gibson and Hanna, 1992).

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

#### 10. Conclusion and Recommendations

Bearing the findings of this study in mind and the reality of intra-ethnic violence among the Abakuria and other communities in Kenya, in the past decades and the attendant effects on national development, all institutions in Kenya should perform their functions responsibly to ensure the conflict is resolved. Since the national mass media do much of their reporting of conflicts from a distance, the study recommends setting up of a vernacular broadcast media station exclusively for the Abakuria ethnic community. The set up vernacular radio station must be involved in deliberate peace-making efforts through their reportage for a peaceful society. Therefore, to ensure peace, unity, reconciliation and social equilibrium for national development in a homogenous, convergent and an intra-ethnic prone community like the Abakuria, the following strategies have been suggested as ways of strengthening the capacity of the mass media to manage intra-ethnic, inter-clan or communal conflicts in the area:

- v). Community leadership should endeavour to impart proper teachings and interpretations of their cultural tenets, indigenous intra-community conflict resolution strategies and dogmas to their followers in the mass media in order to avoid perceived injustices that may cause eruption of active or violent conflict
- vi). Involvement and commitment of media players to conflict prevention, resolution and management, so that they can design, develop and transmit appropriate messages to address conflict resolution
- vii). Advocacy for policy support and commitment to a strategic and transformational approach to mass media programming.
- viii). Proper management of conflict resolution can be achieved by proper sharing of the information among respondents. It is recommended that respondents should undergo further training on the best way to share the information and further disseminate it to the local residents for consumption.

#### References

Adeyanju, A.M. (2004). Revisioning Communication research for effective conflict management. In: *Communication, Media and Conflict Management in Nigeria.* ACCE and Prime Targets Ltd. Pg. 68–73.

Alfred, N., Paul, Z. (2008). The Roots of African Conflicts: The Causes & Costs, Addis Ababa-Unisa Press.

Amstutz, M. (2005). The Healing of Nations: The Promise and Limits of Political Forgiveness. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Ball-Rokeach, S.J. and DeFleur, M.L. (1996). A dependency model of mass-media effects. *Communication Research*. **3**: 3–21.

Bandura, A. (2002). Social cognitive theory of mass communication. *Media effects: Advances in Theory and Research.* **2**: 121–153.

Barton, F. (1979). The press of Africa: Persecution and perseverance. Holmes and Meier Publishers.

BarzilaI, K., Neumann, S. (2005). Bounded in cyberspace: An empirical model of self-regulation in virtual

*communities,* presented at Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences retrieved from http://ieeexplore.ieee.org/iel5/9518/30166/01385627.htm, on December 18, 2012

Bassey, C.O. (2002). "Framework for Conflict Transformation Project in Warri" in T. Imobighe, C. Bassey and J.B. Asuni (eds). *Conflict and Instability in the Abakuria community*. Ibadan, Spectrum Books Ltd.

Benkler, Y. (2006). The Wealth of Networks, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Blumler, J. G., & Katz, E. (1974). The Uses of Mass Communications: Current Perspectives on Gratifications Research. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

- Botes, J. (1996). *Journalism and Conflict Resolution, in Media Development,* 43 (4) 126-145 Conflict research consortium, University of Colorado, 'Negotiation,' International Online Training Program on Intractable Conflict, University of Colorado, available at http://www.colorado.edu/conflict/peace/treatment/negotn.htm, last accessed on 06 December 2012.
- Bowen, H. (2010). Information at the Grassroots: Analyzing the media use and communication habits to support effective development. Africa Development Research Series, available at: http://www.audiencescapes.org/africa-research-surveyquantitative-analysis-ghana-kenya
- Bowersox, D.J. and Cooper, M.B. (1992). *Strategic Marketing Channels Management*. New York: McGraw Hill Inc.
- Brockerhoff, M. and Hewett, P. (1998). Ethnicity and Child Mortality in sub-Saharan Africa. Population Council Working Paper Number 107, Policy Research Division.
- Bryant, J., & Thompson, S. (2002). *Fundamentals of Media Effects*, 1st ed. New York: McGraw Hill Higher Education.

Burgoon and Ruffner (1974). Human Communication. New York: Rinehart and Winston. Pg. P.248.

- Chinwuba, S.M. (2004). "Changes in Conflict Management: A Theoretical analysis" In Communication, Media and Conflict Management in Nigeria. ACCE (Nigeria) and Prime Targets Ltd. Pp. 35-40.
- Cohen, L. (2003) .Social Research, New York-Wiley & Sons Press.
- Collier, P. (2015). The Political Economy of Ethnicity. Center for the Study of African Economies Publishing, Oxford Working Paper Number 55.
- Daly E and Sarkin J (2007) Reconciliation in Divided Societies: Finding Common Ground. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Deutsche, W. (2009). Conflict Prevention in the Multimedia Age, Global Media Forum, (32) 221-242.
- Faringer, G.L. (1991). Press freedom in Africa. Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Gamble, T.K. and Gamble M. (1996). Communication Works. New York McGraw: Hill Co. Inc. Pp. 329-348.
- Gardner, A. (2002). Analyzing Conflicts: What Do We Know? In Fen Osler Hampton and David, Malone, (eds.) From Reaction to conflict Prevention: Opportunities for the UN System. Dyne Reinmen Publishers. Pg. 15–21.
- Gardner, A. (2014). Analyzing Conflicts: What Do We Know? In Fen Osler Hampton and David, Malone, (eds.) From Reaction to conflict Prevention: Opportunities for the UN System. Dyne Reinmen Publishers. Pg. 15–21.
- Graber, D.A. (2009). Mass media and American politics. SAGE.
- Grant, A. (1991), Television shopping: media dependency perspective, Cambridge, MIT Press.
- Henry, K. (1998). Guns over Kigali: The Rwandese Civil War-1994, Kampala- Fountain publishers.
- Hickey, N. (1970). "A Look at Television Coverage of Violence" in Barry, G. Cole (ed.) *Television*. New York: The Free Press. Pp. 60–65.
- Himelfarb, S. and Chabalowski, M. (2008). Media, Conflict Prevention and Peace building: Mapping the Edges, Retrieved from http://www.usip.org/resources/media-conflict-prevention-and-peacebuilding-mappingedges, on 13 December 2012.
- Himelfarb, S., Chabalowski, M. (2008). Media, Conflict Prevention and Peace building: Mapping the Edges, Retrieved from http://www.usip.org/resources/media-conflict-prevention-and-peacebuilding-mappingedges, on 13 December 2012.
- Howard, R. (2015). Conflict-Sensitive Journalism. *Communication and Peace: Mapping an Emerging Field*. **62**: 34–54.
- Huntington, S. (1968). Political Order in Changing Society. Yale University Press. Pg. 425.
- Huntington, S. (2012). The Clash of Civilizations and the making of World Order. London: The Free Press.
- Hybel, S. and Weaver R. (1997). Communicating Effectively. New York, McGraw Hill Co. P.245.
- Hyden, G., Michael, L., Folu F. (2002). Media and Democracy in Africa, New Jersey, Transaction Publishers.
- Ikpen, E. (2004). *The Role of Communication in the Management of the 1993 Conflict between ASUU and FGN*. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Uyo. Pp 60-67.
- Imobighe, T. A. (1999). Democracy, Media Pluralism, Wars and Crises in Africa: Towards Conflict Resolution in an Emerging Society in Luke Uche (ed). Mass Communication, Democracy and Civil Society in Africa. P. 83.

- Imobighe, T.A. (2002). Conflict and Instability in the Abakuria community : The Warri Case. Ibadan, Spectrum Books Ltd.
- Imoh, G.O. (1991). Communication for social mobilization. A Doctoral Thesis, University of Ibadan. Pp. 99.
- Isoba, J.C. (1986). Social Marketing as a strategy for communicating agricultural innovations in rural development. *Africa Media Review*. **1**: 66–76.
- Jakobsen, P.V. (2000). Focus on the CNN effect misses the point: the real media impact on conflict management is invisible and indirect. *Journal of Peace Research*. **37**: 131–143.
- John, V. (2004). Converging Media: A New Introduction to Mass Communication, New York Oxford University Press.
- John, V. (2014). Converging Media: A New Introduction to Mass Communication, New York Oxford University Press.

Kaid, L.L. (2004). Political advertising. Handbook of political communication research, 155-202.

- Karuti, K., Duncan, O. (2010). *Tensions and Reversals in Democratic Transitions: The Kenya 2007 General Elections*, Nairobi- Society for international development press.
- Kaufman, S. (2001) Modern Hatreds: The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War, New York Cornell University Press.
- Klapper, J. (1969). "What We Know about the effects of mass communication: The brink of Hope" in Richard Lee (ed). *Dimensions of Communication*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Meredith Corporation.

KNBS. (2009). 2009 Population and Housing censures. Republic of Kenya Central Bureau of Statistics, Vol 1.

- Kothari, C. R. (2009). *Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques* (10th ed.). New Delthi: New Age International (P) Ltd.
- Kothari, C.R. (2004). Research Methodology: Methods & Techniques, Delhi-New Age Publishers.
- Koven, R. (2004). An Antidote to Hate Speech: Journalism, Pure and Simple, Britain, Focal Press.
- Kungu, D et al (2015). A Journey into the Indigenous Conflict Management Mechanisms among the Abakuria Community, Kenya: The Beauty and the Beast. European Scientific Journal vol.11.No.16 ISSN: 7881
- Kumar, R. (2011). Research Methodology: A Step by step guide for beginners (3rd ed.). New Delhi: SAGE.
- Lasorsa, D. (2002). Diversity in Mass Communication Theory Courses: Journalism & Mass Communication Educator, New York, Oxford University Press.
- Lippmann, W. (1922). Public Opinion, New York, McMillan press.
- Mark, T., Monroe, P., (2003). Intervention Media and Human Rights, New York, Oxford University Press.
- Mbeke, P. (2009). The role of media in conflict and peace building in Kenya. Nairobi: InterNews Network.
- McCombs, M. (1992). *Explorers and surveyors: Expanding strategies for agenda setting Research*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- McCombs, M., Bell, T., (1996). The Agenda-setting Role of Mass Communication, Cambridge, Polity Press McCombs, M. (2004). Setting the Agenda: The Mass Media and Public Opinion, Cambridge, Polity Press.
- McCombs, M., Shaw, D; (1972). The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media: Public Opinion Quarterly, (36) 176-177.
- McQuail, D. (1997). Mass Communication Theory. London: Sage Publications.
- McQuail, D. (2005). Mass Communication Theory: An Introduction. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Melone, S. (1997). Media and Conflict Prevention: Preventive Action, New York Oxford University Press.
- Melone, S. (1997). Media and Conflict Prevention: Preventive Action, New York Oxford University Press.
- Montville, J. (1991). Psychoanalytical Enlightenment and the Greening of Diplomacy, London, Focal Press.
- Mugabowineza, O. (2005). Issues of Ethnicity and Conflicts in Post-cold War Africa: A study of Rwanda's 1990-1994 Civil War, Research Paper, African Studies Summer Institute, available at http://www.google.co.ke, retrieved on 06 December 2012.
- Mugenda, M. and Mugenda, A.G. (2003). *Research Methods: Qualitative & Quantitative Approaches*. Nairobi: African Centre for Technology Studies (ACTS) Press.
- Mugenda, O.M. and Mugenda, A.G. (2003), *Research Methods: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*, Nairobi, Acts press.
- Mwanasali, M. (2004). African Conflict Prevention Strategies" in Shedrack G. Best (ed). Introduction to Peace and Conflict Studies in West Africa: A Reader. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Ltd. P. 190.
- Odhiambo, L.O. (2002). The media environment in Kenya since 1990. African studies. 61: 295–318.
- Okoh, R.N. & Egbon, P.C. (1999). Fiscal Federalism and Revenue Allocation: The Poverty of the Niger Delta in the Nigerian Economic Society, 1999, Fiscal Federalism and Nigeria's Economic Development. Selected Papers presented at the 1999 Annual Conference, Abuja, Nigeria, 405-420(Chapter 19).
- Patrick, T.A. (2006). Community Radio for Development: The World and Africa, Nairobi: Kolbe press.

Perse, E.M. (2001). Media effects and society. Rutledge.

Price, M. and Thomson, S. (2002). An Operational Framework for Media and Peacebuilding. Retrieved March 12, 2013, from IMPACS: <u>www.impacs.org</u>.

Rakiya, O., Alex W. (1995. Rwanda: Death, Despair and Defiance, Cambridge- MIT Press.

- Roy, S. (2009). Internet uses and gratifications: A survey in the Indian context, Computers in Human Behavior, Delhi- Dharmesh Printers.
- Sikuku, A.K (2011). The Land Question and Intra-Ethnic Conflict in Squatter Enclaves of Mt. Elgon Region, Western Kenya. Unpublished Thesis, Masinde Muliro University-CDMHA
- Some, N. (2008). Citizenship and Ethnicity. New York: Barber Press.
- Terry, W., Peter M., Marl L., Fred M, (2007). *Peace Building and Conflict Management: Joint Case study of North Rift Region of Kenya*, Nairobi, Kolbe Press.
- Terry, W., Peter, M., Marl, L. and Fred M. (2007). *Peace Building and Conflict Management: Joint Case study* of North Rift Region of Kenya, Nairobi, Kolbe Press.
- Terzis, G. (2000). *Empathizing with the Enemy: How the Greek Media Coverage of the Earthquake in Turkey Moved the Two Peoples Closer*, Paper presented at 3rd International Crossroads in Cultural Studies Conference, Birmingham June 2000.
- Terzis, G. and Melone, S. (2002). Using the Media for Conflict Transformation. London: Pluto Press.
- Terzis, G. and Melone, S. (2012). Using the Media for Conflict Transformation. London: Pluto Press.
- Tomlinson, K. and Benefield, P. (2015). *Education and Conflict: Research and Research Possibilities*. Slough: National Foundation for Educational Research in England and Wales.
- UNDP. (2008). The Mass Media and 2007 General Election in Kenya. September issue. Nairobi, Kenya: UNDP.
- Van Schaack, B. (2008). Engendering Genocide: The Akayesu Case before the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. *Human Rights Advocacy Stories Foundation Press*, 08–55.
- Vandeberg, P. (2009). Risk, Ethnicity and Property Rights: Towards a Political Economy of Africa's Institutions. Working Paper Series Number 84, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
- Villa, D. (1992). Postmodernism and the Public Sphere, American Political Science Review, 86 (3) 124-152.
- Welsh, D. (1996). Ethnicity in sub-Saharan Africa. International Affairs Journal on Ethnicity and International Relations. 72: 477–491.
- Westphal, F. (2004). *The Right Information at the Right Time*, http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001389/138983e.pdf, retrieved on 13 December 2012.

Wolfsfeld, G. (2004). Media and the path to peace, Addis Ababa, Unisa Press.