

**COMMUNITY RADIO IN PEACE BUILDING: CASE OF KIBERA'S PAMOJA FM IN  
THE 2007/2008 POST ELECTION VIOLENCE IN KENYA**

**VICTOR OCHIENG' OLUOCH**

**C50/73166/2012**

**PROJECT PAPER PRESENTED TO:**

**THE UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND ARCHEOLOGY**

**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE  
REQUIREMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN ARMED COFLICT  
AND PEACE STUDIES**

**OCTOBER 2015**

## DECLARATION

This project is my original work and it has not been presented for the award of degree at any university.

**Signature:** í í í í í í í í .í í í

**Date:** í í í í í í í í í í í í

VICTOR OCHIENGØOLUOCH

C50/73166/2012

## Recommendation

This has been approved by my supervisor:

**Signature:** í í í í í í í í .í í í

**Date:** í í í í í í í í í í í í

DR. GEORGE GONA

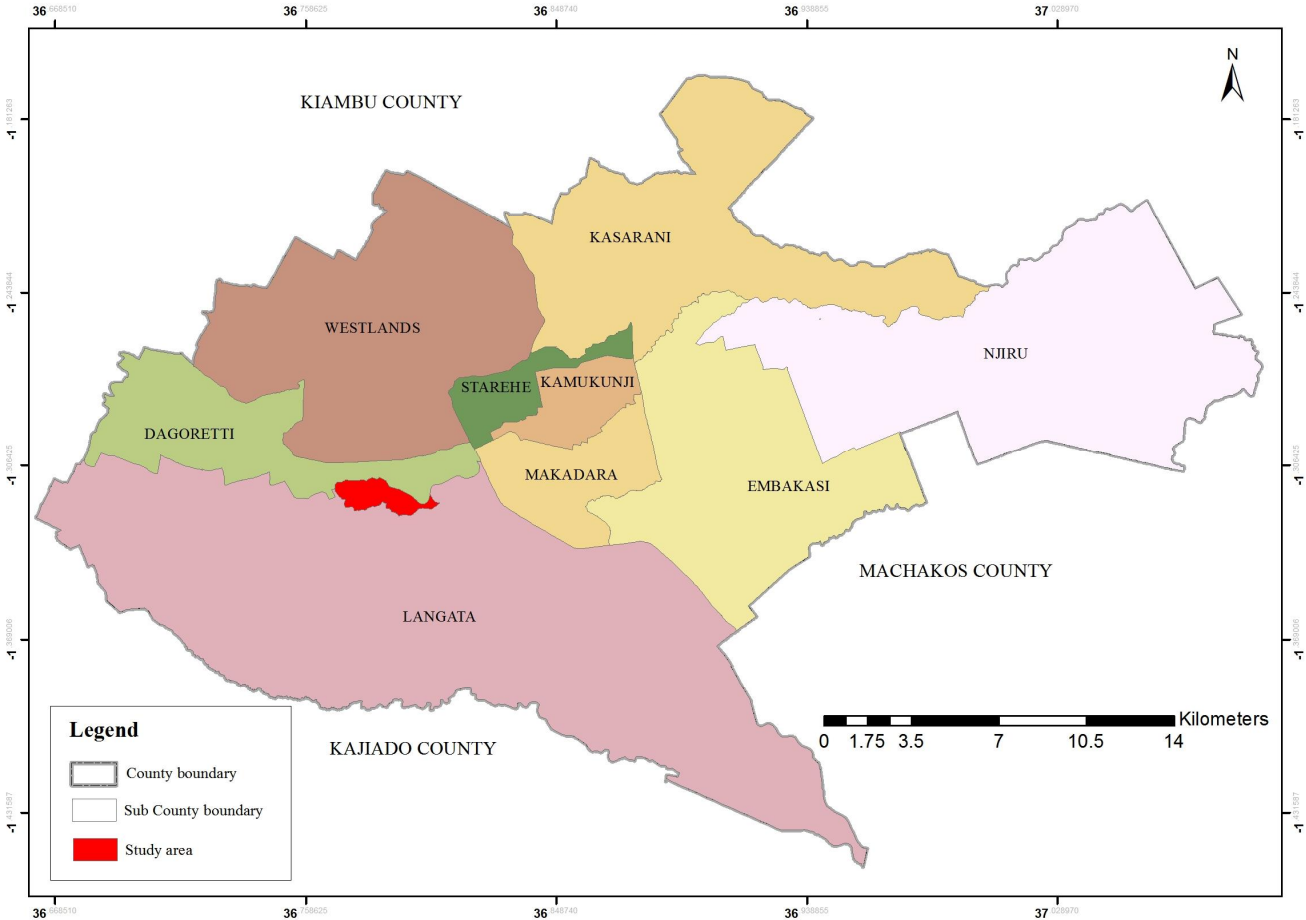
## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this project to the nascent community media movement in Kenya. While so much still needs to be done in order to create real impact in the communities, it is consoling to learn that there are those willing to give it a try. Keep the fire burning!

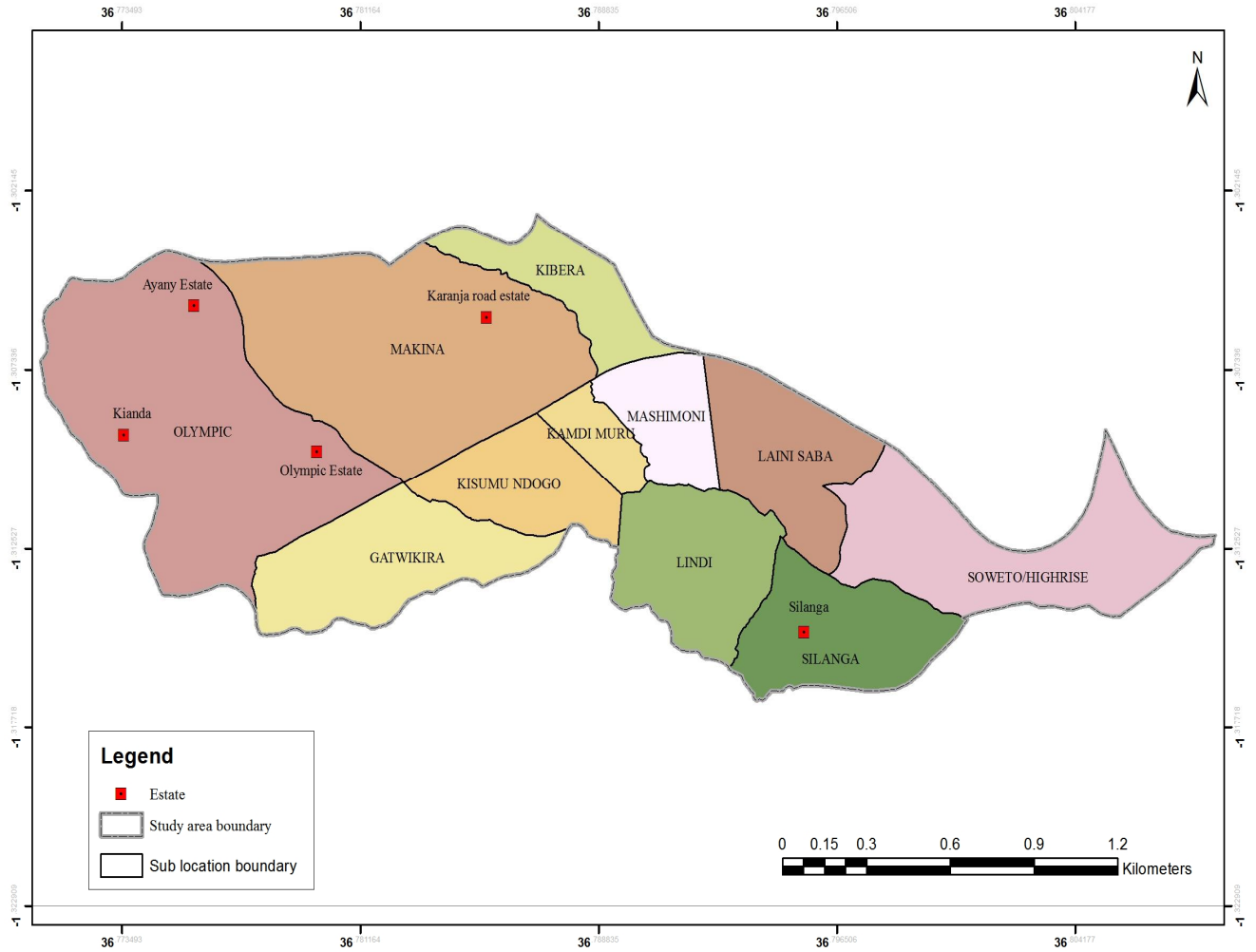
## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Foremost, I wish to thank my supervisor Dr. George Gona for his guidance and inspiration. He gave me useful insights and always tapped my back when I slumbered. As a frequently published scholar, every next publication with his name on it left me asking "then why can't I get done with this small one?" Without him, this project paper is not. I also wish to acknowledge my parents *Japuonj* Wilson Oluoch and Mama Anne Oluoch for the love, care, and encouragement. *Japuonj* in particular exhibited patience even as he intermittently asked me difficult questions about the project. To my family and friends, especially Jackie, Julian, JB, Joe, and Eric, thank you for the support.

# MAP OF NAIROBI



# MAP OF KIBERA



## ABSTRACT

The role of the media, or even more specifically of community radio, in peace building is an already told story. However, as the concept of community radio spreads wide, there is need to refine that body of knowledge that deals with its efficiency and suitability for peace building. This project takes the opportunity presented by the 2007/2008 post election violence to assess the strengths and weaknesses of community radio. This is an in-depth study of the contribution and challenges of a particular community radio station (Pamoja FM) cast on a backdrop of a basic understanding of the media's contribution in general.

The study adopted a qualitative approach to data collection and analysis. Data was collected mainly through focus group discussions, oral interviews, books, journal articles, and newspaper articles. The study hinges on two theories i.e. the agenda setting theory and the Marxist theory of the media both of which place community radio ahead of the rest in community service. That notwithstanding, the study finds Pamoja FM's performance particularly outstanding: the station was able to generate and effectively disseminate peace messages to the population thereby playing a pivotal role in institutionalizing peace in Kibera. This study is however not a celebration of a single case but a close look at what practices can be retained and what needs to be fixed. This study asserts that national peace machineries should tone down on the obsession with national media and pay attention to those community media especially radio stations genuinely committed to peace work.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>DECLARATION</b> .....	<b>ii</b>
<b>DEDICATION</b> .....	<b>iii</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENT</b> .....	<b>iv</b>
<b>ABSTRACT</b> .....	<b>vii</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS</b> .....	<b>viii</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES</b> .....	<b>x</b>
<b>LIST OF MAPS</b> .....	<b>xi</b>
<b>LIST OF ACRONYMS</b> .....	<b>xii</b>
<b>CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION</b> .....	<b>1</b>
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Problem Statement .....	5
1.3 Research Objectives .....	5
1.4 Justification of the study.....	6
1.4 Scope and Limitation.....	6
1.5 Literature Review .....	7
1.5.1 Post Conflict Peace building.....	8
1.5.2 Community radio and post conflict peace building .....	9
1.6 Theoretical Framework .....	19
1.7 Hypothesis .....	21
1.8 Methodology.....	21
<b>CHAPTER TWO: MEDIA AND PEACE BUILDING IN KENYA, 2008-2013</b> .....	<b>24</b>
2.1 Introduction.....	24
2.2 Print media.....	25
2.3 Broadcast Media.....	35
2.3.1 Community radio .....	44
2.4 Conclusion .....	47



<b>CHAPTER THREE: PAMOJA FM AND ITS PEACE INITIATIVES IN KIBERA, 2008-2013.....</b>	<b>49</b>
3.1 Introduction.....	49
3.2 A background of Kibera’s conflict system.....	49
3.3 The 2007/2008 post election violence in Kibera .....	52
3.3.1 Pamoja FM.....	58
3.3.2 Pamoja FM’s peace initiatives, 2008-2013 .....	62
3.4 Conclusion .....	71
<b>CHAPTER FOUR: TOWARDS A CULTURE OF PEACE IN KIBERA.....</b>	<b>73</b>
4.1 Introduction.....	73
4.2 Kibera Women for Peace and Fairness .....	74
4.3 “Bumps Ahead” Rehabilitation Project.....	78
4.4 Pamoja Fans Welfare Society and Sacco .....	82
4.5 Rent Tribunals.....	85
4.6 Kibera Pamoja Peace Football Tournaments.....	87
4.6 Conclusion .....	89
<b>CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>90</b>
<b>REFERENCES.....</b>	<b>98</b>

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1: Coverage of ICC cases by Kenyan vernacular stations .....	43
Figure 3.1: Pamoja FM programme schedule .....	59
Figure 3.2: Pamoja FM organizational structure.....	60

## LIST OF MAPS

MAP OF NAIROBI ..... v

MAP OF KIBERA ..... vi

## LIST OF ACRONYMS

CORD	ó	Coalition for Reform and Democracy
DPC	ó	District Peace Committee
FMCG	ó	Fast Moving Consumer Goods
ICC	ó	International criminal court
MCK	-	Media Council of Kenya
MFA	-	Media Focus on Africa
NCIC	-	National Cohesion and Integration Commission
ODM	ó	Orange Democratic Movement
PNU	ó	Party of National Unity
SFCG	ó	Search for Common Ground
TJRC	ó	Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission
TRC	ó	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UNESCO	ó	United National Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Introduction

In 2007, Kenya held its fourth election since the advent of multiparty democracy. The election pitting Raila Odinga of the Orange Democratic Movement against the incumbent, Mwai Kibaki of the Party of National Unity, followed a year of extensive campaigns covered by the media. When the results of the closely contested elections were disputed with each side claiming victory, Mwai Kibaki was hastily sworn into office for a second term following the Electoral Commission of Kenya's announcement that he had won the elections with 47% of the votes against Odinga's 44%<sup>1</sup>. Almost instantly, violence erupted in a few parts of the country but the situation quickly got out of control. The violence that ensued took an ethnic dimension and members of ethnic groups perceived to have voted for or to be sympathetic to the rival political party became potential targets. What started as a political stalemate quickly degenerated into a violent confrontation of ethnic overtones. The violence that prevailed in the next few weeks led to the death of 1,133 people and injured 3,561 others.<sup>2</sup> In the process, 600,000 people were also displaced.<sup>3</sup> In addition, there was destruction and confiscation of property in the regions affected.

In a desperate attempt to contain the crisis the government dispatched the anti riot police and the General Service Unit, Kenya's riot elite squad. The media's coverage of the crisis came under sharp criticism with TV being accused of broadcasting sensational footage of the violence. Consequently, the government banned live coverage of the crisis and threatened to take action against any inflammatory tendencies. But even with these measures, it became clear to stakeholders, including the civil society and the international community, that the crisis would escalate even further if better approaches to conflict management were not employed. It is on this premise that a political mediation framework took shape. The first indication that the international community was finally moving in was the brief visit by John Kuffuor, former

---

<sup>1</sup> L. Radoli, "Press Freedom and Media's Role in Conflict and Peacebuilding: Case of the Post-2007 Crisis in Kenya," University of Gorthenburg, 2011, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Commission of Inquiry into Post Election Violence report (CIPEV), 2009, p. 3.  
<[http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas\\_16094-1522-2-30.pdf](http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_16094-1522-2-30.pdf)> (Accessed 23rd May 2012)

<sup>3</sup> Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation <<http://www.dialoguekenya.org/>> (Accessed 7<sup>th</sup> August 2012).

Ghanaian president. Soon afterwards, Koffi Annan, former Secretary General to the United Nations, backed by the African Union's Panel of African Eminent Personalities, kick-started a negotiation process that lasted from 22<sup>nd</sup> January to the 3<sup>rd</sup> of March 2008. But as Kenyans celebrated the success of the negotiations marked by the historic handshake between Raila Odinga and Mwai Kibaki, the country was beginning a long journey towards lasting peace.<sup>4</sup> The handshake that had been witnessed was merely a product of the national accord (the division of power between two individuals or groups of individuals) but nonetheless seen, at that time, as a necessary catalyst to other steps and activities necessary for a more comprehensive peace process. This agreement signified the *peacemaking* stage of the peace process, an exercise defined by Galtung as the negotiation process that takes place between decision-makers directed towards reaching an official settlement or resolution to specific conflicts.<sup>5</sup> What was to follow and which is the focus of this study was *peace-building*.

In *Peacebuilding: What Is In a Name?*, the authors observe that *Although peacebuilding is generically defined as external interventions that are designed to prevent the eruption or return of armed conflict, there are critical differences among actors regarding its conceptualization and operationalization.*<sup>6</sup> Many actors within peace building attach to it monikers that resonate with their focus or nature of intervention. Names such as multidimensional peace missions, post conflict peace building, post conflict reconstruction, peace consolidation etc have been used alongside peace building.<sup>7</sup> Lederach conceptualizes peace building as the creation of a structure of peace based on justice, equity, and co-operation, thereby addressing the underlying causes of conflict so that they become less likely in the future.<sup>8</sup> It is considered as dynamic and always changing in response to the situation at any given point. One point that all peace building

---

<sup>4</sup> E. Lindenmayer and L. Kaye, *A Choice for Peace? The Story of Forty-One Days of Mediation in Kenya*, New York: International Peace Institute, August 2009, p.22.

<sup>5</sup> M. Gawerc, *Peace-building: Theoretical and Concrete Perspective*, *Peace and Change – A Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 31 Issue 4 (October 2006), pp. 435-478.

<sup>6</sup> M. Barnett, H. Kim, M. O'Donnell, and L. Sitea, *Peacebuilding: What Is In a Name?*, *Global Governance*, Vol. 13 (2007), pp. 35-58.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> M. Gawerc, *Peace-building: Theoretical and Concrete Perspective*.

definitions agree on is that it takes place at the end of open conflict usually marked by a secession of open violence.

The Road Map was hinged on a four-point plan:<sup>9</sup>

1. Undertake immediate action to stop violence and restore fundamental human rights and liberties;
2. Take immediate measures to address the humanitarian crisis, promote reconciliation, healing, and restoration;
3. Overcome the political crisis;
4. Work on long term issues and solutions, such as poverty, inequality, and unemployment (especially among the youth), as well as the need to confront impunity, tackle land reform, and consolidate national cohesion and transparency.

The handshake had addressed certain parts of the Road Map fairly well. It, through a power sharing agreement, helped overcome the political crisis and saw a significant reduction in violence and human rights abuse as envisioned in agenda one and three. However, a long time approach appeared more appropriate in addressing agenda four, and parts of agenda one and two, i.e., addressing the humanitarian crisis, promoting reconciliation, tackling inequality and land reforms, etc. In essence, the political settlement flagged off a longer process of finding sustainable peace anchored on strong institutions and values as contained in Laderach's description of *peace-building*. What was unique in the next phase of the peace process was that the international community, apart from the International Criminal Court's effort to investigate and prosecute those suspected of committing crimes against humanity etc, was relatively divorced from the process, only watching from a distance with much less influence than in the previous stage. Effectively, the peace process was handled by the executive and the legislature, and monitored to a large extent by the civil society and the media. The civil society was at the center of continued consultations in the *peace-building* process, often reaching out to the media through demonstrations and press releases or press conferences. The media on the other hand, either through individual media stations or through umbrella bodies like the Media Owners

---

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, p. 10.

Association of Kenya, Media Council of Kenya, or the Editors' Guild remained steadfast in helping the citizenry track the process through broadcast of issues surrounding the peace process as well as guarding against the stalling of the peace process.

Some of the most visible outcomes of the oversight role played by the various stakeholders as highlighted above included the enactment of a new constitution, the revamping of the judiciary, and the establishment of various commissions to tackle specific issues such as those relating to historical injustices.

Five years after the conflict, the 2013 general elections presented the best opportunity to test the gains made over the years. While many grievances still remained unresolved, Kenya went to the elections with a new constitution, a seemingly more credible electoral body, and a revamped judicial and prosecution system. Though the presidential elections, once again, were closely contested and even disputed, violence did not erupt. Instead, the aggrieved party, Raila Odinga and the Coalition for Reforms and Democracy (CORD), challenged the win of their opponent, Uhuru Kenyatta and the Jubilee Coalition, in court.

If the lack of violence in the 2013 elections is to be perceived as a product of a concerted effort by stakeholders to avoid a repeat of the 2007 violence by building peace then it is possible and important to evaluate each of the stakeholders' contribution. Owing to the role of the media in the post-agreement stage as pointed out earlier, the media sector or entities under it are potential candidates for such an evaluation. This study therefore aimed at evaluating the impact of Pamoja FM's operation during the peace building period (2008-2013) with a view to assessing the extent to which it contributed to the peace building process. When viewed as just the implementation of the peace accord, then the most visible exercises at the national level within the period of study passes for peace implementation i.e. a mere implementation of a peace agreement.



## **1.2 Problem Statement**

There exists plenty of literature on how the media can be or has been used for development especially with the advent of development communication as a discipline. Peace being a major function of development, one would therefore expect that there would be an almost similar presence of the role of the media in peace building in the scholarly discourse. Of course there is literature on the interplay between media and conflict, but even on this front, there exists more material on the way media has been used to fuel and sustain armed conflict than on how it has been used in peace-building. However, what creates an undesirable impression is that on either case, there isn't enough on Kenya despite the country having been on the brink of precipice following the disputed 2007 elections.

Worse still, even the little written on this subject has given prominence to the commercial media at the expense of community media. This is despite many sources on communication and development pointing out the strength of community media in promoting development-oriented issues of which sustainable peace is an integral part. It is rather unsettling that almost two decades since Studio Ijambo's success in reconciling the Burundian community after the genocide was recorded, the pace of documentation of similar cases from the region has remained slow. This is despite the abundance of opportunity for similar studies. This study therefore took the opportunity presented by the Kenyan scenario to assess the contribution of one Kenyan community radio station (Pamoja FM) in the peace building process spanning 2008-2013. The study will help stakeholders and the Kenyan society at large reevaluate the position of community radio as a tool for peace-building.

## **1.3 Research Objectives**

This study aimed at understanding Pamoja FM's operation during the peace building period (2008-2013) and assessing the extent of its contribution in the peace building process. The specific objectives of the study, therefore, were:

- i) To examine Pamoja FM's peace messages and how they were communicated.
- ii) To establish the impact of Pamoja FM's messages on its audience.
- iii) To investigate the relationship between Pamoja FM and the national

Peace building machinery during the period of study.

#### **1.4 Justification of the study**

Many peace scholars and practitioners agree that peace building relies heavily on the participation of the larger population. Consequently, drivers of peace building processes may, from time to time, need to communicate to the masses. A proper understanding of the media environment within which a peace process exists is the first step to involving the masses. As the concept of community radio gains root in Africa and in the country, people from all fields are keen to establish its suitability to their fields. Peace scholars and practitioners should not be left behind in this rush. To underscore the relevance of community radio to the field of peace, there is need to analyze and document more and more relationships bringing together the two. It is also through the knowledge gathered in such studies that future relationships can be made more beneficial to peace building.

The Kenyan case being a typical example of such a situation, this study illuminates the issues surrounding the participation of community radio in peace building. The study exposes stakeholders to the potential of community radio yet to be exploited in the country. Apart from contributing fresh knowledge to the fields of peace and communication, this study tickles stakeholders in the two fields to adjust their policy for optimum result.

#### **1.4 Scope and Limitation**

This study focused on Pamoja FM's performance within the period between the 4<sup>th</sup> of March, 2008 (a day after the agreement between Odinga and Kibaki) to the 3<sup>rd</sup> of March, 2013 (a day before the 2013 general elections). Since the peace-building efforts that followed the peace making between the Mr. Kibaki and Mr. Odinga were largely seen as geared towards promoting peaceful elections in the future, the period 2008 ó 2013 is an ideal time frame. The period is short enough to track and assess the participation and contribution of Pamoja FM and long enough to accommodate the long term nature of peace building. The study looked into the station's messages during the five years with a view to establishing their contribution to peace

building in Kibera. Geographically, this research was conducted at Pamoja FM premises as well as in Kibera neighborhood, i.e., the area covered by Pamoja FM.

The main limitation of this study was that Pamoja FM being a vital source of data/information and an interested party on the findings of the study at the same time, might have offered biased information or withheld crucial data. However, this challenge was circumvented by comparing the information gotten from the station staff with that obtained from the audience and other sources to check out for any inconsistency that would discredit the data obtained from Pamoja FM. At the end of data collection, information obtained from the listeners appeared to corroborate the data collected from the station.

The other limitation was that the environment within which the study was done was occupied by many other entities working in the line of peace. Results realized may therefore partly be attributed to other actors. Even though it wasn't possible to quantitatively establish the extent of Pamoja FM's impact, the data collection methods used - interviews, focus group discussions, observations - were sufficient in establishing if indeed the station played any role in peace building.

## **1.5 Literature Review**

The literature review is in two parts. The first part reviews literature useful in conceptualizing post conflict peace-building while the second part illuminates community radio and its role in peace-building.

There is plenty of literature relevant to this study in spite of the bigger chunk of it focusing on the role of radio or the media in general in peace building. However, there are a few works that are more closely related to the topic of study i.e. the role of community media in peace-building. Even closer to the topic of study is the literature that shed light on the role of vernacular radio in the Kenyan 2007-2008 post election violence.

### 1.5.1 Post Conflict Peace building

In *Peacebuilding: six dimensions and two concepts* Henning Haugerudbraaten endeavors to problematize the term peace-building. He acknowledges that the term has been used differently by different people and organizations over the years to an extent that its meaning and boundaries have been blurred.<sup>10</sup> He writes, "It should be acknowledged that a comprehensive theory of peace-building is for now a far-flung effort, a fact which will preclude efforts to establish an authoritative definition of peace-building for some time to come."<sup>11</sup> He traces the "confusion" that exists today to the very beginning of the idea of peace-building which is rooted in *An Agenda for Peace* in which the then Secretary General of the UN described peace-building as consisting of "Sustained, co-operative work to deal with underlying economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems ...". He points out that this aim is inconsistent with the measures listed in the same document because the measures are usually on a short term to midterm basis hence missing out on the "sustained" work mentioned in the aim. The measures include: disarming, restoring order, destroying weapons, training security forces, monitoring elections, advancing the protection of human rights, reforming institutions, repatriating refugees, and promoting political participation.

According to Haugerudbraaten, it is generally agreed that the role of peace-building is to create positive peace. In explaining exactly what this "positive peace" means he alludes to Galtung's definition - A stable social equilibrium in which the surfacing of new disputes does not escalate into violence and war.<sup>12</sup> Alongside the aims of peace-building, he also discusses the means, actors, process, and the organizational and temporal aspects of peace-building. Pamoja FM being perceived by this study as an actor in the process, the study sought to find out the means with which it played its role as well as how it handled both the organizational and temporal aspects of peace-building.

---

<sup>10</sup> H. Haugerudbraaten, "Peace-building: Six Dimensions and Two Concepts," *African Security Review*, 7:6, (July 2010), P. 17.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, p.18.

<sup>12</sup> J. Galtung, *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization*, London, Sage Publications, 1996, pp. 1-3.

A more normative definition of peace-building is provided by Spence:

Those activities and processes that: focus on the root causes of the conflict, rather than just the effects; support the rebuilding and rehabilitation of all sectors of the war-torn society; encourage and support interaction between all sectors of society in order to repair damaged relations and start the process of restoring dignity and trust; recognize the specifics of each post conflict situation; encourage and support the participation of indigenous resources in the design, implementation and sustainment of activities and processes; and promote processes that will endure after the initial emergency recovery phase has passed.<sup>13</sup>

Going by the definitions above, post conflict peace building comes out as a matrix entailing all the peace-oriented activities and initiatives that commence after the signing of peace agreements or accords or after the end of open violence. It therefore seeks to address the root cause of the conflict through structural, psychological, and relational transformation with the main aim of avoiding a relapse into violent conflict. This is the definition of peace building that this study adopted. Of particular interest to this study was how Pamoja FM recognized the uniqueness of its audience and their post conflict situation and how the station involved them in the design, implementation, and sustainment of the activities and processes.

### **1.5.2 Community radio and post conflict peace building**

Communication as explained by Sean Macbride has many functions: information, socialization, motivation, debate and discussion, education, cultural promotion, entertainment, and integration.<sup>14</sup> Of all these functions, integration appears to bear the closest link to peace-building. According to Macbride, communication promotes integration by providing to all persons, groups, and nations the access to variety of messages which they need in order to know and understand each other's living condition, view points and aspirations.<sup>15</sup> What this statement

---

<sup>13</sup> B. Evans-Kent and R. Bleiker (Eds) *Post-Conflict Peace building: Who Determines the Peace?* in *Rethinking Humanitarianism Proceedings*, held in St. Lucia: University of Queensland, 2001, pp. 137-8.

<sup>14</sup> S. MacBride, *Many Voices, One World: Communication and Society Today and Tomorrow*, Oxford, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2004, p. 56.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

insinuates is that misunderstanding and conflict are largely products of ignorance of other people's issues. It therefore further implies that to promote integration and peaceful coexistence communication should be used to supply a person or a people with knowledge and information regarding other people or groups of people. This study investigates if and how Pamoja FM promoted integration among the members of its audience especially by improving understanding between the various ethnic groups. Since the text does not narrow down to or rate the specific channels of communication with regards to the integration it talks about, this study elucidates the strengths and weaknesses of community radio as a tool for integration.

Information is such an important ingredient in human life as to be captured in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. Article 19 of the declaration states that everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.<sup>16</sup> The question however is 'how are such rights guaranteed during conflict and in the volatile period that follows the conflict, and do the dynamics regarding the access of information via the media change during the peace-building period?' While attempting to answer this question, the study evaluates the extent to which Pamoja FM observed this right by consistently supplying their audience with information especially that touching on the progress of the peace process.

According to Colin Fraser and Sonia Restrepo-Estrada, people make decisions after they have been empowered and motivated by information they have received and internalized and found relevant to themselves and their interests.<sup>17</sup> In this light, it was important that the study finds out if and how the information imparted by Pamoja FM on its listeners, via its mass media platform, helped them make decisions that favored peace-building.

---

<sup>16</sup> Universal Declaration of Human Rights <<http://www.ohchr.org/en/udhr/pages/language.aspx?langid=eng>> (Accessed March 13, 2013).

<sup>17</sup> C. Fraser, and S. Restrepo-Estrada, *Communicating for Development: Human Change for Survival*, New York, I.B. Taurus and Co Ltd, 1998, p. 39.

While so doing, the study takes into account Mlama's attack on the one way characteristic of mass media as giving no opportunity for the audience to communicate responses to messages received. It is on this premise that he advocates for indigenous communication skills.<sup>18</sup> This study seeks to find out if community radio as a form of mass media has unique features that shield it from Mlama's attack. This will best be determined by the impact of Pamoja FM's messages on the listeners' actions. In the event that the constraints with regard to feedback are found to apply even to community radio, the study seeks to establish if and how Pamoja FM circumvented the constraints while communicating its peace messages.

In *Participatory Communication*, Ascroft points out that in participatory communication, probably the deepest root of community media and community radio, the benefactor and the beneficiary in the communication process should be on a level platform and that the knowledge and information should be shared rather than delivered in a unidirectional manner from top to bottom.<sup>19</sup> Closely linked to this view is Mcquail's take on community communication which he sees as a different perspective to communication that "favors, multiplicity, smallness of scale, locality, inner change of sender-receiver rules" <sup>20</sup>

Of all the above qualities of community communication pointed out by Mcquail, it is the "smallness" that is best captured by UNESCO's *Promoting Community Media in Africa*. The book points out that "in the midst of globalization of communication and information highways, we need to constantly remind ourselves that access to highways is by small roads and paths leading to homesteads, localities and communities."<sup>21</sup> It further emphasizes that African countries need to build these roads and paths to ensure that local communities are not completely left out of the national communication and information grid.

---

<sup>18</sup> P. Mlama, "Reinforcing Existing Indigenous Communication Skills: The Use of Dance in Tanzania", In Riano, P. (Ed) *Women in Grassroots Communication: Furthering Social Change*, London, Sage Publications, 1994, pp. 51-64.

<sup>19</sup> J. Ascroft, "Communication in Support of Development: Lessons in Theory and Practice", paper presented at a seminar on communication and change, the University of Hawaii and the East-West Centre, Honolulu, Hawaii.

<sup>20</sup> D. Mcquail, *Mass Communication Theories: An Introduction*, London, Sage publication Inc, 1983. p. 97.

<sup>21</sup> B. Kwame (Ed), *Promoting Community Media in Africa*, Paris, UNESCO, 2000. p. 1.

This study therefore sets out to examine the formulation and dispersion of Pamoja FM's peace messages with a view to gauging the extent of the audience's involvement in the whole process. Owing to community communication's elevation to a pedestal by UNESCO and Mcquail the study will also investigate if indeed the peace building process benefitted from the unique traits attributed to community communication.

While Boas's analogy clearly paints community communication as complimenting the mainstream media, Ambrosi and Thede, in "Communication and Development Alternatives", see them as alternatives which are "oppositional to mainstream media and cultural industry." He explains that alternatives identify with a social project that is a reaction against a dominant order which in this case is the mainstream media.

According to Roncagliolo, alternatives sprout as a result of the need for greater access and participation in the production and transmission of messages in an environment where the population gets increasingly differentiated into smaller groups (communities).<sup>22</sup> Though the study will not delve much into the inception of Pamoja FM and the reasons that informed it, the research will provide an opportunity to evaluate the operations and contributions of the station during the peace process in order to establish whether they were oppositional or complementary to the mainstream media.

Community is defined in *The Role of the Media in Preventing and Moderating Conflict* as "an aggregation of groups which vary in social class, economic status, often in political or religious affiliation and also in outlook and opinion."<sup>23</sup> Additionally, communication has been portrayed as the glue that holds a society together. In *Questioning the Media: an Introduction to Social*

---

<sup>22</sup>N. Thede, and A. Ambrosi (Eds), Notes on "the alternative" in, *Video the Changing World*, Montreal, Black Rose, 1991. (p. 206-208).

<sup>23</sup> S. Macbride, *One World, Many Voices: Communication and Society Today and Tomorrow*, Oxford, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2004, p.115.



*Communication*, the community's bond is accounted for by the fact that people share symbols and meanings.<sup>24</sup>

In *Promoting Community Media in Africa*, Bofo Kwame suggests that community media be viewed as elements of community communication system.<sup>25</sup> A community, he says, is built on the exchange of initiatives, information, and meanings in the process of defining, creating, and maintaining group identity and interests for survival within a specified geographical and/or cultural space.

Considering the view that community media be treated as an element of community system, it is evident that mass media communication is most effective when channeled through community media as the target audience share a common bond. Coupled with the enhanced audience participation discussed earlier, the efficacy of community mass media is depicted as unrivalled by public, commercial, and national broadcasters especially on addressing issues affecting specific communities. This information will be useful as the study will build on this theoretical base to pick on the issues and traits that define Pamoja FM's audience as a community and find out how the station remained cognizant of such issues as language, culture, interest, etc while formulating their peace messages.

According to Mota Paula, there are several definitions of community radio, but they all have in common the idea that community broadcasting is not for profit, is aimed at particular communities, and is intended to communicate socially useful messages of benefit to the community.<sup>26</sup> Further, UNESCO's *Community Radio Handbook* defines community radio as a non-profit service that is owned and managed by a particular community, usually through a trust,

---

<sup>24</sup> J. Downing, and A. Mohammed, *Questioning the Media: A Critical Introduction California*, Sage Production, 1990.

<sup>25</sup> B. Kwame (Ed), *Promoting Community Media in Africa* Paris, UNESCO, 2000, P. 29.

<sup>26</sup> P. Paula, *Community Radio: the future speaks global* An African experience: the Guinea-Bissau & Mozambique cases, Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, p.290 < [http://puj-portal.javeriana.edu.co/portal/page/portal/PORTAL\\_VERSION\\_2009\\_2010/en\\_home](http://puj-portal.javeriana.edu.co/portal/page/portal/PORTAL_VERSION_2009_2010/en_home) > (Accessed 13, March, 2012).

foundation, or association.<sup>27</sup> Its aim is to serve and benefit that community. It is, in effect, a form of public-service broadcasting, but it serves a community rather than the whole nation, as is the usual form of public broadcasting. Moreover, it relies and must rely mainly on the resources of the community. The handbook further quotes Carlos A. Arnalo as giving more depth to the community radio phenomenon:

Community radio is a social process or event in which members of the community associate together to design program and produce and air them, thus taking on the primary role of actors in their own destiny, whether this be for something as common as mending fences in the neighborhood, or a community-wide campaign on how to use clean water and keep it clean, or agitation for the election of new leaders. The emphasis is on the ownership of democratic and development efforts by the members of the community themselves and the use of media, in this case radio, to achieve it<sup>28</sup>

The study does not in any way attempt to engage in the conceptualization of community radio. Instead, the definition provided above in addition to that of peace-building provided earlier on was useful in putting the activities of Pamoja FM into context.

The handbook observes that in the context of the globalization of the media, it is the role of community media to fill the gap left by global media's obsession with matters of entertainment. Therefore, working under the cultural context of the community it serves, community radio has the potential and responsibility to tackle socio-political issues.<sup>29</sup>

The handbook also offers vital case studies of successful community radio projects around the world, and of these examples, there are interesting cases of the role of community radio in a post conflict environment. In Post apartheid South Africa for instance, Bush Radio, 89.5 FM helped track the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) reports by hosting a member of the commission on a fortnightly basis. Through such programs, Bush Radio's listeners would be updated on the events of the week while at the same time the studio guest would take the

---

<sup>27</sup> C. Fraser and S. Restrepo, *Community Radio Handbook*, Paris, UNESCO, 2001, p.3.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid, p.6.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, p.5.

opportunity to clarify issues arising from the commission's hearings.<sup>30</sup> This precedence set by such cases as Bush Radio will serve as a bench mark for evaluating Pamoja FM's performance on various fronts with regards to the peace-building exercise. Moreover, despite this impressive account, it is clear that there is need to document more cases from Africa. This is much so given that community radio is gaining root in Africa at a time when many African countries are in the long term phase of their peace processes.

Right in the middle of the negative and the positive use of the media in the society is an observation by Roger D. Wimmer and Joseph R. Dominick in *Mass Media Research: An Introduction*. The book observes that since the media became powerful enough to reach mass audience, concentration of research has been on its antisocial effects with little regard to the positive.<sup>31</sup> This statement appears to appeal for more researches to be conducted on the positive roles of the media as well as the highlighting of the literature already present on the same. This study responds to their appeal as it attempts to bring out the efforts a community radio station in communicating well-meaning positive peace messages.

In "Peacebuilding," Michelle Maiese appreciates the centrality of radio at times of conflict. She observes that peace radio and TV in particular are useful in helping parties in reaching agreements.<sup>32</sup> The need to communicate during times of conflict is in itself central to the origin of radio during the First World War; there was the need of those in the battlefield to get information from home and vice versa. Moreover, UNESCO's Declaration of fundamental principles concerning the contribution of mass media to strengthening peace and international understanding in article four states thus:

The mass media have an essential part to play in the education of young people in a spirit of peace, justice, freedom, mutual respect and understanding, in order to promote human rights, equality of rights as between all human beings and all

---

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, p.90.

<sup>31</sup> R. Wimmer and J. Dominick, *Mass Media Research: An Introduction*, New York, Wadsworth Publishing Company, 2000, p. 12.

<sup>32</sup> M. Maiese, "Peacebuilding" *Beyond Intractability*. < [www.beyondintractability.org/essay/peacebuilding](http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/peacebuilding) > (Accessed 16, March, 2013)

nations, and economic and social progress. Equally, they have an important role to play in making known the views and aspirations of the younger generation.<sup>33</sup>

But even with the observation above, there is still the need to disaggregate the media and choose the best medium for the process of peace-building. It is on this premise that this study evaluates the potential of community radio with regards to peace-building.

While condemning international media's handling of conflict situations, Ylva Blondel's *MEDIA: Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction*, appears as an attempt at disaggregating the media as suggested above.<sup>34</sup> In so doing, it favours the local media by pointing out that the long and tedious nature of peace processes coupled with the need for secrecy does not make good material for international media and so international media tends to magnify the failure. At the local level, national media is her preference as she recognizes its wide scope at the local level. Curiously, her piece is quiet on community radio and in essence, she limits herself to just two options hence leaving out community media and the possibility of it being the best choice in a peace-building process.

Ervin Staub et al, in an article "Public Education through Radio to Prevent Violence, Promote Trauma Healing and Reconciliation, and Build Peace in Rwanda and the Congo" points out that in a departure from the far past, media have been used in the last decade to increase positive behavior, and as such, a few radio dramas have aimed at preventing violence and promoting peace.<sup>35</sup> For instance, he cites C. Estes article on a soap opera in Burundi created by Search for Common Ground (SFCG) in 1995 dramatizing the daily lives of two neighboring families, one Tutsi, another Hutu. This soap, according to the article, was rated by 82% of respondents as having helped reconciliation. A television drama for children created by SFCG in Macedonia

---

<sup>33</sup> Declaration on Fundamental Principles concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racialism, apartheid and incitement to war [http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL\\_ID=13176&URL\\_DO=DO\\_TOPIC&URL\\_SECTION=201.html](http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13176&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html) Accessed on 27 October, 2014.

<sup>34</sup> J. Barry (Ed), *Don't Ignore Local Media in Diffusing Conflict*, Paris, UNESCO, 2004, p. 28.

<sup>35</sup> E. Staub et al, "Public Education Through Radio to Prevent Violence, Promote Trauma Healing and Reconciliation, and Build Peace in Rwanda and the Congo," p. 4 <<http://people.umas.edu/estaub/radio%20article20-January%202008.pdf>> (Accessed 7, August, 2012)

increased invitations by children of a child of another ethnicity into their homes from 30% to about 60%.<sup>36</sup> Staub et al's article observes that there seemed to have been a spread of the effects of the radio drama, which was also found in other media projects, possibly as a result of its extensive discussion amongst the population. It therefore concludes that the apparent success of the radio drama offers cautious confidence on the potential of its use in prevention and reconciliation.<sup>37</sup> This study critically analyzes Pamoja FM's programming taking into account the content, structure, and popularity of the different genres e.g. drama, talk show and magazine programs with a view to establishing the contribution of specific programs and genres.

According to "Broadcasting Peace: radio a tool for recovery," unbiased information empowers communities after conflicts.<sup>38</sup> Mary Kimani observes that just like it can be used in fanning conflict, radio can also be useful in peace-building. She gives examples of radio stations in Africa that have been instrumental in peace building in Africa. In the northern Uganda, some LRA rebels have come out of the bush thanks partly to the pleas and campaigns run by Mega FM, a community radio station. In the Democratic Republic of Congo where many were killed in the civil war, Interactive Radio for Justice (IRFJ) has sought to raise public awareness of human rights and the options for dealing with crimes during and after the war. Similarly in West Africa, the NGO Search for Common Ground (SFCG) produced and aired programs 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 neighboring countries, the SFCG developed a program with UN updates, news on the peace process and information on safe areas. Such like programs produced by SFCG's Talking Drum Studio have been aired in neighboring Sierra Leone, which has also been recovering from war. The article goes ahead to outline some of the challenges encountered by these community stations working to bring peace.

---

<sup>36</sup> C. Estes, "Can Soap Operas Save the World?" *Yes! Magazine*, 2<sup>nd</sup>, June, 2006 <[sfcgupdate@sfcg.org](mailto:sfcgupdate@sfcg.org)> (Accessed 7, August, 2012)

<sup>37</sup> Op. cit p.23.

<sup>38</sup> M. Kimani, "Broadcasting Peace: radio, a tool for peace," *Africa Renewal*, United Nations, Vol.21 #3 (October 2007), p.3.

However, this article, having been published in October 2007, does not include more recent cases like the role of community radio in Kenya's post 2007 peace-building. This indicates that there is need to update such information with fresh information from studies like this one.

Gordon Adam and Lina Holguin, offer useful case studies of the use of community radio in armed conflict resolution in Africa.<sup>39</sup> These include Radio Douentza in Mali which has helped bridge the rift between farmers and traditional herder communities; Radio Galkayo in Somalia providing an alternative to the radio stations controlled by warlords; and Studio Ijambo running peace building programs in Burundi. The study however fails to outline the peculiarities of the stations' environment of operation thus denying the reader the opportunity to assess, compare, and contrast the various circumstances and environments under which the stations mentioned operated. The danger of this is that the reader relying solely on this article might conceive community radio's interaction with a peace process as a homogeneous affair. This study goes further and illuminates the uniqueness of the interaction between Pamoja FM's and the Kenyan peace process.

In his study, "Community Radio and the Post Election Violence in Kenya," Matu Ngui, looks into the role played by Kenyan community radio in the post election violence. He concludes that the stations were not perceived as having taken sides in the violent conflict or fuelled the violence but were instead victims of the violence.<sup>40</sup> Given that the focus of Ngui's work was limited to the period of the heightened violence, it serves as an appropriate basis to carry out a research on community radio's role in the long term period beyond the secession of hostilities to the peace building period. There is therefore the need to go beyond exempting the media from blame in the violence by interrogating their role in the post conflict peace building period.

---

<sup>39</sup> G. Adam and L. Holguin, "The Media's Role in Peace building: asset or liability?" *Our Media 3 Conference*, Barranquilla, Columbia, May 19<sup>th</sup> -21<sup>st</sup>, p. 203.

<sup>40</sup> M. Ngui, "Community Radio and Post-election Violence in Kenya," *World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters – Africa (AMARC –Africa)*, 2009, p.40

## 1.6 Theoretical Framework

This study appreciates the postulation that, in practice, no actual media sector operates under one "pure" media theory. In fact, media environments work on conglomerations that bring together theories some of which are inconsistent.

This study was framed on the Marxist media theory and the agenda setting theory. All the other theories that Pamoja FM might have ascribed to at the time of study did not inform the analysis. Marxist theorists hold that the mass media only serves to duplicate the status quo; they serve the needs of the owners of capital who in most cases own or control them.<sup>41</sup> According to the classical Marxist position, the mass media simply disseminate the ideas and world views of the ruling class, and deny or defuse alternative ideas. Marx summarizes it thus: The class which has the means of material production at its disposal has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it.<sup>42</sup> However, critics of the Marxist theory of the media like Marshall McLuhan, Jean Baudrillard, have maintained that at no point in his philosophies did Marx expressly speak to media and communication and that his philosophies on production are partial and therefore cannot be generalized to apply to culture and the media:

. . . the theory of production (the dialectical chaining of contradictions linked to the development of productive forces) is strictly homogenous with its object of material production and is non-transferable, as a postulate or theoretical framework, to contents that were never given for it in the first place.<sup>43</sup>

Marxist media theorists however find within the body of Marx works intellectual categories that allow the analysis of the various aspects of the media, such as their commodity character, their ideological character, their effects on capitalist production, the alternative ways of organizing and doing media, and the ways of interpreting media content in the context of social struggles.<sup>44</sup>

---

<sup>41</sup>K. Marx and F. Engels, "The German Ideology", cited in Carrant et al. 1982, p.22.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> J. Baudrillard, *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign*, St. Louis, Telos Press, 1981, p.214.

<sup>44</sup> C. Fuchs, "Some Theoretical Foundations of Critical Media Study: Reflections on Karl Marx and the Media", *International Journal of Communication*, Vol. 3, 2009, pp.369-402.

Fuchs concludes that Marx can still be used to explain such phenomena as media capital accumulation, media monopolies and media capital concentration, and media and war.<sup>45</sup>

Taking this theory into account, the study assessed the performance of Pamoja FM in relation to ownership and control. It attempted to relate the communal ownership and control of Pamoja FM and its performance in peace-building. This theory was especially important in understanding the disparities between Pamoja FM's performance and that of the mainstream media. While Marxists have seen the media as being in the hands of the ruling class, Marx himself foresaw the possibility of an alternative press which would serve the poor:

In his characterization of the "true press," Marx anticipated the idea that alternative media should be non-commercial and non-profit so as not to become corrupted by capitalist pressures: "The primary freedom of the press lies in not being a trade"<sup>46</sup>

This study took great interest in the operation of Pamoja FM with the view to finding out if it fits the "alternative media" tag.

The agenda setting theory draws a link between the emphasis that mass media place on certain issues and the importance attributed to these issues by the mass audiences.<sup>47</sup> These emphases could be in terms of relative placement or amount of coverage.

Robert Shaw points out that "the media are persuasive in focusing public attention on specific events, issues, or persons and in determining the importance people attach to public matters."<sup>48</sup>

This theory, first fronted by McCombs and Eugene F. Shaw, has been widely used to discuss the influence of the media on society. Cohen noted that the press "may not be successful in telling its readers what to think but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about."<sup>49</sup>

This theory has been demonstrated in several ways including in the 1968 US presidential elections when a study attempted to match what Chapel Hill voters said were key issues of the

---

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> M. McCombs and D. Shaw, "The Agenda-setting Function of Mass media," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 36(2), pp. 176-187.

<sup>48</sup> E. Shaw, "Agenda-setting and Mass Media Communication Theory," *International Communication Gazette*, SAGE Publishers Inc. 1979. P.96.

<sup>49</sup> B. Cohen, *The Press and Foreign Policy*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1963, p.13.



campaign with the actual content of the mass media used by them during the campaigns.<sup>50</sup> On this instant, the issues they considered to be the most serious were the ones that were given priority in the mass media which they were exposed to.

In the context of media and peace-building, it can be inferred that a medium committed to peace building can easily unite its audience towards the same cause. This theory was useful especially in analyzing the rapidity and content of Pamoja FM's programmes initiated or produced within the time frame of the study. The study also found it important to establish the extent to which the station gave priority to peace messages and activity thereby making peace its agenda. Putting this theory in consideration, it was possible to draw a link between the frequency of and preference given to peace messages with the output of the peace building exercise.

### **1.7 Hypothesis**

This study tested the following hypotheses:

- i) Pamoja FM designed, created, and disseminated peace messages in Kibera after the 2007/2008 PEV.
- ii) Pamoja FM's peace messages contributed to peace building in Kibera.
- iii) Pamoja FM was overlooked by the national peace building machinery during the (2008-2013) peace building process.

### **1.8 Methodology**

To assess the role of community radio in peace building in the aftermath of the PEV, the study chose to focus on Pamoja FM because of existing knowledge of the effects of PEV in Kibera and the station's geographical reach. Primary data was collected from Pamoja FM, Pamoja FM listeners/audience, peace organizations, and selected media organizations. Such organizations like the Media Council of Kenya, the National Cohesion and Integration Commission, and the Langata District Peace Committee were purposefully involved in the study owing to prior knowledge that their jurisdictions covered either peace or the media as it relates to this study. In purposive sampling, a researcher uses cases that have the required information with respect to

---

<sup>50</sup> M. McCombs and D. Shaw, "The Agenda-setting Function of Mass media," p.177.

the research objectives of the study.<sup>51</sup> Purposive sampling was also used in picking respondents from the Pamoja FM staff. The study purposefully chose those members with most of the following qualities: were in management positions, had served since 2007, and were considered some of the most popular. Senior members of staff were at a position to answer questions that required the management's position issues. Staff members needed to have served since 2007 to be able to address questions from the beginning to the end of the period under study. The more popular radio hosts were preferred to their less popular counterparts because they had a higher potential of impacting on a bigger population of the station's audience. Purposive sampling was also used in picking sections of the station's audience for focus group discussions. The groups were composed of people of different age, gender, ethnic background.

After sampling the right sources of primary data, data was collected mainly through interviews and focus group discussions. Interviews were conducted with Pamoja FM staff, Founder of Kibera Women for Peace and Fairness, Langata DPC Chairman, Media Council of Kenya Deputy CEO, NCIC Assistant Director, Civic Education and Advocacy, and a former CEO of an independent media content production house. Interviewing is one of the methods usually employed to collect data from small samples like was the case with this project.<sup>52</sup> Focus group discussion on the other hand was used to collect data from the station's listeners.

A significant part of the research involved collecting and analyzing media content. Many newspaper articles contributed useful data to this project. In assessing the media's engagement with peace issues, the study combed through the two leading newspapers *Nation* and *The Standard* published within the period of study. These newspapers were readily available at the Kenya Broadcasting Library. Since it was not possible to use a similar approach in assessing the engagement of television and radio due to unavailability of archival material, the research relied solely on information obtained from media practitioners and monitors through interviews.

The study was however able to obtain recordings of Pamoja FM programs and studio transmission schedule.

---

<sup>51</sup> O. Mugenda and A. Mugenda, *Research Methods: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*, Nairobi, Acts Press, 2003, p. 50.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid*, p. 84.

The data obtained was analyzed qualitatively. In qualitative studies, the researcher seeks to make general statements on how categories or themes of data are related.<sup>53</sup>

---

<sup>53</sup> Ibid, p. 203.

## CHAPTER TWO: MEDIA AND PEACE BUILDING IN KENYA, 2008-2013

### 2.1 Introduction

After the signing of the peace agreement on March 4, 2008, Kenya embarked on a process of fostering long lasting peace. In the period that followed, the nation's sensitivity to matters of peace could be seen in the number, nature, and quality of peace initiatives that were set by the government, civil society, the private sector, and even individual citizens. One of the most notable was the establishment of Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission on October 23, 2008.<sup>54</sup> The objective of the commission was to, among other things, investigate human right abuses, identify perpetrators and victims, and educate and engage the public on the subject matter of the commission.<sup>55</sup>

Another notable exercise was the justice process at the International Criminal Court, The Hague. After the possibility of a local tribunal was shot down in parliament, the envelope containing the names of the suspects of the 2007 post election violence was referred to the ICC, Hague. Consequently, on March 8, 2011, the ICC Pre-Trial Chamber II issued summonses to appear against six high profile Kenyans and later in December, Prosecutor Luis Moreno Ocampo confirmed the names as: Uhuru Kenyatta, Francis Muthaura, William Ruto, Hussein Ali, Henry Kosgey, and Joshua Arap Sang.<sup>56</sup> The prosecutor preferred two charges and even though some suspects were cleared the prosecution of the remaining suspects continued throughout the period under study.

The media, quite naturally, was expected to play a critical role. Specifically, the media had the duty of informing the citizens on the progress of relevant commissions, the justice and reconciliation process, and above all, offering a platform for the dissemination of peace messages. Framed within the 'agenda setting' and 'Marxist' theories of media, the degree to which the media succeeded in performing the functions above can be used as an indicator of whether or not the media made peace its agenda within the period of study.

---

<sup>54</sup> P. Opiyo, Parliament Passes Bill on Bold Truth Commission, The Standard, October 24, 2008, p.4.

<sup>55</sup> <<http://www.kenyalaw.org/download/Bills/2008/>> Accessed on September 20, 2013.

The\_Truth\_Justice\_and\_Reconciliation\_Commission\_Bill\_2008.pdf, pp.14 -17.

<sup>56</sup>< <http://www.haguejusticeportal.net/index.php?id=12416>> Accessed on September 20, 2013.

This chapter focuses on how the media in general participated in peace building within the period of study. It zeroes in on the print/newspaper and broadcast media as they form the main components of the media. Even though social media has become a popular and powerful platform for sharing messages and ideas, the study did not focus on it because it is a more recent phenomenon and was not as grounded especially in the earlier stages of the period of study (2008) as it was in the subsequent years under study. This chapter interrogates the intensity and efficacy of peace related newspaper articles and TV/ radio programs. It also highlights the experiences of stakeholders who worked with or sought to work with the media in peace building. Alongside the establishment of the media's contribution to the peace process, the challenges that the media faced are also captured herein.

## **2.2 Print media**

The study looked at the items published in the country's two main daily newspapers – *The Daily Nation* and the *Standard*. The *Daily Nation* accounts for a daily newspaper market presence that is double that of its nearest rival the Standard Group's *Standard*, their respective circulations being 205,000 and 75,000 for 2009.<sup>57</sup> The circulation of the two leading newspapers combined make for more than three quarters of the total circulation figures in the Kenyan newspaper industry.

Given the statistics above, an analysis of the content of the two newspapers suffices in determining the level of interaction between the newspapers and stakeholders in the peace process as well as the society at large. Though there were other components of the print media like magazines, fliers, billboards etc, their impact was perceived as minimal and so will not be factored in this analysis. The items considered in the analysis were news, feature, opinion, and editorial articles that had the potential of impacting on peace building.

An observation made by the Media Council of Kenya was that immediately after the signing of the peace agreement in March 4, 2008 the media did not immediately become conscious of the need to be at the center of peace building. Instead, the media started off on a point of self denial,

---

<sup>57</sup> N. Othieno, *Factually True, Legally Untrue: Political Media Ownership in Kenya*, Internews, 2012, p.30.

but picking up later and peeking at the elections.<sup>58</sup> Even after the signing of the peace agreement debates on who had either caused or fuelled the violence still lingered and the media was adversely mentioned for having taken sides. The low profile adopted by the media at the beginning (2008) has been linked to the media's fear that a robust participation could have implied acceptance of responsibility.<sup>59</sup>

Despite these assertions, matters arising from the post-election violence dominated the newspapers throughout 2008. However, most items were focused on the wrangles, perceived, or real, of the 'fragile' coalition government. In a way, the stability and survival of the coalition government was depicted as critical for peace in the country. To this end, newspapers were some of the sources through which citizens received information and analyses on the goings-on within the coalition government and the attendant developments in it. As late as 2009, the tone in the newspaper coverage of coalition affairs was that of uncertainty. For instance, a *Nation* newspaper headline in May read 'Hope as Kibaki and Raila Meet at Last.'<sup>60</sup> The paper reported that the two met and went for a tree planting in Ngong and that the President and the Prime Minister had last met on the state opening of parliament on May 21, 2009. According to the article, 'the meeting and the trip to Ngong were highly symbolic at a time when the picture has been presented of a coalition government where the partners are at war.'<sup>61</sup> This sigh-of-relief type of newspaper reports were an indication of uncertainty of the accord.

Opinion articles in the print media were awash with negative sentiments with some scorning at the peace agreement. Such views were represented in the newspapers by opinion articles such as Mutahi Gunyi's 'Why a New Constitution is a Political Nonsense.'<sup>62</sup> In the article he registered his displeasure with the committee of experts claiming that 'the outfit is writing a constitution based on the old 'us' thereby patching material from the past.' Even more related to peace is his second stab- 'my second reason has to do with the legal misengineering of the Peace Accord. The National Accord and Reconciliation Act is a dangerous piece of legislation. It is actually

---

<sup>58</sup> Oral interview, Victor Bwire, Deputy C.E.O, Media Council of Kenya on August 8, 2013.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Nation team, 'Hope as Kibaki and Raila Meet at Last', *Daily Nation*, May 1, 2009, Nation, p.1.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Mutahi Ngunyi, 'Why a New Constitution is Political Nonsense' *Sunday Nation*, May 17, p.15.

unpredictable and fragile and leads us from one political crisis to another.ö Such unflattering sentiments were shared even at a time when many Kenyans were yet to show goodwill to the coalition as the best way out of the post-election political crisis.

The survival of the coalition government was key to the reconciliation process. Consequently, during the period of study, newspapers appeared to dwell overwhelmingly on that subject. However, besides tracking the progress of the coalition government, the newspapers, in their agenda for peace, dedicated space for content that could promote integration, and justice for the victims of the post-election violence. The newspapers published news and opinion articles especially on justice almost on a daily basis. On justice, these articles either educated the citizens on the justice process and its implications, informed them on the state of the process, or agitated for a speedy and thorough process. In öBig Issues the Coalition Must Deliver on for the Country,ö justice is sighted as one of the biggest issues the coalition should tackle in 2009.<sup>63</sup> The article reads - öKenyans want those leaders figured out by the Waki team to be put on their defense and punished if found guilty of the crimes they are suspected of perpetrating.ö In 2009 this incessant call for justice among Kenyans was mainly manifested in the debate pitting the pro-ICC individuals and organizations against those fronting for a local tribunal.

To the literate, the newspapers offered a forum to share opinion. In one article the writer called upon the two principals to implement the Waki report before the ICC suspects are referred to The Hague.<sup>64</sup> He also called for the need to have those named as suspects in the Waki Commission to step aside from government to pave way for prosecution. He poses the question: öHow can an individual credibly named by the most legitimate commission of inquiry in Kenyan history still hold public office while he or she is being investigated?ö<sup>65</sup>

---

<sup>63</sup> Tom Mshindi, öBig Issues the Coalition Must Deliver on for the Countryö, *Daily Nation*, January 2, 2009. P.11.

<sup>64</sup> Makau Mutua, öICC's Sword of Damocles Hangs over Kenya,ö *Sunday Nation*, February 1, 2009, p.15.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

Another article highlighted some of the constitutional hurdles a local tribunal would face because parliament had not made legal adjustments to accommodate it.<sup>66</sup> The seemingly pro-ICC piece discussed the following shortcomings: the failure to require that those mentioned step aside; the lack of guaranteed witnesses protection; lack of guarantee of oversight by parliament; no discussion on immunity and amnesty; and a potential clash between the local tribunal and the TJRC.

The trend taken by interaction through opinion columns especially on issues such as the ICC was that of a continuous dialogue, such that one opinion piece would elicit more opinion pieces in the subsequent publications either supporting or opposing earlier views. This, at any stage in the period of study shows the different views of Kenyans on justice seeking mechanism as an aspect of peace building. Besides, more views were sent as brief letters to the editor by some readers who either could not or did not write full opinion pieces. Hundreds of letters were received at the editors' desks but only a few were published due to the limitation in space.<sup>67</sup> This was an indication that the opinion columns were stirring debate among Kenyans.

While the opinion pages served to solicit and portray the views and emotions of the citizens, they had the potential for being skewed, and a number of them were indeed skewed on facts especially when measured against the more researched and better balanced reportage by journalists even of the same newspapers. Such reports covered an array of peace-related events and issues such as the official inauguration of the National Cohesion and Integration Commission, community peace initiatives and the politics around the peace process. In an example of such reports, we see a journalist's candid account of a political machination that begins on the premise of peace talks.<sup>68</sup> In the story, leaders from both the Kikuyu and the Kalenjin sides were reported as having agreed that only a political solution can bring lasting peace. Consequently, Kikuyu MPs from Rift Valley are reported to be considering forming a political alliance with their Kalenjin counterparts ahead of the next general elections. In the same

---

<sup>66</sup>Ndung'u Wainaina and Haroun Ndubi, "Parliament Failed: Make the Planes Ready for Hague," *Daily Nation*, February 4, 2009, p.11.

<sup>67</sup> Personal communication from an editor who worked for two newspapers within the period of study.

<sup>68</sup> Kipchumba Some, "Uhuru and Ruto Allies in Secret Talks to Push for Peace in Troubled Rift Valley," *Daily Nation*, February 21, 2009, pp.14-15.



story, Rev. Maritim Rirei, a member of the ACK clergy who had been involved in the peace process in the North Rift was quoted as saying the following of the Waki report - 'the report has made it extremely difficult for us because both communities are holding divergent views over it.'<sup>69</sup> The story also shares with the reader the views from both sides regarding the person with whom the responsibility lies with regard to the post-election violence. He writes, 'Most Kikuyus say that the attacks were pre-planned and accuses Ruto for it...the Kalenjins say that Kikuyu retaliatory attack in Naivasha and Nakuru were sanctioned at the highest offices and they blame Mr. Kenyatta who has said that he only participated in a fundraiser to aid victims of the violence.' As a way out, 'Kikuyus want Ruto to be tried at The Hague where they see justice as guaranteed to them.'<sup>70</sup> By juxtaposing the politicians' suggestion of the way forward with that of the victims, as well as presenting the deeply rooted divisions between the two communities, the journalist attempted to rescue the peace building process from being high jacked by politicians. In another report, a journalist showed a community denouncing a proposal to build a monument for the clash victims. He quotes a local resident, Nathaniel Koskei:

We cannot take lightly the monument that is being proposed by our Kikuyu friends. It is against our customs and will only serve to incite our people. This will work against the reconciliation and healing process. The monument is an abomination against our culture.<sup>71</sup>

In the article, the Kalenjins argue that with the difficulties of identifying the bodies, the names to be engraved on the monument, all Kikuyu, may send signals that hamper efforts at reconciliation. The reporter balances the story by giving the reader the position of the Kikuyu community. James Kariuki, an IDP in Keses is quoted as saying:

Some politicians are calling the shots oblivious of the tension that is building on the ground. They don't understand that not all bodies belonged to Kikuyus and waiting for DNA test was another nightmare.<sup>72</sup>

---

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Dennis Odunga, 'Monuments for Victims of Church Fire Rekindles Hostility between Groups,' *Daily Nation*, May 21, 2009, p.20.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

By exposing such ethnic divisions in a small village to a national audience, the newspaper makes a contribution in tracking the state and pace of reconciliation in the country. Considering that the TJRC report was not out till 2013, the newspapers acted as an alternative platform for documenting and sharing the experiences of survivors of the post-election violence. For instance, the story apart from depicting the government's lack of capacity to investigate and prosecute perpetrators, it offered readers a survivor's account of the violence as was on court records:

On the following day, January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2008 at about 10pm, between 700 - 4000 people with faces smeared with chalk-like paste came from the direction of the second and the third accused's home with bows and arrows aimed at the people in the church. When the people at the church compound saw them some started running away while others entered the church. In a short time, the church was surrounded. The attackers took the mattresses of those who had spent the night outside the church and used them as barricades at the door then set the building on fire.<sup>73</sup>

According to Victor Bwire, even though such stories depicting the voices of the victims in the justice process were available in the newspapers such stories that took the point of view of the victims were not often reported as to make meaningful impact compared to the amount of space that was given to the politicking around the peace and justice process. Using ICC as an example, he says:

From the stories we did, most of the stories ignore the victims. Victims are neither their sources of information or subjects of their story, ICC just becomes an event where the majority are reporting just on when the cases are coming up then you see the bigger personalities but we don't see stories generated from the victims' perspective. We have recorded even in terms of time the duration of given to the ICC and you just hear the voices of the suspects and their friend but you don't hear anything from the victims' side.<sup>74</sup>

---

<sup>73</sup> Ann Assugah, 'Why Court had to Free Four Charged with Kiambaa Church Killing,' *Daily Nation*, 18<sup>th</sup> May, 2009, p.14.

<sup>74</sup> Oral interview, Victor Bwire, Deputy C.E.O, Media Council of Kenya on August 8, 2013.

Alongside opinion, feature, and news articles, newspaper editorials were the other, and possibly the most powerful, platform through which matters relating to peace building efforts were articulated.

A newspaper summarizes its views on current events, both local and national, on its editorial pages. This is where editorials, unsigned commentary that reflects the collective position of the newspaper's editorial board, appear.<sup>75</sup> On several occasions, the newspapers, through their editorials, gave a voice to certain aspects relating to peace building. For example, just two days before parliament could decide whether to pursue a local tribunal or send the suspects to The Hague, newspaper opinion pages were dominated by a similar debate. The *Daily Nation* on its part dedicated both opinion pages to the views in favor of or against a local tribunal. The paper's own view, expressed in its editorial, was "the ICC should try suspects in Kenya." When parliament squandered its last chance to establish a local tribunal the *Nation* editorial registered disappointment with the manner in which the issue was handled by parliamentarians.<sup>76</sup> It stated in part, "the motion was ultimately not decided on its merit or demerit, but on local political quarrel cutting across a wide array of fissures within the leadership."<sup>77</sup> The newspaper admonished the political leaders' failure to put national interest before political expediency. Such negligence, or even interference, by the political elite on matters relating to peace building pervaded the scene and were consistently reported by the newspapers.

Besides the debate on the ICC and the consequent failure to have a local tribunal to try suspects, the Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC) and the issues linked to its mandate elicited plenty of opinions in the newspapers. The TJRC was formed at a time when some African countries like South Africa, Rwanda, and Sierra Leone already had experienced transitional justice under Truth Commissions and Special Tribunals. Consequently it was viewed that Kenya would borrow from the best practices. However, there has been a debate whether

---

<sup>75</sup> Bob Wilson, "How Newspapers Work" < <http://people.howstuffworks.com/newspaper3.htm> > Accessed on 10/09/2013.

<sup>76</sup> M. Wambua, "How Kenya Handled Local Tribunal Process," *Nation Media Group Library*, 17/9/2013. <http://mobile.nation.co.ke/News/How-Kenya-handled-local-tribunal-process--/1950946/1997172/-/format/xhtml/-/dwh96i/-/index.html> > Accessed on October 12, 2013.

<sup>77</sup> Nation editorial, "Vote in House Show Failure of Leadership," *Daily Nation*, 13<sup>th</sup> January, 2009, p.10

Truth Commissions actually do bring reconciliation among former enemies.<sup>78</sup> Nevertheless, three distinct elements have been proposed to analyze the success of truth commissions: process, product, and the eventual impact.<sup>79</sup> Under this arrangement the process is judged by the degree to which it engages the public in understanding unknowns (or in admitting that they have been denied) . . . whether it gains full participation from all actors in the course of its investigations, including former perpetrators; and whether its work is positive and supportive to victims and survivors.<sup>80</sup>

That the TJRC got it wrong from the start was a popular opinion:

The whole concept of truth, justice and reconciliation in Kenya was mis-conceptualized right from the start leading to very limited understanding of the actual purpose of a Truth Commission. The ill-advised timing, sequencing, composition and limited victims and civil society consultations have seen the legitimacy and credibility of the TJRC featuring prominently. The government of Kenya made a further grave mistake of selling the Commission as one to handle post-election violence, and consequently, this has clogged the whole process and denies its sentimental value.<sup>81</sup>

The lack of public debate and consultation prior to the formation of the TJRC resulted into a backlash that played out clearly in the media. This was further spiced up by the debate on the suitability of the appointment of Bethwel Kiplagat as the chairman. In an opinion article the transparency in the composition of the TJRC was brought into focus. Appearing to be alluding to the controversy that surrounded the selection of Bethuel Kiplagat as the Chairman, the writer pointed out that "The success or failure of the TJRC clearly shall be determined by the character of the commissioners as much as it depends on how the commission would operate and on the

---

<sup>78</sup> L. Graybill and K. Lanegran, "Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation in Africa: Issues and cases," *African Studies Quarterly*, Volume 8 issue I, p. 1.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid, p.3.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Monitoring Report of the Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission: A Case of Concealing Truth to Reward Impunity, International Center for Policy and Conflict, April 2008 to June 2010, p. 4.

nature of its conclusions and recommendations.<sup>82</sup> Indeed, the nature of leadership and the people's trust in it was to play a critical role in the success of the commission like it did in South Africa's TRC.<sup>83</sup>

In reality, the Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission received massive mention and media coverage in the five years but not in a positive way as was with the Truth Commissions of South Africa.<sup>84</sup> In Post apartheid South Africa for instance, Bush Radio, 89.5 FM helped track the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) reports by hosting a member of the commission on a fortnightly basis. Through such programs, Bush Radio's listeners would be updated on the events of the week while at the same time the studio guest would take the opportunity to clarify issues arising from the commission's hearings.<sup>85</sup> Conversely, the image of the TJRC as portrayed by the media was that of an incompetent entity. In fact, most of the space the commission was accorded was in the opinion columns; reports by journalist on its substance and progress was minimal. Some people were of the opinion that the TJRC, in as far as media support is concerned, was a victim of the controversy that bedeviled its Chairman.<sup>86</sup> However, other views on the newspapers suggested that there were more concerns about the commission as a whole and not just the credibility of the chairman. For instance in a piece a writer posed the question 'what constitutes injustice in the eyes of the commission and the public?' The author however appreciated the potential negative effects of the controversy surrounding the TJRC's chairman and urged the government to move with speed and restore the confidence of Kenyans in the process.<sup>87</sup>

---

<sup>82</sup> Ndung'u Wainaina, 'True Healing Won't be Achieved without Dealing with the Past,' *Daily Nation*, 9<sup>th</sup> May, 2009, p.14.

<sup>83</sup> Linn Graybill, Kimberly Lanegran, 'Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation in Africa: Issues and cases', p. 6.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid*, p.90.

<sup>85</sup> C. Fraser and S. Restrepo, *Community Radio Handbook*, p 90.

<sup>86</sup> Oral interview, Victor Bwire, Deputy C.E.O, Media Council of Kenya on August 8, 2013.

<sup>87</sup> Joseph Kamotho, 'Heal the Wounds of the Nation', *Daily Nation*, 25<sup>th</sup>, October, 2009, p.27.

In another piece, the writer urged the TJRC to “approach its mandate with a sense of history.” He posed “why should 1963 be the year from which the historical injustices are traced?...what I am simply saying is that the TJRC should sensibly figure out the timelines that directly bear on the contemporary issues it claims to want to focus on and then begin from there.”<sup>88</sup>

Unfortunately, during this time, there was little of TJRC’s response to some of these concerns that appeared to represent a significant portion of the public. And unlike the ICC issue which divided the population almost right in the middle, the commission was portrayed by the newspapers as having many more critics than admirers. However, even in the attacks, some of the opinion articles made positive contribution in nurturing an expectation against which to measure TJRC’s progress and output. In one such article, the author explains to the reader the various kinds of truths: objective or factual, or forensic truth; personal or narrative truth; and social or dialogical truth; healing or restorative truth.<sup>89</sup> He quips “as part of a reconciliation process, truth is not just about bare historical facts if it is to contribute to healing, restoring memory and human dignity, then truth must be seen as the widest possible compilation of people’s perceptions, stories, myths, and experiences.”<sup>90</sup>

Resettlement of the IDPs as an item of the peace building process dominated the newspapers on all the platforms: opinion, feature, news, editorial, and even the graphic/cartoon section. A number of articles tracked the pace of resettlement of IDPs. In one such article the reporter described the political situation as business as usual. He quoted the Minister for Special Programs, Naomi Shaaban, in whose docket the task fell as saying “it is impossible to project how long it will take to settle or to start resettling IDPs.”<sup>91</sup> From time to time, such reports were even reinforced by editorials like “The Displaced shouldn’t be Forgotten” an article that calls upon stakeholders in the resettlement plan to fast track the process.<sup>92</sup>

---

<sup>88</sup> Gitau Warigi, “TJRC Should Approach its Mandate with a Sense of History”, *Daily Nation*, 25<sup>th</sup>, October, 2009, p.25.

<sup>89</sup> Njonjo Mue, “Shall the Truth Heard by the TJRC Set Us Free?”, *The Standard*, 23<sup>rd</sup>, October, 2009. P.7.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> Eric Wamanji, “Why IDP Trouble Will Linger”, *The Standard*, April 2, 2009.

<sup>92</sup> *The Standard*, October 30, 2008. P.14.

Though the media remained active on matters touching on peace building for the better part of the period of study, it has been observed that its involvement was more intense towards the 2013 general elections.<sup>93</sup> Apart from the broadcast media, newspapers were the other channels through which peace campaign messages were channeled. Newspapers spared a lot of space for peace messages.<sup>94</sup>

### **2.3 Broadcast Media**

The study looked at TV and radio activity over the years from 2008 to 2013. The analysis focused on the news and program content, advertisement/campaigns as well as radio continuity announcement. This section highlights some of the main initiatives that were channeled through the broadcast media either by other stakeholders or by the media stations themselves.

As stated earlier, media's contribution to peace building efforts started off rather reluctantly. TV and radio participation could be seen as getting more regular with time. According to the MCK this was due to self denial.<sup>95</sup> However, an explanation that stretches beyond self denial has been fronted by the Media Focus on Africa (MFA).<sup>96</sup> According to Mr. Gikunda, a former MFA country director, the campaigns to the 2008 elections had not prepared the media machinery for violence and "in fact we did our pre-election campaign on the premise on the need for people to remain vigilant. We didn't expect the vigilance to also amount to violence."<sup>97</sup> This being the case, he argues that the media couldn't pick up immediately in the peace process as there was need to search for the best way to mitigate:

We then started asking what sort of programs we can come up with. We also started looking at what other media entities had done in other countries around the world, we even went to Burundi to try and study what the media has done there

---

<sup>93</sup> Oral interview, Kilian Nyambu, Assistant Director, Civic Education and Advocacy, The National Cohesion and Integration Commission, August 5, 2013.

<sup>94</sup> Oral interview, Victor Bwire, Deputy C.E.O, Media Council of Kenya on August 8, 2013.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> The Media Focus on Africa is a Non-governmental Organization that promotes good governance by influencing content on the mainstream media platforms. MFA engaged in the production of TV and radio content after the 2007/2008 post election violence.

<sup>97</sup> Oral interview, Mburugu Gikunda, former CEO, Media Focus in Africa, June 24, 2013.

and we came back encouraged that there was stuff we could do. We wanted to develop radio programs, TV programs, etc.<sup>98</sup>

In line with the assertions above it can be inferred that TV and radio content did not immediately adjust to promote or support peace building but rather focused on carrying out a post mortem of the violence. A study of TV and radio content also revealed that the media, in the first few months after the signing of the Accord, was dominated by reflections on the political agreement between Kibaki and Odinga. Towards the end of the year, TV and radio stations began to flag off discussion on the frameworks for a long term peace. Radio and TV stations hosted stake holders and experts in their studios with a view to building a bridge between the violent past and a stable and peaceful future. But again even at the beginning of a more beneficial relationship between the media and the post conflict situation the discussions were more of expert talk, at times laden with political overtones; the citizens at large were yet to be actively engaged in the discussions. Even though studio call-ins have traditionally been effective in collecting views from the citizens, most radio presenters recall that a lot of the sentiments that they prerecorded still had shades of hate speech and could not be aired. Consequently, citizen participation was handled with caution. This was however not to be the case in the long run as the media eventually availed platform for meaningful engagement with the citizens.

While there are many examples of how radio has been used in post conflict peace-building such as in South Africa, Burundi, Sierra Leone, Somali and so on, there is no study that clearly prescribes the best timing for the media's entry into post conflict peace-building. In the Kenyan case, there was heightened tension immediately after the peace agreement. This limited the applicability of live studio discussions as reported by some radio hosts. This called for a different strategy: airing recorded programs that are carefully conceptualized and well thought through. This heavily borrowed from other cases where pre-recording had proved successful in managing information flow in a conflict environment. In West Africa, the NGO Search for Common Ground (SFCG) produced and aired programs on peace, disarmament and reconciliation in

---

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.



Liberia, using twenty two partner radio stations.<sup>99</sup> Such programs were also aired in neighboring Sierra Leone, which was also recovering from war. In Kenya, Media Focus on Africa is one of the media entities that took to the production of such programs:

For us we were aware that the country was no longer the same and as media practitioners we were asking of how we can make a contribution towards making sure that people can start looking at each other again and start engaging differently. We looked at it from the wholesomeness of info sharing, that if people know different then they will act different. Through information sharing we demonstrated alternatives.<sup>100</sup>

Their first TV program *Fist to Five* which ran on Citizen TV and a number of radio stations sought to get people to understand that there are lots of commonalities between individuals and communities; that actually, it isn't that institutional weaknesses should be visited upon individuals so that individuals suffer for what they are not responsible. They also wanted to demonstrate that there were no differences between members of ethnic groups passé.

The exercise sought to enable the population to engage and appreciate the realities as they were:

What we were trying to do with *Fist to Five* was to drive the message home that responsibilities rest with individuals, particularly as far as how people relate to each other. The violence that occurred in 08 interrupted relationships and therefore we were inviting people to look at these relationships afresh.<sup>101</sup>

They divided the country into regions particularly the worst hit areas and recorded nineteen shows. The participating groups were multi gender and multi ethnic and the recording was a three-tier process: first they put people in a group to talk about what their experiences were, then they discuss what they thought the root causes of their experiences were, and at the end the people discussed how, together, they could overcome the strained relationships, not where they could then move away the responsibilities for action to people in leadership for instance but

---

<sup>99</sup> M. Kimani, "Broadcasting Peace: radio, a tool for peace," *Africa Renewal*, United Nations, Vol.21 #3 (October 2007), p.3.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid

<sup>101</sup> Ibid

rather where they could at their level accept responsibility and come up with solutions.<sup>102</sup> According to Gikunda, the recordings had an emotional effect on both the participants and the crew. The crew was therefore taken through a one- week training on conflict and conflict resolution. They also gave breaks instead of having the nineteen episodes run continuously:

It was heart- drenching. Every time that program went on air we received numerous calls people saying "why do you have to remind people" and such kind of things. I remember when we ran a show from Mombasa people were like why you have to show this at this hour, we don't want to be reminded. On our side this was deliberate and we expected such sentiments. So what we did was to run six programs and have a break so that people to engage with the issues very seriously and think about it. People not confronting these issues, to us, was like removing pus from a wound or where there is an injury. You first allow the wound to fester then you clean it, you know it's a painful process, if left to yourself probably you may want to avoid it but then it wouldn't heal.<sup>103</sup>

To achieve the most out of the discussion sessions, MFA persuaded victims and perpetrators to attend and participate. In many cases emotions ran high when victims met those who had inflicted pain in their lives. However, with the guidance of the moderators and other participants, there were no violent reactions. Testimonies by some of the perpetrators often moved the participants just as the testimonies from the victims did. For example, at a session in Kisumu, a lady from the Kisii ethnic community met face to face with youths that participated in looting her property and burning her house. She first threatened to walk away from the discussion but with intervention from one of the religious leaders in the forum, she was able to calm down and rejoin the discussion. The youths later spoke candidly and were remorseful as many of them said they were under the influence of alcohol. Although the Lady never got to say anything, she sat

---

<sup>102</sup> Ibid

<sup>103</sup> Ibid

throughout the workshop and requested to attend the next workshop, where she went ahead to forgive the youths and further asked the community to accept her as a member of the town.<sup>104</sup>

*Fist to Five* targeted people of the age above 35, locking out a significant and critical segment of the society of the youth. As a response to this limitation, they produced *The Team*, a football drama series that brought together characters from different tribes who have to overcome their distrust and work together to have a chance of winning a tournament. The players on Imani FC represented Kenya's diverse population: rich and poor; male and female; urban and rural and so on. Due to each member's troubled past, they found difficulty in seeing each other's point of view. This became their major undoing in their bid to win the tournament. At a time when strained or severed relationships stood in the way of reconciliation, this strategy served to remind the participants that they had to choose the harder option of engaging their enemies for the good of the community. The choice of football was therefore strategic.

For us football was a metaphor for the country because just like you would have people playing different positions so it is for as country where you would have people playing different roles. So in the same way that the team plays together so could Kenyans of various backgrounds to achieve the same goals of success and growth.<sup>105</sup>

Two episodes were screened continuously, which was followed by a break of two hours to engage on issues arising. At other times a group of seventy people met to watch the entire season and then contextualize the issues arising. They first discussed what they had watched in the drama then tried relating it to the reality. In effect, the drama turned what would have otherwise been passive audiences into active participants so that, at the end, they were able to engage with the issues and see how to apply the lessons learnt.

---

<sup>104</sup> A Platform for Dialogue Towards National Integration and Cohesion of Final project Report, Media Focus on Africa Foundation January 27<sup>th</sup>, 2010, p.8

<sup>105</sup> Oral interview, Mburugu Gikunda, former CEO, Media Focus in Africa, June 24, 2013.

To track the impact of the productions, participants were handed forms which they filled and returned to MFA. Participants also gave feedback via text messages, facebook, twitter, telephone calls. More notable, MFA engaged a PhD student from the University of Iowa to conduct research on the impact of its programs. They also worked with the United Nations University of Peace as their evaluators. In its evaluation of *The Team* performance, the United Peace University in its final evaluation report noted:

Since it started, *The Team* in Kenya touched the hearts and minds of many, helped them to see issues of grave concern to them with constructive lenses, with the aim of effecting change on individual and institutional levels. In the process, *The Team* inspired openness, dialogue and engagement with one another to heal old wounds, and to build peaceful communities.<sup>106</sup>

In addition to such external evaluation, MFA documented the impact of their programs on their audiences. In one instance, a Kalenjin man, after learning from a character (Tina) in *The Team*, managed to reach out to his wife of Kikuyu ethnic origin who she had sent away during the violence. The 39 episodes of *The Team* ran on a number of radio and TV stations locally.

By the year 2010 when MFA's engagement in peace building via its media programs was still alive, there were indications that most radio and TV stations had scaled up the drive towards an agenda for peace. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, in *An Agenda for Peace*, conceptualizes post conflict peace-building as including "comprehensive efforts to identify and support structures which will tend to consolidate peace and advance a sense of confidence and well-being among people."<sup>107</sup> According to the document, specific steps and tasks under peace-building must include, where applicable, disarming the previously warring parties and the restoration of order, the custody and possible destruction of weapons, repatriating refugees, advisory and training support for security personnel, monitoring elections, advancing efforts to protect human rights, reforming or strengthening governmental institutions and promoting formal and informal processes of political participation. In the Kenyan context, there was plenty to be done within the spirit of the agenda

---

<sup>106</sup> Amr Abdalla, *The Team: Kenya, Final Evaluation Report*, University for Peace, 2012, p. 42.

<sup>107</sup> *An Agenda for Peace*: a report of the Secretary-General pursuant to the statement adopted by the Summit Meeting of the Security Council on 31 January, 1992, 17 June 1992.

for peace. These included resettlement of IDPs, reforming governmental institutions like the Judiciary and the Electoral Commission of Kenya, Promotion of human rights, encouraging political participation, and monitoring the next general elections. Even though the role of the media in peace-building is not expressly stated in An Agenda for Peace, the media had the potential of contributing immensely to peace-building as discussed earlier in this paper.

Indeed a look at TV and radio content in 2010 onwards shows that there were more discussions as well as news items on peace related issues even during prime time. However, it is towards the general elections that the media really made peace its main agenda. According to the MCK, there were conscious efforts towards peace messages towards the general elections. The media was particularly vigilant with regards to hate speech messages and exercised self censorship to a level never witnessed before.

Remember also if Sang was at The Hague, what lessons were other journalists learning from that? Remember there was a media monitoring department at the ministry that brought together the crime unit, national cohesion and others watching the media and then this militarization of peace. Media is also a part of the society and was not going to act otherwise. Either it is patriotism or just being sensitive to the environment around you.<sup>108</sup>

Borrowing from the losses that the media experienced in the post-election violence of 2007/2008, the media's very active participation just before the general elections can also be read as economically driven:

Again from the economic point of view, in 2008 during the violence remember media never sold because for instance the Standard media couldn't take newspapers to Nyanza and remember media is a business so they stood also to gain from the peace in the country because media is business. If there were post-election violence and their reporters could not get to work and they could not sell

---

<sup>108</sup> Oral interview, Victor Bwire, Deputy C.E.O, Media Council of Kenya on August 8, 2013.

their product so those were lessons learnt from 2008 and so from an economic point of view the media also stood to benefit from the peace.<sup>109</sup>

That the media's participation was prompted by economic interest is an opinion shared by MFA. There was also the feeling that the last minute call for peace, however intensified, was not the best approach by the media.

í there were calls for people to maintain peace and remain calm, but we kept on thinking, for those of us who have been practicing in this area peace is not an end unto itself, so what?... Peace is not an end unto itself and I think the media has a role to show that peace does not exist in a vacuum, that there are things that have to be put in place in order for peace to exist. And therefore whereas it has done a commendable job it has not done enough to demonstrate the context within which peace thrives. Telling people to maintain peace is not enough.<sup>110</sup>

While the intensification of peace messages from across the media sector towards the elections could indicate unity behind a common agenda, serious issues around the peace process divided the media in the middle. For instance the debate around justice via the ICC in relation to Uhuru Kenyatta's presidential candidacy was highly politicized and devoid of facts, all at the expense of the citizenry's need to know the truth. On ICC the media never set one agenda; the various media stations sets agenda based on their ownership structure or on the community in which they are based thereby failing to present the citizens with a national understanding of the ICC and its functions:

You would see even guests in the studio invited according to where they come from, Who owns the radio station, which lawyer is affiliated to who will come to the station. And obviously when they start the presentation you would see the presentation is skewed towards whoever they support.<sup>111</sup>

---

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

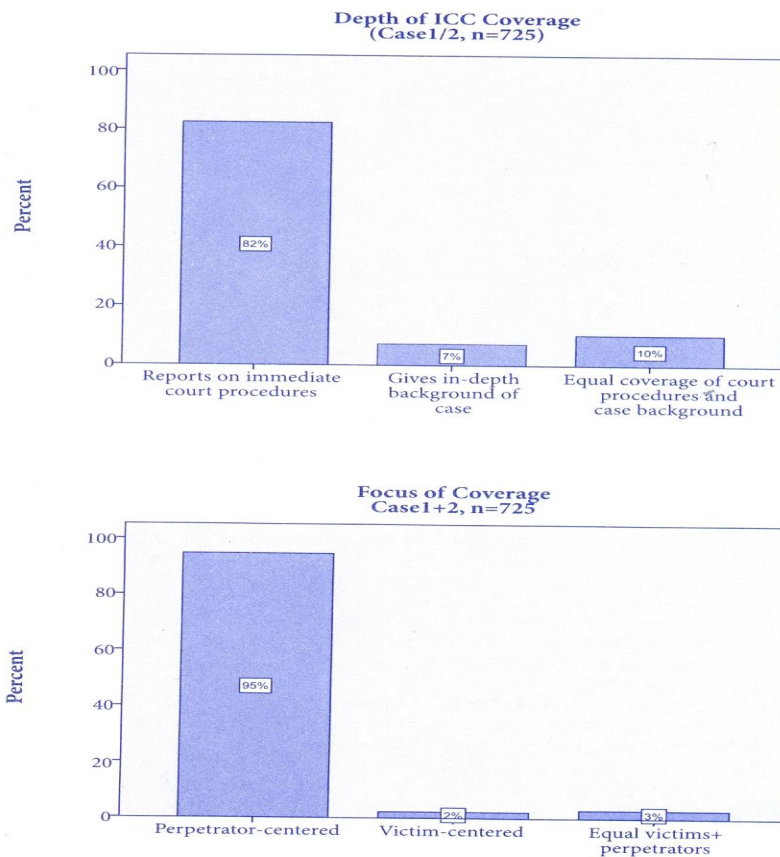
<sup>110</sup> Oral interview, Mburugu Gikunda, former CEO, Media Focus in Africa, June 24, 2013.

<sup>111</sup> Oral interview, Victor Bwire, Deputy C.E.O, Media Council of Kenya on August 8, 2013.

Across the country, matters relating to justice for the post-election violence victims were always laced with ethnic undertones throughout the period of study. Even though the media had the opportunity to offer the right perspective, a section of the media did not invest much effort to this end. An example is that of vernacular radio stations whose coverage of the ICC cases lacked depth and was perpetrator-centered.<sup>112</sup> This limitation is captured in fig. 1 below.

However, given that political competition was getting tighter towards the general elections, political interference became yet another impediment to the communication of facts to the citizenry. This political diversion played out in the broadcast media more than the ethnic diversions did earlier.

**Figure 2.1: Coverage of ICC cases by Kenyan vernacular stations**



<sup>112</sup> The Performance of Vernacular Radio Stations in Kenya, Media Council of Kenya, 2011.

Source: MCK Monitoring Report ó The Performance of Vernacular Stations in Kenya, September/October 2011

### 2.3.1 Community radio

Different community radio stations operate under different financial, legal, and political circumstances and environments. That notwithstanding, community radio have been viewed as taking into account the idea that community broadcasting is not for profit, is aimed at particular communities, and is intended to communicate socially useful messages of benefit to the community.<sup>113</sup> Further, UNESCO's Community Radio Handbook defines community radio as a non-profit service that is owned and managed by a particular community, usually through a trust, foundation, or association.<sup>114</sup> Its aim is to serve and benefit that community. It is, in effect, a form of public-service broadcasting, but it serves a community rather than the whole nation, as is the usual form of public broadcasting. Moreover, it relies and must rely mainly on the resources of the community.

In Kenya it has been difficult to establish the accurate number of community radio stations owing to a disconnect that exists between what a community broadcasting license provides for and what some of these stations actually practice once they get the license. For instance, under the Kenya Information and Communications Act (1998) an entity applying for a broadcast license should not be a political party, and should guarantee the participation of the respective communities.<sup>115</sup> However, many applicants do violate these guidelines soon as they are awarded the license; a portrayal of media ownership in Kenya has established close links between some community stations and prominent political entities.<sup>116</sup> Moreover, some community radio stations are run with little regard to the participation of communities. This means that licenses have been handed to persons who use the title "community radio" while in practice operating

---

<sup>113</sup> P. Paula, "Community Radio: the future speaks global" An African experience: the Guinea-Bissau & Mozambique cases, Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, p.290 < [http://puj-portal.javeriana.edu.co/portal/page/portal/PORTAL\\_VERSION\\_2009\\_2010/en\\_home](http://puj-portal.javeriana.edu.co/portal/page/portal/PORTAL_VERSION_2009_2010/en_home) > (Accessed 13, March, 2012)

<sup>114</sup> C. Fraser and S, Restrepo, *Community Radio Handbook*. p.3.

<sup>115</sup> The Kenya Information and Communication Act (1998) <http://www.cck.go.ke/regulations/downloads/Kenya-Information-Communications-Act-Final.pdf> Accessed on 20/03/2014

<sup>116</sup> O. Nyanjom, Factually True, Legally Untrue: political media ownership in Kenya, Internews, November, 2012, pp. 46-47.



like a private commercial station. An independent content producer who tried supplying peace-building programmes to community radio stations for free cited this private-commercial approach as a major hindrance to peace-building:

What one would expect is that they become very enthusiastic, very passionate because they affect their communities but I would say not quite. I would have expected a lot more people from these community stations calling to ask "how can we run that program again?" "Come let's talk about this to the people," but no, yet that's the expectation. I don't think we saw enough of that.<sup>117</sup>

The lack of enthusiasm coupled by with the legal breach of stipulated guidelines by some community radio stations in Kenya had the potential of compromising their commitment to peace building especially in comparison to the good work some community radio stations have done in other parts of the world. For instance, in post-apartheid South Africa, Bush Radio, 89.5 FM helped track the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) reports by hosting a member of the commission on a fortnightly basis. Through such programs, Bush Radio's listeners would be updated on the events of the week while at the same time the studio guest would take the opportunity to clarify issues arising from the commission's hearings.<sup>118</sup> Other examples include Studio Ijambo that ran peace-building programs in Burundi, Radio Douentza which helped reconcile farmers and traditional herder communities in Mali, and Radio Galkayo which acted as an alternative to propaganda channels owned by warlords in Somalia.<sup>119</sup>

Even with the limitations exhibited by community as discussed above, community radio stations during the period of study still had a duty to participate in peace-building. This was a higher calling and in agreement with UNESCO's *Community Radio Handbook* which observes that in the context of the globalization of the media, it is the role of community media to fill the gap left by global media's obsession with matters of entertainment. Therefore, working under the cultural

---

<sup>117</sup> Oral interview, Mburugu Gikunda, former CEO, Media Focus in Africa, June 24, 2013.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid, p.90

<sup>119</sup> G. Adam and L. Holguin, "The Media's Role in Peacebuilding: asset or liability?" *Our Media 3 Conference*, Barranquilla, Columbia, May 19<sup>th</sup> -21<sup>st</sup>, 2003

context of the community it serves, community radio has the potential and responsibility to tackle socio-political issues.<sup>120</sup>

According to some stakeholders in the peace sector community radio indeed provided a platform to engage with the population on the issues of peace e.g. through studio discussions, campaigns, and informacials.<sup>121</sup> However, even in so doing, the bigger picture depicts the peace agenda as largely controlled by outside forces rather than the stations themselves. The stations mainly ran initiatives of partners from both governmental and non-governmental organizations.<sup>122</sup>

The explanation to why community radio stations did not do much on their own has been partly linked to the lack of capacity, both financial and technical. A majority of such stations operate under limiting budgets, and so it has proved difficult to purchase equipment and hire professional personnel:

What mangælete or Bahari FM needs is just a million bob. Many of those stations need equipment, Pamoja FM has just one radio recorder. Again they don't have a standby generator, so if power goes off they have to be off-air till power comes back.<sup>123</sup>

The study found out from some of the stakeholders that due to poor training of personnel, studio discussions, for instance, did not achieve much as the hosts lacked the skill and confidence to control the discussions for the good of the public at large. Instead, some of such forums were turned into opportunity for the guests, especially the politicians, to further their interests some of which were not in the interest of peace-building.<sup>124</sup>

---

<sup>120</sup> Ibid, p.5

<sup>121</sup> Oral interview, Kilian Nyambu, Assistant Director, Civic Education and Advocacy, The National Cohesion and Integration Commission, August 5, 2013.

<sup>122</sup> Oral interview, Mburugu Gikunda, former C.E.O, Media Focus in Africa, June 24, 2013.

<sup>123</sup> Oral interview, Victor Bwire, Deputy C.E.O, Media Council of Kenya on August 8, 2013.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

## 2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that the peace building exercise was driven by the mainstream media mainly through its print and broadcast outlets. The newspapers tracked the pace of reconciliation and justice through news, opinion, and features articles. The news pages informed and educated the citizens on matters regarding peace-building such as reconciliation, justice seeking and resettlement of the IDPs. Opinion pages on the other hand offered forums for opinion and feedback. More overt views on aspects touching on peace-building were anchored on newspaper editorials and headlines. Editorials were particularly useful in displaying a newspaper's position and agenda.

The broadcast media produced and aired a number of TV and radio programs of different genres some of which had great impact on the lives of the audience in as far as reconciliation is concerned. Broadcast media also offered forums for positive engagements through talk shows and studio discussions where experts explained the fine details around seemingly obscure issues of importance. In the same forums members of the audience aired their opinions and emotions.

Most institutions that took part in peace-building appreciated the relevance of the media in the exercise and confirmed that generally the media played its role well. However, there was a feeling that the media could have done better because despite the observation that most media houses were conscious of their duty to promote peace and to support the peace process, media houses did not push the same agenda all the way. For instance, the media failed to hold together on such important issues as the call for the resettlement of IDPs and the ICC. Instead, the debate saw factions of the media push different agenda. Media ownership, ethnicity, and political expedience greatly interfered with the media's ability to perform its role accordingly. According to the agenda setting Theory and considering the media's role in setting agenda, more would have been achieved if the media held together.

This chapter has shown that the media's participation in peace activities and issues started on a low note just after the signing of the National Accord but progressed and intensified towards the 2013 general elections. Whether at the earlier or later stages the media's participation came out partly as informed by the need to prevent violence for the smooth operation of the media as a

business. This therefore makes it difficult to establish the extent to which the media acted in fulfillment of its role as a social institution and the extent to which it acted in the interest of self preservation. The business interest angle can be framed within the Marxist theory of the media i.e. the tendency of the media to promote status quo as established by the ruling classes who also happen to be the media owners. In this case, then a solution would be expected from community media which, unlike the mainstream media which is owned by individuals and groups with personal interests, is owned by the community.

However, the study established that community radio in Kenya did not quite live up to expectation owing to a host of challenges that hindered them from functioning in the ideal way and in keeping with some of the best standards documented from around the world. As the study found out, many community radio stations in Kenya operate under the shackles of financial constraints and political patronage.

Given the shortcomings of the private media and community radio as mentioned above, this study examined the operations of Pamoja FM with a view to establishing its performance relative to that of the private media and community radio in general.

## CHAPTER THREE: PAMOJA FM AND ITS PEACE INITIATIVES IN KIBERA, 2008-2013

### 3.1 Introduction

After portraying, in chapter two, the media as a whole interacted with the national peace building process, this chapter will narrow down to the efforts by Pamoja FM in the same period. Lederach conceives peace building as creating a structure of peace based on justice, equity, and cooperation, thereby addressing the underlying causes of conflict so that they become less likely in the future.<sup>125</sup> In this way, peace building is seen as dynamic thereby involving different strategies at different stages. After violent conflict, post conflict peace building includes reconstruction, reconciliation, building relationships, justice seeking, and social justice. These being the pillars of peace building, this chapter will establish the specific ways via which they benefited from Pamoja FM's services. This chapter will therefore discuss the station's contribution towards justice seeking, reconciliation and rebuilding relationships. However, before getting to the contribution of Pamoja FM in peace building in Kibera, this chapter will start by giving a history of Kibera and its conflict system and an account of the 2007/8 PEV as it did manifest in Kibera.

### 3.2 A background of Kibera's conflict system

Formerly a military exercise ground, the area currently known as Kibera was first inhabited in the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century when the East Africa Protectorate army administration allowed its Nubian ex-soldiers and their families to settle there.<sup>126</sup> For some time, they lived by themselves as a homogenous unit. During this time, there was little pressure on the land, and they were united by their language, religion, and their alcohol brewing as an economic activity.<sup>127</sup> With time, the population of Nairobi continued to grow rapidly: from 20,000 in 1920 to just less than 30,000 in 1926, to 33,000 inhabitants in 1930, to 49,600 in 1936 and to 108,900 in 1944.<sup>128</sup> Though the population in Kibera increased gradually during this time it generally

---

<sup>125</sup> M. Gawerc, "Peace-building: Theoretical and Concrete Perspective," pp. 435-478.

<sup>126</sup> J. Smedt, "The Nubis of Kibera: a Social History of the Nubians and Kibera Slums," Leiden University, 2011, p.10

<sup>127</sup> The Nubian Gin was brewed by women who remained at home while the men took care of the livestock or went looking for jobs.

<sup>128</sup> Smedt, "The Nubis of Kibera", p.71.

remained low. Towards the end of World War I, more Nubians, mainly demobilized soldiers, settled in Kibera to add onto the number that already lived there.

Over the years some left to settle in different parts of the country for different reasons including increased pressure on the land. In 1945, the colonial government attempted to control the influx of people into the slum by controlling unauthorized house construction, ensuring that no permanent houses were constructed, and organizing the proposed resettlement of the Nubis.<sup>129</sup> This attempt to prevent the area from becoming a permanent slum did not succeed due to the resistance by the Nubis as well as the lack of funds owing to Britain's deplorable economic situation after World War II and so construction continued but not everyone who settled in Kibera got some space to build a house.<sup>130</sup> There emerged another category of immigrants – tenants. Those with houses, most of them Nubis, built extensions which they rented out to such people. The trend continued and consequently the Nubis were outnumbered. An unofficial census in 1966 showed that Kibera had 3000 Nubis against 7000 non-Nubis.<sup>131</sup>

As Kibera lost its homogeneity so did its potential for conflict grow. Though the government gave up in controlling the spread of the informal settlement the rush to own a piece of Kibera set the new comers against the Nubis on the one hand and between the newcomers themselves. The conflicts were hardly violent. There was however increased competition after independence when the ethnic structure of the area held a bearing on the politics of the day.<sup>132</sup> Political contenders made it a habit mobilizing members of their ethnic communities to settle in Kibera so as to enhance their prospects of clinching the parliamentary seat. In this rush, the tenancy structure in Kibera was significantly altered as powerful people well connected in the government discretely gained land, built structures, and rented them out. It has been noted that a significant number of these absentee landlords were of the Kikuyu ethnic community considering that President Kenyatta had filled his government with people from his ethnic community.<sup>133</sup>

---

<sup>129</sup> Ibid, p.80.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid, p. 81.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid, pp. 90-91.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid, p. 96.

<sup>133</sup> A more detailed account of how Kenyatta and people within his government allocated themselves government land is available in the TJRC Report. See "Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation Commission Summary Report", p. 16.

The political influence of the Nubi significantly diminished, owing to their small population, thereby leaving them out of the contest which was thereafter dominated by the big communities like Kikuyu, Luo, Luhya, and Kamba. A survey undertaken in 1980 shows that 66% of large landlords with twenty rooms and above were Kikuyu and 22% were Nubis. In 1980, 40% of the tenants were from Nyanza (Luo), and 30% from Western Province (mainly Luhya), while only around 10% were Kikuyu.<sup>134</sup> The fact that the houses are mainly owned by Kikuyu and largely inhabited by the Luo and Luhya people has in itself helped aggravate the conflict which at times begin on points of genuine concerns. Over the years, conflicts in Kibera, have mainly been as a result of tenancy disagreements or political incitement or both.

In 1992 and 1995 clashes erupted between the Nubi and the Luo communities, and may have been the result of frustration with the newcomers or underlying tension between tenants and landlords.<sup>135</sup> The Luo had by then become one of the largest ethnic groups in Kibera, not so much as house owners, but mainly as tenants. The next round of clashes, in 2001, was instigated by politicians who see Kibera more as a reservoir of votes than as a slum with people that need their support. In these clashes, again mainly between people of the Nubi and the Luo communities, houses were burnt, and more than 30,000 people were displaced; 15 people were killed and scores were injured. Even though calm returned after two weeks of violence, the tenancy problem persisted especially in the Luo-dominated areas. More recently, in 2007, Kibera was one of the worst hit areas when violence erupted in the country following the disputed general elections. Many were either killed or injured. This time, while the Nubis were not really involved in the clashes, the Luos seem to have used the opportunity to send away Kikuyu landlords and increase their control over Kibera.<sup>136</sup>

Despite the conflict triggers (politics, ethnicity, and tenancy) mentioned above, it is poverty that has rendered Kibera residents culpable. With a very high unemployment level or very low incomes with little government intervention on matters of development, violence has been used

---

< <http://www.acordinternational.org/silo/files/kenya-tjrc-summary-report-aug-2013.pdf> > Accessed on October 28, 2014.

<sup>134</sup> Smedt, "The Nubis of Kibera", p.101.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid, p. 112.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid.

as a tool to gain competitive advantage over other individuals or groups.<sup>137</sup> One can therefore conclude that despite political incitement like the one of 2007/2008 Kibera like many other slums is always ready for violence and can always explode with the right triggers in place:

A hustling mentality, despite echoing the mantra of 'we don't know for tomorrow,' proves to be somewhat optimistic: there is always something to win, but nothing to lose. Hence the ease with which many young residents of Kibera slip into delinquency – confronted with the need for survival and physical security, and the limited opportunities to secure it, they look for alternatives either in the jua kali (informal) sector or in street organizations.<sup>138</sup>

### 3.3 The 2007/2008 post-election violence in Kibera

The campaign period leading to the 2007 elections depicted stiff competition between the main two presidential elections contenders Raila Odinga of ODM and President Mwai Kibaki of PNU. A look at the opinion polls for the better part of the campaign period showed Mr. Odinga having a marginal lead.<sup>139</sup> This lead however dwindled towards the elections and so stiff competition was expected. This was at a time when there were speculations of an impending scheme to rig elections.<sup>140</sup> At the constituency level, it was expected that Raila would easily trounce his opponents thanks to the demographic dominance by the Luhya and the Luo communities living in Kibera.<sup>141</sup> However, Raila's supporters, suspecting that there was a scheme by his political opponents to deny him the seat in order to technically lock him out of the presidency, still remained vigilant.<sup>142</sup> Civilians, especially rowdy youths took the responsibility of policing the elections:

---

<sup>137</sup> E. Mutisya, M. Yarime, 'Understanding the Grassroots Dynamics of Slums in Nairobi', *International Transaction Journal of Engineering, Management, and Applied Sciences and Technologies*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 2011, p.198.

<sup>138</sup> M. Dimova, 'Bullets Beyond Ballot: Longer-Standing Youth Mobilization Patterns in the Slum Areas of Kibera, Nairobi', Utrecht University, 2010, p.37.

<sup>139</sup> The opinion polls published in the *Saturday Nation* on 13 October, 2007 shows Mr. Odinga leading at 43% with Kibaki trailing at 39%.

<sup>140</sup> B. Namunane, 'Propaganda and Rigging Worrying Planners' *Sunday Nation*, December 16, 2007, pp. 1, 15-16.

<sup>141</sup> Smedt, "The Nubis of Kibera", p. 191.

<sup>142</sup> It was a requirement in the Kenyan constitution then that a president be an elected Member of Parliament. This has since changed since the promulgation of a new constitution in 2010.



On that same day, Luo youths occupied and controlled all polling stations in Kibera to ensure that no irregularities would take place, and to prevent the expected rigging by the government; people and cars were checked, even Police cars, to prevent stuffed ballot boxes being brought in. Unknown people from outside Kibera, who just came to vote, were given a hard time, unless they voted for Raila. Some Raila supporters had come from as far as Mombasa to vote in Kibera. Kikuyus were not allowed to enter the polling stations to vote, or forced to vote ODM, PNU agents were not allowed to supervise what was happening in the polling stations, etcetera. <sup>143</sup>

There were also talks in Kibera of the majority Luhya and Luo tenants planning to dispossess their minority Kikuyu landlords of their property.

According to newspaper reports, the voting, on the 27<sup>th</sup> December, 2007, was handled fairly well around the country though pockets of irregularity and violence were reported and even arrests made. In Kibera for instance, names starting with O or R were missing from the voters register. <sup>144</sup> This was rectified and voting continued. The following day, results started trickling in and the same was relayed by the electronic media. Newspaper reviews of the previous day's event appeared to be satisfied with the exercise and therefore did not anticipate a major challenge ahead:

It is important that candidates and political parties accept the verdict of the voters. And if they are not satisfied then they should follow the rights channels to lodge complaints as provided for by law. Any other method would lead to anarchy and chaos. One cannot gauge the symbolic dimensions of the events of 2007. <sup>145</sup>

The Media having been releasing unofficial tallies showed Raila taking a lead with 3.3 million votes against his closest rival Mwai Kibaki's 2.4 million. <sup>146</sup> This was at a time when there were

---

<sup>143</sup> O. Orlale, M. Mwaniki, "Tricky moment as voters register turns up short, Polling agent shot dead as two injured", *Daily Nation*, December 28, 2007. P2.

<sup>144</sup> Smedt, "The Nubis of Kibera", p.191

<sup>145</sup> *Daily Nation* editorial, "Its Job Well Done Despite Challenges", *Daily Nation*, December 28, 2007, p.10.

<sup>146</sup> Nation Team, "Raila Opens Gap against Kibaki in Statehouse Race", *Daily Nation*, December 29, 2007, p.4.

delays in the releasing of official figures by the Electoral Commission of Kenya. In the meantime Raila supporters were already celebrating the 'victory.' In Kibera, *Chang'aa* dens were full to capacity in what was seen as pre-swearing in celebrations. At this stage, Raila supporters seemed not ready to accept any results apart from a win. In fact they had promised dire consequences if Raila's votes were 'stolen.' In fact, 'before the elections there was some disquiet where people were already taking decisions that if it doesn't happen this way there will be no peace.'<sup>147</sup>

These celebrations were short lived because soon Kibaki was in the lead. On 30<sup>th</sup> December, 2007, he was declared the winner of the elections and subsequently sworn in an hour later without playing the national anthem and in the absence of diplomatic corps.<sup>148</sup> ODM was quick to discredit this move via a press statement the following morning:

í ODM would therefore like to call upon all Kenyans to reject these results in their totality. We know that the people of Kenya elected Raila Amollo Odinga as their legitimate president and they are ready to see him serve democratically in that capacity. The Pentagon together with the more than one hundred elected ODM MPs, have determined that they will today present the nation with the People's President at Uhuru Park at 2pm.<sup>149</sup>

Violence broke out in most parts of the country immediately people watched Kibaki's swearing in on TV. In Kibera the minority PNU supporters who were mainly from the Kikuyu community were attacked and sent away. The properties and businesses associated with this community like Toi market in Makina were also torched.<sup>150</sup> However, in the Kikuyu dominated areas like Laini Saba, some members of the Kikuyu community organized revenge attacks and sent members of the Luo community away and having their houses occupied by those Kikuyu people fleeing violence from other parts of Kibera. Churches were also not spared; many along Kibera Drive were burnt and looted. Transport along Kibera Drive was crippled and vehicles burnt. Certain sources however confirm that arson was not as widespread as expected or as believed especially

---

<sup>147</sup> Oral interview, Joseph Mbugua, Chairman, Langata District Peace Committee, September 22, 2013.

<sup>148</sup> Erick Shimoli, 'Chaos as Kibaki Sworn in', *Daily Nation*, December 31, 2007, pp. 2-3.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

<sup>150</sup> Smedt, 'The Nubis of Kibera', p.194.

in the residential areas.<sup>151</sup> This has been attributed to the fear by the perpetrators of the violence that even their own units would be razed down given the congestion of housing units in the slum. Apart from the instances when police escort was available, Kibera largely remained inaccessible to outsiders including the press. Consequently, pictures of the chaos were restricted to the areas along the main road (Kibera drive) leading to the belief that there was much more destruction than shown by the mainstream media:

It was chaotic. I don't think that the chaos we experienced from Kibera was given the prominence from the media like other places, the mayhem was worse than what I saw in the press. The number of people who suffered was quite high, of course there were some death.<sup>152</sup>

While there was an ethnic dimension to the conflict, the violence and the lawlessness appeared to be largely intended for economic gains or for other kinds of satisfaction:

Why did they really loot?ö because as much as I know is that my house in Olympic was looted and demolished by youth from a specific community then my business in Makena was again looted to zero,I had posho mills, I had computers and all those things because I was buying from the auctions then a big yard and you know we could get anything so everything was looted. Again the youth from the community that did that in Makena were not the same youth that looted my house in Olympic.<sup>153</sup>

On New Year Eve the rioting residents uprooted a portion of the Railway line between Lindi, Katwekira, and Kianda.<sup>154</sup> Different reasons were given for this action. One man who confessed in a newspaper interview as having been part of the team that uprooted the railway line said öWe decided to remove the railway because we were told that we could not go to the rally.ö<sup>155</sup>

---

<sup>151</sup> Ibid, p. 195.

<sup>152</sup> Oral interview, Joseph Mbugua, Chairman, Langata District Peace Committee, September 22, 2013.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid.

<sup>154</sup> Nation Team, öFour Killed in Kibera Protestsö, *Daily Nation*, January 1,2008, p. 2.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid. He was referring to Odinga's botched swearing in ceremony at Uhuru Park.

Another reason given was that trains ferried the policemen that were suppressing the riots<sup>156</sup> and so by uprooting the railway line the mob hoped to sustain the violence and hopefully pile pressure on President Kibaki to step down. It has also been alleged that impairment of the railway line was meant to punish Uganda's President Museveni for his support for Kibaki.<sup>157</sup> Overall, the main reason for uprooting the railway has never been established.

The violence was fuelled by messages coming from the media especially local vernacular radio stations and mobile phone SMS service. One of these messages that went around via sms was that there were plans to assassinate Raila and that the army would take over power. Since the political leadership from both sides of the divide did not come out to counter the speculations, demonstrations in Kibera became more intense. However, away from the speculations an ODM MP, Mugabe Were, was assassinated on the 29 Dec, 2007 thereby aggravating the violence. There were also rumors that the Mungiki, a militia group perceived to be sympathetic to the Kikuyu, would attack at night in defense of their kinsmen. This prompted residents allied to ODM to guard their territories round the clock. Even though it is difficult to establish whether the militia group staged a reprisal attack in Kibera, there have been claims that they did, some of them disguised as policemen:

There was a time you couldn't know who was police and who was Mungiki. My friend was shot through the neck by a policeman in dreadlocks. Now you tell me if you have ever seen a policeman in dreadlocks. Isn't that Mungiki?<sup>158</sup>

Dimova concludes that the nature of the conflict was multi-faceted.<sup>159</sup> There were those after economic gains, i.e., those responding to financial overtures by violence entrepreneurs; those taking the situation as an opportunity to vent bottled-up frustration derived from social inequalities; and those seeking to renegotiate power relations. She has also analyzed the violence that hit Kibera, especially the brand wielded by gangs, in the lines of ritual acts:

---

<sup>156</sup> Personal communication, from Kibera resident who was present during the violence.

<sup>157</sup> The railway line in question is the main link between the port of Mombasa and the landlocked country of Uganda and therefore blocking it would seriously diminish Uganda's importation prospects.

<sup>158</sup> Personal communication from a Kibera resident who was present during the violence.

<sup>159</sup> M. Dimova, *Bullets Beyond Ballot: Longer-Standing Youth Mobilization Patterns in the Slum Areas of Kibera*, Nairobi, Utrecht University, 2010, p.48.

Some of the violent performances that demarcate street organizations' activities, as well as the 2007/8 crisis, are imparted with particular symbolism. Violence is a meaningful social act with ritualistic undertones and can be examined as an attempt at renegotiating power relationships and staging the reification of superior group identities.<sup>160</sup>

As the violence continued, life in Kibera became unbearable for many. Food supplies dwindled and fatigue set in. Religious organizations and NGOs supplied much of the little food that was available. Little was left for the youth to loot and so they turned to extortion especially by demanding fees in exchange for protection.<sup>161</sup> They also put roadblocks and extorted motorists more than ever before. However, the living conditions depreciated further making the demos unsustainable. Parallel to the depreciating living conditions in the slum were peace talks at the national level aimed at finding a political solution to the crisis. With the convergence of the two factors, overt violence subsided and when a political solution was eventually reached on 4<sup>th</sup> March, 2008 Kibera residents, just like other Kenyans were left with the task of undoing the damages occasioned by the conflict.

In Kibera, the locals, having been pushed to the limit by the violence, began a number of initiatives meant to bring members of different communities to engage. Chief of these initiatives was Peace Action composed mainly by women and aimed at reconciling the members of the community:

í people started realizing this is not about politics, it's about their livelihood. That the post-election violence did not segregate, and was not restricted to specific tribes. We started realizing that we need to come togetherí I think we realized that we need each other. Church groups, even those people who were causing mayhem realized and with the help of the administration we came together and that's how we formed the peace action.<sup>162</sup>

---

<sup>160</sup> Ibid.

<sup>161</sup> There had been cases of vigilante groups levying protection fees even before the PEV. However, this practice became more common during the PEV.

<sup>162</sup> Oral interview, Joseph Mbugua, Chairman, Langata District Peace Committee, September 22, 2013.

The violence had caused a lot of damage and therefore walking in the direction of peace meant continuous dialogue, reconciliation between the perpetrators of violence and their victims, and restoration of livelihoods. And just as Johan Galtung said over 30 years ago that in peace building 'there are tasks for everyone,' peace building in Kibera took a multi-sectored approach. There was the provincial administration using the police to restore security and order and the District Peace Committee which was working with ad hoc groups to reconcile the communities. Church and the NGOs were also deeply engaged especially in attending to humanitarian needs. The peace regime that kicked off in Kibera after the signing of the Peace Accord was ad hoc, flexible and dynamic. This was in sharp contrast with the peace initiative at the national level which was slow because it was designed to largely depend on the creation of specialized institution to oversee peace building and related activities. For example it took some time before the Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC) and the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) could exist in law. But even when they were formed, such more formal bodies lacked the capacity to engage with Kenyans as effectively as the smaller and ad hoc peace programmes did in Kibera.

Initially, one of the main challenges the peace initiative in Kibera faced was a thread to link all the peace activities for synergy. To ensure harmony and effectiveness of the different prongs of the Kibera peace machinery there was need for effective communication. At that time Pamoja FM was the only media platform around which Kibera could be united and mobilized for peace. Pamoja FM took up this role both in the short term and the long term.

### **3.3.1 Pamoja FM**

Pamoja FM, a community radio station, was set up in 2007.<sup>163</sup> It is an offshoot of Pamoja Development Center (PADEC), a community development center situated in Kibera's Ayany estate. An initial funding of USAID grant of USD 54,514 was used to provide equipment and technological support for the station.<sup>164</sup> It broadcasts in Kiswahili and *shen'g* (urban slung corrupted from Kiswahili, English, and local languages) around the clock on 99.9 FM within a radius of 5km. Pamoja, which means 'together' in Kiswahili, has an effective programming that

---

<sup>163</sup> Pamoja 99.9 FM Strategic Business Plan, p. 3.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid.

suits the needs of its audience.<sup>165</sup> The programs stimulate community discussion about attitudes and beliefs and promote behavior change. The station, located on the 6<sup>th</sup> floor of X9 building in Ayany, Kibera, was also created to collect and broadcast news that resonates with the interests of the Kibera residents. Some of the programmes run on the station are in the form of news, studio discussions, magazines, and features. The programming of the station has the Kibera community as its primary target audience and is therefore in line with Fraser and Restrepo's assertion that 'the uniqueness of community radio lies in being specifically relevant to the particular needs, interests, and desires of its relatively smaller audience.'<sup>166</sup> A radio station with the said attributes is therefore core in the lives of slum dwellers especially in the city where content by the media at large, as driven by commercial interest, is likely to prioritize the interest of the upper classes i.e. those with the purchasing power.

**Figure 3.1: Pamoja FM programme schedule**

Time	Programme	Target	Content
5.00-5.30am	RELIGIOUS (Islam/ Xtian)	Everybody	Morning Prayer using Sheikh+Pastor
5.30-10.00am	Tuamke Pamoja	Mass Market	Topical discussion, music requests (Philip Muhatia,Gideon Makena+)
10.00- 12.00pm	Taarab	Youth, Housewives, skewed to female	Music requests and salaams (Rashid Said)
12.00-2.00pm	R&B – With a news break at 1.00pm	Youth	Non-stop music mix
2.00-4.00pm	Reggae	Youth skewed to male	Music requests (Jahil & Ras July)
4.00-6.00pm	Bolingo Time	Middle age upwards, skewed to male	Music request and Ali Rehan
6.00-7.30	BBC	Mass Market	Dira ya Dunia – World news roundup
7.30-9.00pm	EA Express	Youth	Music mix from EA (Ismail Ali)
9.00-Midnight	Wote Pamoja	Mass Market	Varied selection based on requests (Abdalla Musa)
Midnight-5.00am	BBC/Music	Mass Market	Uninterrupted.
6.30am, 9.00am, 10.00am & 3.00pm,	BBC Programming Daily		A mix of news shows and features, based on an agreement between Pamoja FM & BBC

*Source: Pamoja 99.9 FM strategic business plan*

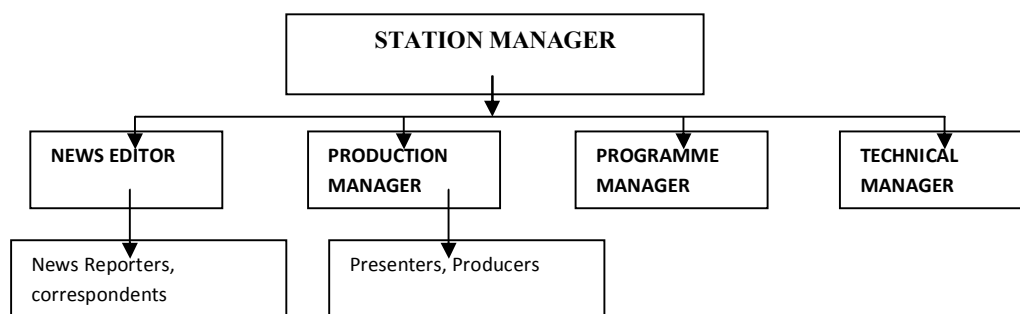
<sup>165</sup> Ibid.

<sup>166</sup> C. Fraser and S. Restrepo, *Community Radio Handbook*, Paris, UNESCO, 2002, P. 58.

Apart from the news and pre-recorded programmes, the other programmes allow and encourage listeners to call in and take part in the discussions (usually laced with music), request for certain music records, or even pass messages of good will to other listeners. During the period of study, the call-in sessions were useful in receiving feedback and expanding the discussion beyond the few participants in the studio.

The operations of the station are overseen by a lean team; some members of the team work on a voluntary basis.

**Figure 3.2: Pamoja FM organizational structure**



*Source: Pamoja 99.9 FM strategic business plan*

Over the years, the station has mainly relied on donor funding to sustain its operations. Little has been made from advertising in as much as the station has worked closely with some of the biggest advertising spenders in the country:

í Unfortunately when it comes to the issue of revenue, the issue of finance, they would always cry that they want to use this station but they do not want to open up on the budgets so that they can also give something to the radio station. There is this notion that community radios are not allowed to advertise<sup>167</sup>

To improve their revenue prospects, the station later began customizing their advertising services to suit the low income earners that make the bulk of their target audience. For instance, they have begun to focus more on First Moving Consumer Goods (FMCGs) like second hand building

<sup>167</sup> Oral Interview, Phillip Muhatia, Programs Manager, Pamoja FM, September 12, 2013.



materials, furniture, and cereals (in the context of Kibera) which have the potential of attracting many advertisers from within the slum area. But even with such advertisements the amount collected is never enough to sustain the station's operations.<sup>168</sup> Given this financial position the station relies heavily on the services of volunteers and interns who at times have had to use their resources to augment the station's modest resources.

Alongside the financial constraints has been the problem of poor training. For instance, close to half of the personnel at any given time is made up of trainees and volunteers most of who are yet to attain even the lowest level of formal training in journalism and related courses.<sup>169</sup> However, over the years Pamoja FM has managed to benefit from free professional training offered by some of the best media organizations and trainers like the BBC and Internews.<sup>170</sup> This has seen the station staff become more competent and professional.

Even though Pamoja FM services are essentially tailored for the Kibera people, it certainly does not enjoy monopoly in the region because the same listeners remain exposed to tens of other frequencies that broadcast around the city and country. The fact that the station is not the most popular in Kibera is a challenge that has kept the station improving its services even further.<sup>171</sup> However, the station's management believes that even to those residents who do not consider Pamoja FM their number one choice, it is their alternative frequency.<sup>172</sup> They believe it addresses the local issues more than any other station and therefore every resident would at least spare it some time in a day. The management also remains aware of the need to wrestle the dominance from the hands of those stations broadcasting from outside Kibera especially the commercial stations. Failure to win the competition may make Pamoja FM's strength as a community station significantly diminished.

---

<sup>168</sup> Oral interview, Hussein Ramadhan, Station Manager, Pamoja FM, September 9, 2013.

<sup>169</sup> Pamoja 99.9FM Strategic Business Plan, p. 12.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid.

<sup>171</sup> One study showed Citizen Radio as the most popular radio station in Kibera.

<sup>172</sup> Oral interview, Hussein Ramadhan, Station Manager, Pamoja FM, September 9, 2013.

In Kibera, the station has become part and parcel of the community's identity, always mentioned alongside the less gratifying characteristics of slum life that it endeavours to mitigate. Its central place in the lives of Kibera residents has seen it host a number of high profile personalities from around the world including envoys and ICC officials.<sup>173</sup>

### **3.3.2 Pamoja FM's peace initiatives, 2008-2013**

The 2007 elections were held just months after Pamoja FM started broadcasting. The new station's capacity had been tested by the way it contributed to civic education and other general development issues in the slum. When the violence broke out after the elections, the station became the main channel of appealing to the people to calm down: they recorded and aired many short messages urging Kibera residents to stop the violence. They also brought opinion leaders from within Kibera to the studio to appeal to the people to show tolerance.<sup>174</sup> This was a very rapid, less coordinated but short term campaign purely geared towards the cessation of violence.

The station observes that violence subsided around the time when they intensified their messages. It is however not easy to accurately determine the contribution of the station to this positive change since a lot more was being done by other players both locally, nationally, and internationally.<sup>175</sup> In fact, the agreement struck between Mr. Kibaki and Mr. Odinga that gave birth to the National Accord has been hailed as one of the major contribution to the reduction of violence around that time:

That gesture of Kibaki and Raila coming together and sharing a handshake was an opportunity that we in the DPC used when building our structure. We used it to demonstrate to the common mwananchi that we people at the grassroots we are suffering together and we cannot see eye-to eye but the people who make us suffer are able to sit in a hotel and share a cup of tea! That message was so strong and then people started realizing that yes we are together, we live together, you don't hurt me I don't hurt you.<sup>176</sup>

---

<sup>173</sup> Personal communication, Thomas Bwire, News Editor, Pamoja FM, June 11, 2014.

<sup>174</sup> Oral interview, Thomas Bwire, News Editor, Pamoja FM, September 9, 2014.

<sup>175</sup> Around the same time, the international community especially the AU had moved in to help find a political solution to the violence. For further reading see <<http://www.dialoguekenya.org>>

<sup>176</sup> Oral interview, Joseph Mbugua, Chairman, Langata District Peace Committee, September 22, 2013.

However, in the long term the station relied on more organized and more sustainable efforts towards peace. This meant that Pamoja FM had to prepare accordingly:

We went to the elections and we didn't think there were going to be violence and we didn't think in terms of how we were going to promote peace within the community but after the elections in 2008 onwards, and through our partners who came in and trained us on how to do more of peace building reporting so we were able to be trained and get to know how we were able to do more of peace building reporting.<sup>177</sup>

The violence was experienced at a time the station had very little knowledge on how to use the community radio platform to promote peace. However, equipped with rudimentary knowledge, the station started its long term peace work in earnest. Considering that one of Pamoja FM's mission was to collect, collate and broadcast news that resonates with life in Kibera slum, news became one of the ways in which the station contributed to peace building in the area. The station, for instance, scaled up the use of *vox pops* (voice of the people) in their news items especially on those issues related to peaceful co-existence.<sup>178</sup> They sought the views of the youth frequently in their news coverage. The station targeted them because they were known to power most conflicts in Kibera. It was therefore expected that giving them a platform to air their opinions would mitigate the potential for violent confrontation. Besides, the information generated by the *vox pops* was also useful to those individuals and organizations managing the reconciliation process; such information was analysed to establish the progress of the process. The news interviews and *vox pops* were also used to bring on board the youth and their views on matters especially those relating to peace and reconciliation. Simple questions such as 'how can we promote peace in our society?' showed brilliance and diversity among the youth with regard to getting solutions to the challenges around them:

The idea of coming together into multi-ethnic groups was mainly promoted by the youth. Within such groups the members preached tolerance. They also came up with ideas on how to generate income.<sup>179</sup>

---

<sup>177</sup> Oral interview, Thomas Bwire, News Editor, Pamoja FM, September 9, 2014.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid.

<sup>179</sup> Oral interview, Thomas Bwire, News Editor, Pamoja FM, September 9, 2014.

Once these ideas were aired on their own community station a larger audience than those around them got to sample and even react to the same either in the various informal discussions and social gatherings or via the same radio platform.

During the period of study, there were many other entities working alongside Pamoja FM on projects or initiatives with a positive bearing on peace and reconciliation. Such entities included the District Peace Committee, UMANDE Trust, and Kibera Mothers for Peace whose activities included peace walks, road shows, and group discussions. These activities were covered and aired by Pamoja FM:

During those forums we sit through the whole sessions then later on get some interviews from location and edit and air it. This we don't do only as news items but also as feature items which air on Saturday. Such events were major sources.

180

The news reports highlighted the easing of tension between groups previously opposed to each other and vigilante groups abandoning their illegal activities and joining youth groups. Such reports assisted the residents in tracking the progress of reconciliation as was captured in the various deliberations in the slums. The same was the case with peace building at the national level. Pamoja FM news aired news that mirrored what was emanating from the national peace initiative. The fate of the IDPs, some of whom hailed from Kibera, was elaborately covered by the station's news from time to time. Broadly, the station illuminated the complexities that surrounded the search for justice for the victims of the PEV. It discussed the ICC trials too.

The ICC coverage involved routine trips to The Hague and intense analyses of the process. One would have expected this to present quite a big challenge to a small community station with regards to finances and expertise. On the contrary, Pamoja FM news desk managed to handle the ICC debate and trials probably as competently as the mainstream media. The anticipated challenge was circumvented by an ICC three-week training that saw the station's news editor join other Kenyan journalist in The Hague. In the training, the journalists interacted with ICC legal experts who inducted them into the legal environment that surrounded the two cases including the timelines and jargon. Considering the uniqueness of their slum audience, the

---

<sup>180</sup> Ibid.

demystification and simplification of the trials was a great contribution to the stations capacity to relay relevant messages to the listeners:

As journalists who were participating in the training we came up with our own terms because we have different audiences like for me I am coming from a community perspective and most of the guys were coming from the mainstream media like KTN, Standard, Nation, Radio Africa so we had to come up with the trainers and ask them to help us simplify the language to our audiences. We therefore had to re-undergo training in Nairobi where we were helped simplify some of those technical terms that the ICC uses.<sup>181</sup>

The journalists were also trained on how to handle victims and how to engage expert views. This enhanced capacity especially with regard to analyses and discussions. Pamoja FM news boss trained his deputy and together they have managed to keep their audiences informed and educated on the Rome Statute and the ICC cases. Considering the centrality of a credible post-conflict justice process, the station needed to play an important role of helping the people ascertain the said credibility in the ICC process. The most basic way Pamoja FM could do this was to relay information emanating from the proceedings.

As a community radio station, it would be still of great value if Pamoja FM only simplified the messages from the Hague trial without necessarily doing an analysis. Pamoja FM, however, through its reports, also updated the world constantly on the accurate picture of the peace and reconciliation process status in Kibera:

Currently I am one of the Kenyan reporters working in the same program called reporting for Kenya page so every month we produce a radio peace and just last week the editor posted one on forgotten victims in which I interviewed some of the victims in Kibera and also Maria Camara who is the ICC's regional officer in Nairobi and also the lawyers victims Mr. Nderitu who also gave me some insights and also what to expect.<sup>182</sup>

In the same breath, the station helped national and international media houses gain access to Kibera especially in the interior areas.<sup>183</sup> At the height of the conflict, Pamoja FM was the only media station whose journalists were operating freely within the slum. Journalists therefore

---

<sup>181</sup> Ibid.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid.

<sup>183</sup> Kibera residents were hostile to journalists during and after the violence for perceived bias in reportage.

guised themselves as working with Pamoja FM so as to get stories from within the slum. On instances where the main stream media houses couldn't gain access completely or were not present when peace related events or incidences occurred the Pamoja FM staff corresponded for them. International media organizations in particular benefited from reports filed by the station's staff. On the other hand, the station used this opportunity to communicate accurate and positive messages that had the potential of neutralizing the kind of sensational reporting that international press was sometimes known to engage in:

During the elections they were calling us and asking 'are you guys planning to fight?' I'm like no! Because then they came with this agenda that Kenya was going to fight and that's the news they wanted to sell to their mediums. So sometimes they want us to give them those juicy news but for us we used to be sincere with them and tell them 'this time we are not expecting any violence.'<sup>184</sup>

Despite the above efforts, Pamoja FM was not without fault. For instance, the study revealed that there were instances when the station's peace campaign slumbered; more of Pamoja FM's peace building efforts were concentrated in the period just after the PEV and in the run up to the 2013 general elections. This left the 'middle' years unattended. The news desk talked of the long term sustainability of the peace agenda as a challenge. On interviewing some of the staff members, they talked of their audience getting fatigued along the way by the rapidity of their peace messages and especially when there were more topical issues that also had a bearing on their lives:

somehow we had to tone down because it is not just about peace peace peace but also we have life so we still discussed about other things that affect us as Kibera community like insecurity, unemployment, service delivery by our leaders because elections were over and we had peace somehow so we tried to focus more on the issues that affect us as a people. Once in a while we did something on peace but somehow it was toned down, we forgot about it completely and at some point it resurfaced again.<sup>185</sup>

Using the agenda setting theory, the move by Pamoja FM news desk to relegate peace messages to the back yard only means that the process was interrupted and some of the gains lost. During the time when the station toned down on its peace messages, it shifted focus to issues of

---

<sup>184</sup> Ibid.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid.

insecurity, unemployment, and service delivery by leaders.<sup>186</sup> Considering that such issues still impact on peace building, then it can be inferred, on the flipside, that the station pursued its peace building agenda in a different way thus circumventing the monotony posed by direct peace messages.

The second way through which Pamoja FM contributed to peace building was through programming. The deliberate shift in programming began at the break of the violence and proceeded in the long run.<sup>187</sup> At the early stages when the divisions were still deeply rooted, the station endeavored to document and air programs on the consequences of violent conflicts so that the population could be mobilized toward the path of peace. This even saw the station staff visit Rwanda and produce and air documentary stories on the negative effects of violent conflict. To begin with, they had to rid the people of the illusion that the destruction would make the government succumb:

You know during that time many people thought that they were fighting the government. There was need for us to make features, to make documentaries to make them understand that it was not the government they were fighting but we were fighting ourselves.<sup>188</sup>

They made their programs more participatory than ever before bringing on board community members to pass messages of peace and reconciliation. One of the most potent ways to bringing members on board was to invoke the name of the station:

We reminded them that Pamoja means togetherness, and we can only sit together if we have peace, when we have harmony, if we can talk to one another. From the year 2007, even after the coming of Kofi Annan, we had decided to engage ourselves in bringing peace and the content that we passed in our program always aimed at building peace somewhere.<sup>189</sup>

Messages urging people to stop the ethnic hatred were either passed through specific peace programs or infused in any other kind of program. Everyone was brought on board but the station capitalized more on the influence of opinion leaders like youth leaders, elders, and provincial administration. Alongside the scheduled programs and radio peace forums there were

---

<sup>186</sup> Ibid.

<sup>187</sup> Oral Interview, Phillip Muhatia, Programs Manager, Pamoja FM, September 12, 2013.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid.

times, in the long run, when the station convened impromptu peace sessions to discuss critical issues:

I can remember there was an issue pertaining to a church and a mosque. I remember the station called the bishop of that church and the imam of the mosque. We wanted them to speak to their followers, so we brought them on a live talk show talking exactly what needs to be done concerning that case. For sure there was very positive contribution from the listeners and from there the imam and the bishop went down there and called for a meeting and for sure from that meeting it was resolved, you know there were Muslims who had attacked the church and they were forced also to apologize and from there things went on well.

<sup>190</sup>

In such cases we see the station not just playing the mediator but also involving the community in resolving conflicts.

When reconciliation activities started in earnest, Pamoja FM's outside broadcasting unit was an important component of the programs department. When the station organized peace events or partnered with organizations that organized such events the proceedings from the events would be relayed live to the audience. This helped in spreading the messages beyond the confines of the meetings and sharing ideas even with those who for whatever reason could not make it to the venue:

For example there is one forum that took place in Makina mosque, there is another one that took place in Laini Saba, there is another one that took place in Kianda Salvation Army. So this is like our vehicle where initially the main stream would use very big vehicles to go down there but we have a very small gadget which you can carry in your pocket and you are able to transmit through the radio station.<sup>191</sup>

The station's current affairs programs apart from informing Kibera residents on issues and events within the slum offered the machinery through which the station gathered security intelligence. Owing to the station's reputation for rapid response many residents trusted it with information and would from time to time call the station to tip them on impending peace breaches. To such tips the station would respond in time and avert the violence:

---

<sup>190</sup> Ibid.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid.



I can remember one time when the youth were planning to burn some houses down in Lindi I am the person who was called and I called the area DC just to ask him if he was aware of what was to happen and he was aware and once he was aware he positioned his security agents. This particular violence did not take place, why? Because the security were on the ground. But we did not stop there, we went as far as involving the opinion leaders and whatever who we also asked to take an initiative and try and get a solution, so you can see it is not a question of running on radio alone, it goes some miles ahead, it involves other things that we need to do or we are doing so as to ensure that there is peace.<sup>192</sup>

Just like they did with news, the station produced and aired programs that did not necessarily contain explicit peace messages but had a direct bearing on peaceful co-existence. For instance, to tackle poverty and idleness as conflict triggers, the station, through its programs, encouraged their listeners to engage in economic activity and educated them on innovative ways on how to do so. They brought business experts on the studio to discuss ways of accessing capital as well as possible business ventures that could thrive even with low amounts of capital. The station also went out and sampled the progress and success of those groups that were already involved in some economic activity. According to Patrick Alukumu, community radio stations have created a new avenue for economic stimulation and progress through the sharing information on the success of local entrepreneurship, and informing listeners about the possibilities of funding through local banks and funding agencies.<sup>193</sup> In Kibera, this was a great contribution at a time when many businesses had collapsed during the violence and scores of youths had been left unemployed prone to violence. Having these jobless youth engage in some meaningful activity was therefore a major step towards the promotion of peace.

The third pillar of Pamoja FM's peace work was continuity announcement and the use of popular presenters to reach out to the listeners either on air or off air. Once the station's content was deliberately influenced to give prominence to peace messages and to promote peace building, there was need to train and brief radio presenters in line with the same station agenda. The station therefore ensured that presenters promoted the station's peace through all the activities that they engaged in. This initiative worked well with those radio hosts with the largest following. For example, Abdalla Musa aka Dallas was one of the most popular presenters at the

---

<sup>192</sup> Ibid.

<sup>193</sup> P. Alukumu, *Community Radio for Development*, Limuru, Paulines Publications Africa, 2006, p. 258.

station. He was the longest serving presenter and his show 'Wote Pamoja' aired Monday to Thursday from 9.30pm to midnight or till morning in case the issues up for discussion were more than could be tackled within the scheduled time.<sup>194</sup> In the show he played music and discussed many issues affecting the listeners such as insecurity, rising cost of living, peaceful coexistence, and health. In these discussions, he gave preference to issues of peace. He also condemned or 'disarmed' those who tried to use the same platform to incite fellow listeners. In handling live discussions and call-in sessions professionally and competently he relied a lot on the conflict sensitive journalism trainings he had undergone from time to time:

tukianza hatukuwa na elimu zaidi. Lakini tulipopelekwa kwa mafunzo mara mbili ama tatu sasa tukagundua kuna lugha unaweza ongea ikawasha moto. Lakini nashukuru Pamoja FM manake tulipopelekwa college mara ya kwanza,mbili, tatu, sasa ukirudi unakua na ile lugha ya hekima. (When we started we dint know much. But after being trained once or twice we learnt that there is a language that can spark fire if used. I am however grateful to Pamoja FM because after the training we can now use a more responsible language).<sup>195</sup>

As a result of the popularity of his show, he too became so popular. Consequently, Pamoja FM made him an ambassador for peace in the slum, always relied upon during peace road shows, workshops, and peace soccer football tournaments. By appointing influential members of the staff to carry the peace banner, the station employed role modeling to make the population especially the youth to embrace a culture of peace.

The journalist would also leave his home way earlier before his show started and, in what was known as 'pita pita,' walk through the slum collecting news and views from the residents. These news and views would later in the evening form the content of the show. He used these personal contacts with the listeners to pass peace messages.

kitu nilicho kitumia sana ni kuwatembelea kwa sababu ukiwa nao karibu unawasikiza vile wanavyo ongea. Naweza nikaongea kwa radio leo, nikaenda mtaa fulani kwa mfano kama ni Laini saba nikakuta vijana wako na mchezo kama Ludo alafu nawaambia tuanze ligi ndogo ya Ludo halafu naweza toa t-shirt kama vile sisi tuna t-shirt za Pamoja fm halafu wannanza kucheza. Kama kuna timu kule Riverside, nawaambia nitazungumza na councilor tuandae tournament ya amani. (The thing I did the most was visit them because when I am close to them

---

<sup>194</sup> Oral interview, Abdalla Musa, Radio host, Pamoja FM, September 12, 2013.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid.

you understand what they say. I can talk on radio today then I go to a certain neighborhood like Laini Saba and I meet the youth playing the game of Ludo where I suggest to them that we organize a small league of Ludo. I then give them Pamoja FM T-shirts and if there is another team in Riverside I tell them that I will talk to the councilors so that we organize a peace tournament).<sup>196</sup>

Comparing between the early and the later stages he observes that his listeners and fans, even those who used to be very militant, became more civil. The three strategies (programs, news, and continuity announcement) ran concurrently throughout the period of study and were adjusted from time to time depending on the need.

### **3.4 Conclusion**

The PEV, though not the first in Kibera, was the most destructive in the area ever. A convergence of factors helped bring the violence to an end but considering the magnitude of the damage caused to the economy, health, and social relationships it was clear that it would take a long time before Kibera recovered. The much work that lay ahead did not stop stakeholders from investing in peace. At the center of the peace works that also attracted government agencies, the church, and the NGO world was Pamoja FM, a small station but an effective tool in amplifying whatever peace messages issued at any corner of the slum.

The station made a deliberate shift in content to accommodate peace-making and peace building. After the violence, Pamoja FM did not just run content on peace but made such content its main focus. It used both programs and news to promote peace among the listeners. The influence of particular presenters was also tapped and used in calling upon the residents of Kibera to embrace peace.

Sustaining an intensive peace campaign proved a challenge in the long run as the listeners became less interested once the peace campaign became one dull song. To remedy this Pamoja FM embarked on soft messages encompassing areas of security and economic empowerment. The station equipped its listeners with knowledge and skills that when applied had the potential of stimulating sustainable development. This was important considering that human security and

---

<sup>196</sup> Ibid.

sustainable development are key prerequisites of a culture of peace. Furthermore, they documented positive examples of those youths who had converted from violence and crime to gainful self employment.

In terms of capacity, it is important to note that Pamoja FM began the peace work with more will than knowhow. Theirs was a natural response to a crisis, a crisis that they were not prepared for. However after taking the challenge the station grew from strength to strength in as far as technical ability and expertise is concerned.

## CHAPTER FOUR: TOWARDS A CULTURE OF PEACE IN KIBERA

### 4.1 Introduction

According to the UN Declaration on a Culture of Peace, a culture of peace is ða set of values, attitudes, traditions and modes of behaviorð that promote peace and non-violence.<sup>197</sup> Though the document was originally written to guide governments, international organizations, and the civil society, the position of this paper is that its content does not have to be a preserve of these few who operate at a higher level but instead can also be of use to a small community recovering from violent conflict. Of the eight points outlined in the Program of Action on a Culture of Peace, at least four are applicable in the case of Kibera. These are: understanding, tolerance, and peace, education for a culture of peace, sustainable development, and equality of women and men.<sup>198</sup> It is the points above - the appreciation that a lot more needed to be done to entrench peace in Kibera - that form the basis of this chapter.

Chapter three discussed Pamoja FM's direct attempts at peace with a limited scope on the initiatives and messages generated and aired by the station. This chapter is an extension of chapter three and will therefore go further to analyze in detail the frameworks of sustainable peace that Pamoja FM helped develop in Kibera. It seeks to show that Pamoja FM's peace works was not just a patchwork of peace campaigns and events that lasted for a long period of time. It therefore attempts to depict the peace work in Kibera under the aegis of Pamoja FM as more than just a longer version of the media's obsession with peace that prevailed immediately after the PEV and just before the 2013 general elections.

Stemming from the appreciation that preaching peace or incessantly bombarding the people with peace messages, as some referred to it, alone may not have been sufficient in the long run, the station initiated or supported relevant institutions whose activities or success had a more permanent bearing on peace. They include Kibera Women for Peace and Fairness, Pamoja Peace Football Tournament, Pamoja FM Welfare and Sacco, and the ðBumps Aheadð rehabilitation project. This chapter will expose and analyze the contribution of these initiatives to peace in

---

<sup>197</sup> Declaration on a culture of Peace <<http://www.un-documents.net/a53r243a.htm>>

<sup>198</sup> Program of Action on a Culture of Peace <<http://cpnn-world.org/resolutions/resA-53-243B.html>>

Kibera. More importantly, it will establish the role played by the radio station in the success of these initiatives.

#### 4.2 Kibera Women for Peace and Fairness

During the PEV in Kibera, women were the most affected. Alongside the insecurity that faced every resident, women were specifically targeted for sexual violence.<sup>199</sup> In the aftermath of the violent conflict, women were not only counting their losses in economic terms but theirs was a more complex and traumatic aftermath drawn from experiences and memories of killings and rape. To help cope with the long term effects of the violence, Kibera Women for Peace and Fairness, a self-help group, was founded by Jane Anyango, a community worker and resident of Kibera.<sup>200</sup> Kibera Women for Peace and Fairness, a self help group, started in 2008 at the center of the violence when women came out to protest the shooting and killing of a young girl by the police. At the end of the peaceful demonstration the women who had turned up arrived at a consensus to retain the solidarity and always come out in large numbers as women whenever an issue affecting them arises. They also agreed to form a peace network including all the fourteen villages of Kibera:

Since then we have been meeting every week and we meet to talk about what is happening in our different villages, to reflect on the issues that are causing conflict in the community and we discuss how to resolve these conflicts and suggest better ways of ensuring that people learn to co-exist in the community.<sup>201</sup>

Shiela Meintjes observes that women's post conflict woes is not limited to their unfortunate pasts but are dragged to their present by the society in which they live.<sup>202</sup> While describing a post conflict situation where the blame is directed at the victim, she appreciates the complexity of the matter given that the problem is largely social and not legal. Among other recommendations, she posits that "women need to organize internationally to resist the culture of impunity of rapists." Given this view, Kibera Women for Peace and Fairness could be treated as a part of a women's international movement to mitigate the effects of war on women.

---

<sup>199</sup> Oral interview, Jane Anyango, Co-founder of Kibera Women for Peace and Fairness, September 15, 2013.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid.

<sup>202</sup> S. Meintjes, "The Aftermath: Women in Post-War Reconstruction," *Agenda*, No. 43, pp. 4-10.

Another reason Kibera women came together under Kibera Women for Peace and Fairness was to share their stories emanating from the violence and provide those adversely affected with the psychosocial support to navigate the aftermath of the violence.<sup>203</sup> Since the women came together in 2008 they have listened to many testimonies from members regarding their traumatic encounters with the PEV. During such sessions the victims are given time to narrate their ordeals and vent in the process. The offenders also get their time to speak and at the end the group brings the two together a platform for reconciliation:

We have had very serious sharing sessions, we've had people take responsibility of the things they've done, they confess the things they did and we have people who are very bitter like we would come to this ground and people don't even talk they cry when people are sharing, among us we have people who were shot, we have a young girl who was shot, we have a woman whose child was shot, we even have women whose husbands genitals were chopped off and that is something that not one Kenyan is talking about.<sup>204</sup>

Kibera, a slum, had been left even poorer by the PEV. This meant that the prevailing economic environment then prohibited many Kibera residents from seeking psychiatric assistance. Such sessions therefore helped many victims move on with their lives. The fact that members of the community also got to reconcile their difference enhanced the prospects for a more stable, peaceful future.

The women managed to understand peace beyond its simple form of lack of violence and broke it down into simple components that they could relate to. For instance, as mothers of households they learned, through the group, simple and sustainable ways of providing food to their families such as poultry farming and Kitchen gardening. The women also used their network to wage war against domestic violence - a vice they have come to understand contributes to violence at higher levels in the society. Using the networks of members, they are able to collect information on the

---

<sup>203</sup> Oral Interview Jane Anyango, Co-founder of Kibera Women for Peace and Fairness, September 15, 2013.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid.

vice and mitigate in good time. Consequently, domestic violence in Kibera was no longer a domestic affair but a community affair:

Sababu tumeingia kwa wazee, tunahoji mzee ule unakaa naye kama ni mbaya ukiskia wanagombana na mke wake lazima uende ili ujue ni nini na warudi kupendana hata kuwapiga watoto ni hatia (the reason we got to the men is because if you hear the man quarrel with the wife then you must go and intervene and make sure that the love is restored. Even beating up of children is shunned)<sup>205</sup>

The women have also used the same networks to gather intelligence relating to a breach of the peace. For example, whenever some youths planned to cause violence the women members who lived among them took the information higher up in the group hierarchy at which point the police were involved. When not reporting to superior authority or involving the police, the women used the ñatural power given to them by Godö to dissuade people from violence. Essentially, Kibera Women for Peace and Fairness had a long term goal of converting even non-members from war mongers to peace loving residents:

There was a time we even set targets, that each and every change maker had to talk to ten more people, and as you talk to these ten people, you have to convince them that after understanding and internalizing peace they have to talk to people around them first before they start to talk to ten other people who are also supposed to talk to ten other people. So, through our initiatives, we have managed to reach out to men and also boys, we have reached everybody.<sup>206</sup>

In return, the members, through their involvement with peace in the slum, benefitted from enhanced status ó they composed and performed peace songs in low and high profile public functions. They also advised the DC and the District Peace Committee on gender issues around peace-building and have attended peace conferences both at the national and international level.

---

<sup>205</sup> Focused group discussion, Kibera Women for Peace and Fairness, September 15, 2013.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid.

<sup>206</sup> Oral interview, Jane Anyango, Co-founder ó Kibera Women for Peace and Fairness, September 15, 2013.



The high esteem associated with their work in turn attracted many people to a culture of peace. Slowly but steadily, the culture of peace was replacing the culture of violence that had characterized Kibera slum life for decades:

amani yetu ni nzuri hata kitambo ukipita mahali watu wanapigana ulikuwa unawaacha tu, lakini sahii ukipata watu wanapigana unawaambia wasipigane huyu ni dadako na huyu ni ndugu yako maanake vizuri hata jirani yako akianza kupigana unawakataza wasipigane (This newfound peace is good. Before, you wouldn't bother even if you stumbled on people fighting but now if you find people fighting you remind them that they are brothers. Even if your neighbours begin a fight you discourage them)<sup>207</sup>.

The organization worked closely with other stakeholders but they owe much of their success to Pamoja FM. To begin with, the station was instrumental in bringing the members together in the early days even before the initiative crystallized into a formal group.<sup>208</sup> The station, on realizing that they shared the same agenda with the then nascent women group, offered them the media platform on which they could mobilize more members and a wider audience for their peace messages. The group leaders and founders utilized the platform to create awareness on the existence of such a group and even more importantly sold their idea and vision to the prospective members. The organization's leadership had many studio sessions in 2008 in which they talked to the minds and hearts of women urging them to join the organization. During this time the group got the first hundreds of their 800 members and many women have confirmed that their joining the organization was a response to the clarion call channeled through Pamoja FM:

Mimi nilikuwa nasikia hawa wamama kama kila siku wakiongea kuhusu hii kikundi ya amani kwa hii radio. Wakisema kwamba wamama pia wako na nafasi kwa mambo ya amani. Siku moja niliamuwa kuja karibu ili nielezewe. Kutoka hiyo siku nimekuwa nao mstari wa mbele kwa mambo ya amani (I used to listen to these women on radio every day talking about this peace group. I heard them say that women too have a role to play on issues of peace. One day I decided to

---

<sup>207</sup> Focus group discussion - Kibera Women for Peace and Fairness, September 15, 2013.

<sup>208</sup> Oral interview, Jane Anyango, Co-founder of Kibera Women for Peace and Fairness, September 15, 2013.

find out what it was all about. Since then I have been with them in matters of peace).<sup>209</sup>

Over the years, Pamoja FM remained the main channel through which the organization propagated its peace messages and also popularized its peace events and activities. The station has operated on what can pass for an open door policy when dealing with the organization:

í the doors are open to us, we can go in anytime, in fact if there is any hot issue if I call Pamoja right now it will be aired directly, any little issue. And if we have any issue to share with Kibera community we are not charged, we only call, book and go in for the programs, so we really appreciate Pamoja FM they've been there for us and it is important for the community.<sup>210</sup>

Through the frequent sessions they had on air their networks grew and many people and organizations reached out to them with a view to either benefiting from them or supporting them. The station also, from time to time, recommended the organization or some of its members for engagement on peace projects ran by other organizations such as the UN. These include training, workshops, and conferences both locally and abroad.

By extending unlimited support to another organization on the basis of a shared agenda, Pamoja FM's effort to promote peace was even more pronounced. Moreover, the benefits brought about by Kibera Women for Peace and Fairness organization's peace work can, by extension, be construed as success for the station.

#### **4.3 "Bumps Ahead" Rehabilitation Project**

Michael L. Fleisher observes that despite the term 'vigilantism' being a common word, an agreement is yet to be reached on its scholarly meaning.<sup>211</sup> Johnston as cited in Fleisher asserts that a key feature of vigilantism consists of its being 'a voluntary activity engaged in by 'active citizens (private voluntary agents)' without the state's authority or support.'<sup>212</sup> He also alludes to

---

<sup>209</sup> Focus group discussion - Kibera Women for Peace and Fairness, September 15, 2013.

<sup>210</sup> Oral interview, Jane Anyango, Co-founder of Kibera Women for Peace and Fairness, September 15, 2013.

<sup>211</sup> M. Fleisher, 'Sungusungu: State-Sponsored Village Vigilante Groups among the Kuria of Tanzania', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, Cambridge University Press, Vol. 70, No. 2 (2000), pp. 209-228.

<sup>212</sup> L. Johnstone, 'What's Vigilantism?', *British Journal of Criminology*, 36(2), 1996, p. 220-236.

Rosenbaum and Sederberg as cited in Fleisher who defines vigilantism as 'establishment violence' perpetrated in furtherance of 'conservative' ends, and 'designed to create, maintain, or recreate an established socio-political order'<sup>213</sup>

After studying the increase in vigilante activities in Kenya, David Anderson concluded that the increasing prevalence of vigilante groups in the city is shown to be partly a reflection of growing criminal activities, especially extortion, and partly the consequences of the struggle for political control.<sup>214</sup> He writes:

The 'New Vigilantes' of Nairobi exploit urban insecurity for materialist gain, but they have also merged with the Majeshi la Wazee ('Armies of the Elders') that have long been deployed to 'protect' the interests of their political clients. In this context, heightening urban violence is seen to be both criminal and political in character, and it is argued that it is likely that vigilante groups will again be used as political instruments in the electoral struggle for the city.<sup>215</sup>

As the case with many slums, vigilante groups have had a say in the lives of Kibera residents for a very long time. They have thrived on levies collected from residents and visitors in exchange for security. In other cases, they have been blamed for harassment and threat. Though vigilantism has always been a part of slum life, David Anderson while writing in the run up to the 2002 general elections observed that vigilante activity is usually heightened during elections.<sup>216</sup> During the 2007/8 PEV Kibera witnessed a resurgence of gangs. Many of these gangs continued to exist and operate even after the PEV and a closer look at these groups shows that despite their different motivations they all thrive on the use of violence as a tool:

Most commonly they employ violence as a solution to a problem perceived as vital to address: be it crime within the community (vigilantes), personal subsistence (criminal gangs), or lack of criminal representation (youth wingers). Thereby, criminal and political violence become hard to disentangle and so do the

---

<sup>213</sup> H. Rosenbaum and Peter Sederberg (Eds), 'Vigilante Politics', University of Pennsylvania Press, Inc, 1974, p. 5.

<sup>214</sup> D. Anderson, 'Vigilante, Violence, and the Politics of Public order in Kenya', *African Affairs*, Vol. 101, No. 405 (Oct., 2002), pp. 531-555.

<sup>215</sup> Ibid.

<sup>216</sup> Ibid.

multifarious motivations behind the perceived need to rectify some of the societal malaises.<sup>217</sup>

A broadcaster working for Pamoja FM recounts that the existence of these gangs was a stumbling block in their peace building efforts.<sup>218</sup> The gangs frequently sparked violence and caused tension within the community even at times when people appeared to be enjoying some peace. The Pamoja FM team therefore decided to seek a solution to the gang menace in Kibera by pursuing alternative sources of income for the vigilante members.<sup>219</sup> They began by organizing the gangs according to their domain. There were those who collected levies from motorists mainly along the main road (Kibera Drive), those who collected taxes from tenants and landlords, and those who 'sell security.'<sup>220</sup> After the categorization there was need to understand each group deeply. At that point the challenge was that the station staff lacked the kind of expertise or experience required to study a vigilante group. To get prepared for the job, a senior member of staff was sponsored by a reputable media organization to research on the dynamics that sustain armed militias and the possible solutions to the menace:

I went to various parts of the country including Mt. Elgon, including Kiambu, I was researching about militia groups as a whole, that is Sabaot Lands Defense Force, how it started, whatever, the damages it caused in Mt. Elgon. I went to Kiambu to research about Mungiki and its effect on the people, and I came back to research on the Bumps Ahead in Kibera, I know it is a new word to you.<sup>221</sup>

Equipped with the understanding of how vigilante groups work, the station decided to tackle the three categories of vigilante groups one at a time. The category that to be tackled first was the group extorting motorists on the main road 'a gang aptly named 'Bumps Ahead.' This was a group of mainly young men that charged motorists who used Kibera Drive. To get to stage number 42 (the last stage of the route) buses parted with two hundred shillings, Matatus paid

---

<sup>217</sup> Dinova, 'Bullets Beyond Ballot', p. 48.

<sup>218</sup> Oral interview, Phillip Muhatia, Programs Manager, Pamoja FM, September 12, 2013.

<sup>219</sup> The gangs were largely composed of male youths inclined to violence.

<sup>220</sup> Security was provided at a fee in the forms of night escorts and vigils, property watch e.t.c.

<sup>221</sup> Oral interview, Phillip Muhatia, Programs Manager, Pamoja FM, September 12, 2013.

fifty shillings and those ferrying building material paid as much as five hundred shillings. The operation of this gang was an affront to peace because once in a while motorists especially those operating public service vehicles grouped and violently engaged the vigilante group. At less frequent instances the gang laid ambush and gruesomely decapitated unsuspecting drivers or touts. This kind of conflict between vigilante groups and matatu operators in the city is not unique to Kibera and has the habit of causing tension. In Kibera where the community is still trying to mend differences emanating from the PEV any such tensions usually mutate into conflicts that mirror the differences as per captured in the 2007/2008 PEV. In this light it is easy to understand Pamoja FM's concerns. When researching on the 'Bumps Ahead' it was revealed that the exploitation network was actually more complex than perceived by the general public:

We found out that these young men were not working on their own, that it was a network including even government officers so they would take two hundred shillings per vehicle and in the real sense they will remain only with a hundred shillings then the cartels behind whatever would go with a hundred shillings.<sup>222</sup>

The fact that the gang members were left with amounts too little to invest in any meaningful economic activity meant that they would never abandon gang life. In a way, the dependency on this activity for survival would be perpetuated until an external intervention. Pamoja FM decided to offer that external intervention. First, they engaged the gang members in order to find out what exactly hindered them from abandoning the group and its activities. They also hosted the gang members on a live studio session where they got to hear from the community and the community also got to hear from them:

So most of them said we are doing this because we don't have work to do and the members of the audience also called to ask them questions and offer solutions. Some of them said they would change if they found some work to do.<sup>223</sup>

---

<sup>222</sup> Ibid.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid.

They approached the Kenya Bus Service which was one of the most affected by the extortion and hatched a deal that could see the members of the group trained in driving and or absorbed as employees of the company. The provincial administration (D.O and D.C) were also brought on board to beef up security even as the government was challenged to investigate the matter and take action against security officers and other government officers involved in the racket.

By the time this study was conducted plans to train the first lot of gang members was at an advanced stage but even then "Bumps Ahead" had substantially withdrawn their extortionist activities from the road with the hope of a better future earned through lawful means. In the mean time, the station has kept close contact with the former gang members and has continued to expose them to alternative ways of earning a living so that they don't revert to extortion or other criminal activities.

The withdrawal of militia activity from the road has reduced tension within the community and greatly improved the prospects for a more successful peace building exercise. Given the success of the first face so far, Pamoja FM plans to proceed with a similar kind of intervention in confronting the other two gang categories.

#### **4.4 Pamoja Fans Welfare Society and Sacco**

Pamoja FM helped unite the people of Kibera through several dialogue platforms as already discussed. The station was a recognized convener of debates and discussions either off-air or on-air the station and this kept the people of Kibera people engaged. While such informal discussions were hailed for laying the right foundation for peace building, Pamoja FM's contribution could best be seen via its broadcast services offered to women organizations, youth groups, rent tribunals, and such like entities that either owed their origin and/or existence to the station.

Since its inception, Pamoja FM always maintained a close link with its listeners. When not commenting on serious topical political or economic issues they would be engaging in neighborhood social discussion. However, for a long time, the link between listeners remained

temporary and limited to the discussion of the moment. At the same time, the station attracted two different categories of listeners - the passive ones and the active ones.<sup>224</sup> In 2009, some of the active listeners decided to come together under one formal group called Pamoja Fans Welfare Association, composed mainly of young men and women below thirty years of age:

Niliona ni kitu kizuri na nikajiunga na mafans wengine tukaanzisha group na tukaamua kwamba tusiwe tu mafans wa kusalimiana hewani bali pia tujuane. Mmoja wetu akipata shida na tunajiita pale mafans lakini chini chini hatupendani, hatuwezi tukamsaidia (I considered it a good thing so I started a group so that on top of greeting each other on radio we also get to know each other. If one of us is in need of help, it isn't possible to help if we don't love each other).<sup>225</sup>

The association, by the time the research was conducted, had managed to attract 800 residents who were either members of the Sacco or other subdivisions such as the East African Express which is a smaller, more closely knit group of fans who engage a lot in on-air greetings.<sup>226</sup> The program plays popular music from across East Africa and the listeners call and pass their messages of greetings live on air. The group met every weekend at which time they contributed twenty shillings each, and the total amount given to the host member.<sup>227</sup> And whenever a member was bereaved, each member contributed two hundred shillings to help cater for the funeral expense. Members have also been able to benefit through settlement of school fees and funeral expenses. Whenever a member is in need a meeting is called at the member's house and the group meets to deliberate on the way forward. Contributions accrued are then given to the member in need either as loans or grants. To avoid over reliance on spontaneous contributions, the group has invested part of their contribution to guarantee money for offsetting emergencies when they arise:

---

<sup>224</sup> The active listener is concerned with the discussions and is very familiar with the day-to-day content of the station. He/she regularly gives feedback through studio call-ins. The passive listener is more interested in the entertainment e.g. music played by the station. He/she hardly gives feedback.

<sup>225</sup> East Africa FM focused group discussion, September 22, 2013.

<sup>226</sup> Oral interview, Phillip Muhatia, Programs Manager, Pamoja FM, September 12, 2013.

<sup>227</sup> In a full cycle, each member gets the opportunity to host the meeting.

Matents na viti hizo ambazo tunarent mtu akitaka kama ako na sherehe tunakodisha alafu hizo pesa zote zinaingiza kwa hazina, ambapo mtu akipata shida ama mikasa tofauti kama moto, kifo tuko na vile tunachangia pesa kidogo kidogo (we hire out the tents and the chairs to those who have events and we save the money we get out of it in the welfare account such that when one of us is in need then we just contribute a small amount from our pockets).<sup>228</sup>

The Sacco, unlike the welfare, focuses more on the economic than the social aspect of slum life. It mainly provides members with low interest loans especially to start small business enterprises. East African Express and the Sacco have managed to promote peace in two ways. Firstly, they have contributed to the socio-economic wellbeing of the people and made the people especially the youth less vulnerable to crime and political incitement. On the other hand the groups have been used to reconcile different communities living in Kibera. By bringing together the station listeners on a face to face contact and corporation the station has managed to bridge the differences between the two communities. More importantly, both have peace as their core value and therefore consciously work towards its attainment:

Madhumuni ya hiki chama ni kwamba ya kwanza, lazima tutukuze amani, ya pili, uelewano, ya tatu ni kuspread hiyo amani kuanzia na sisi tujue kwamba wale wenzetu wata faidika kiviipi (the aim of this group is that first we have to promote peace and understanding amongst ourselves then spread to others so that they can also benefit).<sup>229</sup>

Their meetings start with an update on the status of peace in their various neighborhoods and in case of breaches the members proceed to brainstorm on possible solutions. Many members have also become peace activists and ambassadors in the slum and have used the groups' reputation to reach out to people. Besides being the foundation of the above initiatives, Pamoja FM has remained actively involved in their day to day activities including in networking and mobilization for new members:

---

<sup>228</sup> Focus group discussion, East Africa FM, September 22, 2013.

<sup>229</sup> Ibid.



Some of our workers are there and they also use the station to coordinate their affairs. When they take part in our discussions they also remind one another ó you know we are meeting at so and soø, fulani amepata matanga (so and so is bereaved), so we feel they are part and parcel of this station because they came out as a result of our broadcasting and they also use the radio station as a tool to conduct their business and they always inform us on what they intend to do in future so we always feel they are part and parcel of us and we have developed that rapport.<sup>230</sup>

#### 4.5 Rent Tribunals

Many sources agree that the landlord-tenant conflict is a problem that has been persistent in Kibera but only gets exacerbated during the election period. In the run up to the 2007 elections, there were already indications that the pattern would recur: õí people had resolved if elections results do not come this way there will be no peace, we people in the business had started getting this information because some of my staff were claiming that my house will be theirsí ö<sup>231</sup>

When violence broke out after the election results were disputed, many land lords were either dispossessed of their property or denied rent forthwith. It is during the peace building period that the Langata District Peace Committee, Pamoja FM, and other stakeholders appreciated that restoring relationships between land lords and tenants was a key pillar of their work. Consequently, they formed a rent tribunal which met on a regular basis:

We gather all the complaints reported over a given period of time and then meet to discuss them in the presence of both the landlord and the tenant. We also invite the public over the radio - Pamoja FM, to attend. We listen to both parties then advise on the way forward. The people also get to contribute their views.<sup>232</sup>

---

<sup>230</sup> Oral interview, Phillip Muhatia, Programs Manager, Pamoja FM, September 12, 2013.

<sup>231</sup> Oral interview, Joseph Mbugua, Chairman, Langata DPC, September 22, 2013.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid.

Alongside being used as a channel to invite the public, Pamoja FM recorded and aired bits of the proceedings on their station thus making even more members of the community involved in the important process.

The Rent Tribunal, comprising the DPC chairman, the District Officer, and selected members of the community representing both the interests of land lords and tenants, are the tasked with following up on the implementation of the tribunal's verdict because just like there are fugitives try to escape justice at war crime courts and tribunals, some people have been reluctant to comply to the voice of the Kibera Land Tribunal. To avoid a recurrence of such conflicts, the committee has also run an advocacy campaign on the need to formalize landlord/tenant agreements:

We are emphasizing that if you get a tenant, sit down, get an agreement so it can be difficult for them to abuse the agreement. We have worked quite a lot to see that those issues have been minimized. They are not finished, we see a lot of issues between landlords and tenants í some still cannot go to collect the rent so they send goonsí but I think some good steps have been achieved which I think is commendable.<sup>233</sup>

Landlords have also been urged to make rent commensurate to the quality of their property. And in many ways, the tribunal has managed to change the attitude of landlords and tenants towards each other.

We tell them that the tenant is your employer because without that money you cannot survive. The landlord is your customer because without that house you have nowhere to operate from. So you need to create a customer/supplier relationship not basically where you see your landlord as your exploiters because you cannot continue leaving in a situation where you are being exploited.<sup>234</sup>

---

<sup>233</sup> Ibid.

<sup>234</sup> Ibid.

In as much as the rent tribunal remains the face of the thawing of relationship between the landlords and tenants in Kibera, the role played by Pamoja FM cannot be overemphasized.

#### **4.6 Kibera Pamoja Peace Football Tournaments**

During the period of study Pamoja FM spread its peace messages via the airwaves, through direct contact with the people, or by using a combination of the two in which case they would broadcast the proceedings of their direct contact either live or as recorded material.<sup>235</sup> Whatever the channel used, the aim was always one ó to reach as many people as possible. But by their very nature, some platforms such as workshops, rent tribunals, and peace meetings always guaranteed just a limited number of participants who were relied up on to spread the messages to other members of the society. Other spaces such as peace walks, road shows and tournaments attracted high numbers and were therefore more efficient in spreading the messages. The one space that was a crowd puller and that also had the most remarkable impact was the Kibera Pamoja Football Tournament.

According to the findings of the study, football was the most popular sport in the slum but had been suppressed by the violence. One of the effects of PEV was that it bred suspicion between people who initially played together and so the fields remained deserted.<sup>236</sup> In the aftermath of this anomaly, Pamoja FM, in late 2008, moved in to bring people back to the fields. The station came up with the Pamoja Peace football Tournament which quickly became an image of restored relationships even though true reconciliation was to be realized within a much longer timeframe. The station used football to bring together members from the different communities to interact and pave way for dialogue. They also seized the opportunity presented by the tournament to pass messages of reconciliation and tolerance. Given that the station was held in high regard by Kibera residents, the tournament had a good appeal and therefore easily won the confidence of all the communities.<sup>237</sup>

---

<sup>235</sup> Oral interview, Phillip Muhatia, Programs Manager, Pamoja FM, September 12, 2013.

<sup>236</sup> Oral interview, Hussein Ramadhan, Station Manager, Pamoja FM, September 9, 2013.

<sup>237</sup> It is important to note that others (individuals and organizations) had tried to unite people through football with little success.

In collaboration with USAID the station organized each of the sixteen villages into a team with members deliberately drawn from different ethnic backgrounds. The teams were then made to compete in one huge tournament where winners at various stages won prizes. Before the matches started and during breaks, musicians, poets, dance groups, acrobats etc drawn from within the slum entertained the crowd with performances and skits mainly within the theme of peace. Each event was more like a festival and the crowd grew consistently in the four years that the tournaments ran. The youth were the main participants not just in the playing itself but also in the organizing of the event:

From each village involved, we had a youth representative as a member of the organizing committee of the tournament. I brought them in so that things would start with them. We had provided everything from nets to footballs but in the organizing I picked people from the same villages to come and join the committee.<sup>238</sup>

The station aired live commentaries of the events and of the matches themselves thus taking the message to even a larger audience. When the tournament became more established, other categories such as girls tournament and women tournament were introduced. At the end of the four years when the tournaments lasted tension between hitherto rival ethnic communities had reduced substantially and football had once again become the blur of ethnic differences.<sup>239</sup>

Football is the only game that can bring people together. I was a player myself up to the national level and I had so many friends some not even living in Kibera. The tournament was popular such that to-date, wherever I pass people ask me about the tournament.<sup>240</sup>

---

<sup>238</sup> Oral interview, Hussein Ramadhan, Station Manager, Pamoja FM, September 9, 2013.

<sup>239</sup> Oral interview, Hussein Ramadhan, Station Manager, Pamoja FM, September 9, 2013.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid.

## 4.6 Conclusion

This Chapter has demonstrated that indeed Pamoja FM made an attempt at the institutionalization of peace in Kibera. To a large extent these efforts were successful in providing a long term framework for engagement especially between members of the community themselves. The station went beyond just using the airwaves to preach peace, as discussed in the previous chapter, and got into direct off-air contact with the people on matters of peace. The station also used its high status to mediate between different groups that did not see eye to eye since the PEV. For instance, by reintroducing football into the lives of the residents Pamoja FM managed to assist the affected people move on with their lives and also cope with the trauma. Through its offshoots such as the football tournament, 'Bumps Ahead' rehabilitation Project, and the welfare association and Sacco, the station established structures that helped solidify its agenda for peace in Kibera. On other instances the station did not by itself initiate projects but joined hands with other stake holders. Through the extension of support to organizations with similar agenda such as Kibera Women for Peace and Fairness, Pamoja FM displayed an understanding of sustainable peace as an all-stakeholder product.

As a possible solution to such disenfranchisement, the media act recommended that the government allocate at least a third of its advertisement expenditure to community media stations. That is yet to be implemented as a look at the distribution of such adverts during the period of study shows that nothing was channeled through community media stations. This includes even those informercials relating to peace that were particularly rapid towards the general election. Generally, the large amounts spent on media advertisement in the country have been unevenly distributed to the advantage of a few big media entities. The majority, especially the smaller media outlets have to fight hard to get a share.<sup>241</sup> In terms of geographical reach and the general appeal the advertising regime in Kenya views community radio as the smallest of the small.

---

<sup>241</sup> African Media Barometer: Kenya 2012, Windhoek, Friedrich-Albert Stiftung (fesmedia Africa), 2012.

## CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

This study set out to assess the contribution of Pamoja FM in peace building after the 2007/2008 PEV. Specifically, it sought to examine the station's messages and how they were communicated, the impact of the messages on the station audience, and how the station fit within the national peace agenda during the period of study. To achieve the three objectives, the study examined the station's peace messages, activities, and initiatives and the impact they had on the station's listeners and the residents of Kibera in general. In so doing, the study established specific ways through which the station contributed to peace-building in Kibera. The study also did an overview analysis of the media's performance in general so as to establish any similarities or differences, if any, between their approach and that of Pamoja FM. This overview of the Kenyan media interaction with the peace process also brought out the extent to which Pamoja FM's efforts were appreciated by other actors.

In outlining the specific ways through which the station intervened, the study notes that many of Pamoja FM's contributions are owed to its mass media features, i.e. the fact that its messages could reach many people at the same time. The study, however, emphasizes that the success of the station's efforts to another extent depended on how this mass reach was put into use. According to Macbride, communication promotes integration by providing "to all persons, groups, and nations the access to variety of messages which they need in order to know and understand each other's living condition, view points and aspirations."<sup>242</sup> While providing information to "all persons" may not be possible when dealing with a large number of people e.g. in a neighborhood like Kibera, mass media has the highest chances of reaching the largest section of the population. This study has revealed that Pamoja FM, as an agent of mass media messages, engaged with the population over a period of time and that this contact was instrumental in fostering integration among Kibera residents.

---

<sup>242</sup>S. MacBride, *Many Voices, One World*. p. 56.

One of the ways that the mass reach was put into use was through informing the population of and on peace building activities happening within the slum or touching on the lives of the slum population. Essentially, Pamoja FM news content was customized to fit the needs of its audience. Such information e.g. of planned peace meetings or outcomes from the same was further followed up by consistent appeals to the listeners to act for the sake of peace. Consequently, there were impressive turn-outs at peace-oriented events. Such impressive turn-outs at peace football tournaments, peace meetings, rent tribunals etc are partly attributed to this consistency in feeding the population with appropriate information.

Essentially, the station relayed the information in a way that helped its audience draw a link between action and reward. This is consistent with Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada's assertion that people make decisions after they have been empowered and motivated by information they have received and internalized and found relevant to themselves and their interests.<sup>243</sup> Such consistency, the study revealed, was largely lacking in the rest of the media such that at some point the media showed little interest in peace building altogether. At certain times when many national and community stations in the country took to amplifying the international and the political rhetoric regarding peace in the country, Pamoja FM provided the impetus by consistently formulating and disseminating peace messages.

Article 19 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights states that everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.<sup>244</sup> This study has revealed that while small communities might exercise their right by accessing a variety of information platforms and channels nationally and even internationally, a community radio station is a more desirable communication channel during peace-building. By making its content more relevant to its audience than what was available in the national channels, Pamoja FM demonstrated that "freedom," in the context of peace-building

---

<sup>243</sup> C. Fraser, and S. Restrepo-Estrada, *Communicating for Development*, p. 39.

<sup>244</sup> Universal Declaration of Human Rights <<http://www.ohchr.org/en/udhr/pages/language.aspx?langid=eng>> (Accessed March 13, 2013).

among members of a small community, is only vital if the information received or imparted prioritizes the needs of the immediate environment. Even at a time when the other media outlets shifted their attention from peace to other issues, Pamoja FM continued with peace-building because it was aware of the division that still existed among the people of Kibera and the need to correct it.

Michelle Maiese observes that during conflict radio informs the communities about the plight of other conflict-ridden areas.<sup>245</sup> While this study does not refute that, it asserts that news and information is even more useful in the peace building stage. Pamoja FM broadcasted to its listeners news and information not about other afflicted areas but about themselves and their situation. In this way peace building is seen to be more effective when started at the smaller units upwards, i.e. through reconciliation between individuals, families, clans etc before there can be talks of national reconciliation. This study established that Pamoja FM concentrated on building peace in Kibera which was one of the worst hit by the PEV while bigger players continued to invest in the notion of a national peace building that begins at the top and hopefully trickles to the ground.

Another way through which the station's mass reach was used for peace building was by using opinion leaders in the community to appeal to the people to unite. This was done by anchoring studio discussions within popular programmes and providing a platform where the opinion leaders, hosted in the studio, had a direct conversation with the listeners listening or calling from different locations within the slum. This was neither a new idea nor was it exclusive to Pamoja FM. However, it is the station's consistency that stood out, above that of the private media and many other community radio stations. To the advantage of the peace process, opinion leaders used by Pamoja FM were not individuals alienated from the issues affecting the community like is common with national media outlets but ordinary people sourced from within the community e.g. youth leaders, reformed gang members, members of women groups, etc. The active participation by listeners considerably re-wrote the sender-receiver rules as recommended by

---

<sup>245</sup> M. Maiese, *Peacebuilding Beyond Intractability*.



Mcquail.<sup>246</sup> Even though this research may wish to recommend to other radio stations to enhance the audience's voice in their programming during the peace building period, the Marxist theory of the media doesn't anticipate the possibility of commercial radio accentuating the voice of the masses at the expense of that of the ruling class who in the context of peace building are more often than not the agents of conflict.

Pamoja FM also used, with impressive results, more of the popular yet less serious live programmes to host peace discussions and less of the traditional, "serious" programmes. This is something other media outlets need to adopt especially if they intend to reach the youth. Presenters of such shows can also use their clout both on-air and off-air to influence the population like was the case with Pamoja FM.

The station enjoyed goodwill and a high status within the community which it used to the benefit of peace projects within Kibera. The station initiated a number of peace projects and supported those that were organized by other players. Goodwill and high status were particularly important in attracting residents, government institutions, donors, etc hence promoting inclusivity while at the same time providing the necessary financial resources for the peace building exercise. Furthermore, in the period after the violent conflict, there were many entities working or claiming to work towards reuniting the community. There was therefore the need for synergy which could best be achieved with the presence of a few main institutions around which smaller actors could coalesce. Pamoja FM was one of the few main institutions that helped concretize peace work in Kibera. Individuals joined to form small groups like youth groups and women groups. At such ethnically homogenous groups, peace was construed and demonstrated as the ability to co-exist not just through tolerance but also through mutual psychological, social, and economic support.

It is at these spaces that members of the community discussed peace in their own terms and language devoid of external pressures and influence. Such groups connected at higher levels such as the rent tribunal and peace football tournaments. Engagements at higher levels were highly

---

<sup>246</sup> D. Mcquail, *Mass Communication Theories*. p. 97.

nuanced and involved a bit of external efforts e.g. from the national government and NGOs. The study established that these social spaces were breeding points of healthy conversations on matters pertaining to peace. Again, the idea of a media station sponsoring campaigns or partnering with initiatives is not new or exclusive to Pamoja FM. And like was the case with news and studio discussions, it is the station's consistency that stood out.

The study also established that Pamoja FM also combined its high status with journalism in reaching out to specific social groups such as gangs. Citing a case in which a CBS news anchor conducted separate interviews with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Manachem Begin directly leading to Sadat's historic visit to Jerusalem, Ludmila Lazar notes that "journalism has unique experiences in mediating and resolving serious disputes with well pronounced intercultural dimension."<sup>247</sup> Pamoja FM mediated between gang members and the security officers and assisted the gang members convert into law abiding citizens. This was a big contribution especially considering that restoration of law and order occupies a central place in the post-conflict period.<sup>248</sup> A few other media stations had also consistently offered to mediate among conflicting parties or reach out to specific social groups but with little success despite many of them having much higher capacity to do so.

Writing on international peace mediation, Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Martti Ahtisaari observes that for mediators to be effective, they must have the support of major actors: "there is a sort of realism involved that you need some of the major actors. If you can't have their support, I would not even start a mediation exercise..."<sup>249</sup> This assertion holds true of mediation at the community level as well. And even though mediation is majorly a component of peace-making, there exists many instances during the peace building period when mediation still comes in handy. For example, mediation is useful in quelling pockets of disputes in a seemingly peaceful peace building period. This study has established that Pamoja FM had great support from many

---

<sup>247</sup> L. Lazar, "Media as a Mediator of Intercultural Communication in the Age of Globalization," *International Journal of Communication Research*, Vol. 2, 2012, pp. 291-294.

<sup>248</sup> "Rule-of-law Rules for Post-conflict States: mapping the justice sector," United Nations, Geneva, 2006, p. 1. < <http://www.ohchr.org/documents/publications/ruleoflawmappingen.pdf> > Accessed on October 31, 2014.

<sup>249</sup> A. Herrberg and M. Savolainen, "What is a Good Mediator?: Personal Insights on the Essentials of a Good Mediator," Initiative for Peacebuilding, 2009, p.7.

stakeholders in the peace building process at the community level; this goodwill enabled the station to rally Kibera residents towards an agenda for peace.

The Marxist theory of the media anticipates that the media would invest in peace only as long as there are financial returns or promise of the same. This study therefore concludes that the media's inconsistency was partly due to the lack of financial returns in the peace work. In fact, there were also assertions that even the little the media did with regards to peace was for the sole purpose of protecting capital i.e. by preventing property destructions, reduction in sales, and the possible collapse of the economy. This study did not conclusively ascertain the reason behind the media's inconsistency; further studies should be done in this line. However, peace processes, usually characterized by long drawn out successions of tedious meeting, have been sighted as a turn offs to the international media.<sup>250</sup> But while Blondel who while writing at his time sought to make a case for the domestic media, the mainstream domestic media has since evolved and picked a lot of features, values, and tastes that have traditionally defined the international media. The fact that the peace building exercise during the period of study was prolonged could be a reason the mainstream media opted out at some point.

While the Marxist theory of the media anticipates private media to prioritize economic reward like it did, Marx predicted an antithesis in the form of an "alternative media" which would prioritize the interest of the masses.<sup>251</sup> That is an ideal similar to the philosophy behind community radio. In theory, a community radio is supposed to be stirred by community interest and agenda because it is owned by the community. Considering that peace was one of the main topics in the country during the period of study, this study expected that community stations, having no interest in protecting capital, would localize the issues around peace and in fact set it as their agenda. The study did not do an in-depth study of the performance of other community stations as to accurately comment on their individual performance. However, information gotten from other actors within the peace sector who worked with or tried to work with community stations revealed that many stations were not dedicated to peace-building. This study found the answer to this anomaly in the revelation that some stations were operating under a community

---

<sup>250</sup> J. Barry (Eds), *Media Conflict Prevention and Resolution*, UNESCO, 2008, p.28.

<sup>251</sup> C. Fuchs, "Some Theoretical Foundations of Critical Media Study."

radio's license, even though in reality they were actually furthering private political or commercial interest. This is despite there being a clear legal framework that ensures communities are the main beneficiaries of community radio stations. Given this finding, this study recommends that the relevant authorities bridge the gap between what is on paper and what is in practice by regular monitoring and enforcement of the laws. Stakeholders should also come up with clear and workable ways through which community stations in Kenya can generate revenue necessary in carrying out their mandate. Besides improving the quality of content, a regular source of revenue, probably from the public coffers, will assist in cushioning these stations from financial enticements by unscrupulous entities so that they carry out their stated mandate.

In the mean time, community radio stations can draw lessons from the way Pamoja FM, even with limited resources, was able to do so much: design and propagate peace messages, organize peace events and provide media coverage for the same, track the ICC cases in The Hague etc. The case of Pamoja FM has demonstrated that with a relatively small homogeneous audience, community stations only need to design appropriate peace messages and deliver them in the most effective ways. However, this is possible only when a station is in close contact with the community and is always accessible to them. In a country engaged in a national reconciliation programme, a community radio station, despite catering to a narrow listenership, need to network with other actors within the peace-building machinery to either benefit from or contribute to the synergy. They should never work in isolation. For instance, Pamoja FM, despite its financial challenges, was able to actively and effectively participate in the coverage of the ICC process in The Hague alongside the more financially capable media outlets. The study found out that even as a community station, Pamoja FM was in constant contact with key actors at the national level.

Even more important is the need for players in the peace building exercise to recognize the potential of community media especially radio stations. This study observed that many of the main organizations dealing in peace and reconciliation embraced the mainstream media more than they did Pamoja FM especially in cases where finances were concerned. This misunderstanding of community radio as charity entities is drawn from their not-for-profit

philosophy. This study however confirmed that community radio can charge fees for services within certain limits. Whether or not this will jeopardize their community agenda is a subject beyond this study but an interesting one to pursue. For instance, it would be interesting to establish how a system, legal or otherwise, is able to rigidly define and maintain the "certain limits."

The study established that Pamoja FM had its strengths and weaknesses especially when compared to the mainstream media. The station compared favorably to the extent that its limited geographical reach bestowed on it a small homogeneous audience which could be easily and efficiently served by peace messages either through broadcasting or physical contact. In contrast, a radio station with a national reach enjoys a less than personal contact with its audience which is heterogeneous and scattered around the country. On the flipside, a single community station cannot even attempt to oversee by itself a national peace building process due to its limited reach. In contrast, a national broadcaster can attempt to pass peace messages intended for a national audience. On the commercial front, the mainstream media are better than community stations at collecting revenue. This revenue, in most cases, translates into higher operation capacities. Interestingly though, the mainstream media being largely commercial prioritize profits over anything else including peace. Consequently, community radio, despite its weak financial muscle, has a better chance at peace building. This is despite the fact that in most cases potential financial partners prefer the mainstream media to community radio. These strengths and weaknesses between community radio and the mainstream media are majorly brought about by the difference in the nature of the two. In fact, Ambrosi and Thedeø asserts that community media is oppositional to the mainstream media.<sup>252</sup>

For an effective national peace building campaign, this study proposes that community radio and the main stream media be employed complimentarily thus erasing the situation of "either this or the other"

---

<sup>252</sup> N. Thede, and A. Ambrosi (Eds), Notes on "the alternative", p. 206-208.

## REFERENCES

### Oral sources

- Oral interview, Kilian Nyambu, Assistant Director, Civic Education and Advocacy, The National Cohesion and Integration Commission, August 5, 2013.
- Oral interview, Mburugu Gikunda, former CEO, Media Focus in Africa, June 24, 2013.
- Oral interview, Victor Bwire, Deputy C.E.O, Media Council of Kenya on August 8, 2013.
- Oral interview, Joseph Mbugua, Chairman, Langata District Peace Committee, September 22, 2013.
- Oral Interview Jane Anyango, Co-founder of Kibera Women for Peace and Fairness, September 15, 2013.
- Oral interview, Abdalla Musa, Radio host, Pamoja FM, September 12, 2013.
- Oral interview, Thomas Bwire, News Editor, Pamoja FM, September 9, 2014.
- Oral Interview, Phillip Muhatia, Programs Manager, Pamoja FM, September 12, 2013.
- Oral interview, Hussein Ramadhan, Station Manager, Pamoja FM, September 9, 2013.
- Focus group discussion, East Africa FM, September 22, 2013.
- Focused group discussion, Kibera Women for Peace and Fairness, September 15, 2013.
- Personal communication, Thomas Bwire, News Editor, Pamoja FM, June 11, 2014.

### Books

- Alukumu, P., *Community Radio for Development*, Limuru, Paulines Publications Africa, 2006.
- Barry, J. (Ed), *Don't Ignore Local Media in Diffusing Conflict*, Paris, UNESCO, 2004.
- Baudlillard, J., *For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign*, St. Louis, Telos Press, 1981.
- Cohen, B., *The Press and Foreign Policy*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1963.
- Downing, J. and A. Mohammed, *Questioning the Media: A Critical Introduction California*, Sage Production, 1990

- Fleisher, M., "Sungusungu: State-Sponsored Village Vigilante Groups among the Kuria of Tanzania", *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, Cambridge University Press, Vol. 70, No. 2 (2000).
- Fraser, C. and S. Restrepo-Estrada, *Communicating for Development: Human Change for Survival*, New York, I.B. Taurus and Co Ltd, 1998.
- Fraser, C. and S. Restrepo, *Community Radio Handbook*, Paris, UNESCO, 2001.
- Galtung, J., *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization*, London, Sage Publications, 1996.
- Kwame, B., (Ed), *Promoting Community Media in Africa*, Paris, UNESCO, 2000.
- Macbride, S., *One World, Many Voices: Communication and Society Today and Tomorrow*, Oxford, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2004.
- MacBride, S., *Many Voices, One World: Communication and Society Today and Tomorrow*, Oxford, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2004.
- Marx, K. and F. Engels, *The German Ideolog*, New York, International, 1970.
- Mcquail,D., *Mass Communication Theories: An Introduction*, London, Sage publication Inc, 1983.
- Mlama,P., "Reinforcing Existing Indigenous Communication Skills: The Use of Dance in Tanzania", In Riano, P. (Ed) *Women in Grassroots Communication: Furthering Social Change*, London, Sage Publications, 1994.
- Rosenbaum, H. and Peter Sederberg (Eds), *Vigilante Politic*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Inc, 1974.
- Thede, N. and A. Ambrosi (Eds), Notes on "the alternative" in, *Video the Changing World*, Montreal, Black Rose, 1991
- Wimmer, R. and J. Dominick, *Mass Media Research: An Introduction*, New York, Wadsworth Publishing Company, 2000.

### **Newspaper articles**

- Assugah, A., "Why Court had to Free Four Charged with Kiambaa Church Killing", *Daily Nation*, 18<sup>th</sup> May, 2009, p.14.

*Daily Nation* editorial, "Its Job Well Done Despite Challenges", *Daily Nation*, December 28, 2007, p.10.

*Daily Nation* editorial, "Vote in House Show Failure of Leadership", *Daily Nation*, 13<sup>th</sup> January, 2009, p.10.

Kamotho, J., "Heal the Wounds of the Nation", *Daily Nation*, 25<sup>th</sup>, October, 2009, p.27.

Gitau Warigi, "TJRC Should Approach its Mandate with a Sense of History", *Daily Nation*, 25<sup>th</sup>, October, 2009, p.25.

Kimani, M., "Broadcasting Peace: radio, a tool for peace", *Africa Renewal*, United Nations, Vol.21 #3 (October 2007), p.3.

Mue, NN., "Shall the Truth Heard by the TJRC Set Us Free?", *The Standard*, 23<sup>rd</sup>, October, 2009. P.7.

Mshindi, T., "Big Issues the Coalition Must Deliver on for the Country", *Daily Nation*, January 2, 2009. P.11.

Mutua, M. "ICC's Sword of Damocles Hangs over Kenya", *Sunday Nation*, February 1, 2009, p.15.

Namunane, B., "Propaganda and Rigging Worrying Planners", *Sunday Nation*, December 16, 2007, pp. 1, 15-16.

*Nation* Team, "Four Killed in Kibera Protests", *Daily Nation*, January 1, 2008, p. 2.

*Nation* Team, "Raila Opens Gap against Kibaki in Statehouse Race", *Daily Nation*, December 29, 2007, p.4.

*Nation* team, "Hope as Kibaki and Raila Meet at Last", *Daily Nation*, May 1, 2009, *Nation*, p.1.

Ngunyi, M., "Why a New Constitution is Political Nonsense", *Sunday Nation*, May 17, p.15.

Odunga, D., "Monuments for Victims of Church Fire Rekindles Hostility between Groups", *Daily Nation*, May 21, 2009, p.20.

Opiyo, P., "Parliament Passes Bill on Bold Truth Commission", *The Standard*, October 24, 2008, p.4.

Orlale, O. and M. Mwaniki, "Tricky moment as voters register turns up short, Polling agent shot dead as two injured", *Daily Nation*, December 28, 2007. P2.



Shimoli, E., "Chaos as Kibaki Sworn in", *Daily Nation*, December 31, 2007, pp. 2-3.

Some, K., "Uhuru and Ruto Allies in Secret Talks to Push for Peace in Troubled Rift Valley", *Daily Nation*, February 21, 2009, pp.14-15.

Wainaina, N., "True Healing Won't be Achieved without Dealing with the Past", *Daily Nation*, 9<sup>th</sup> May, 2009, p.14.

Wainaina, N. and Haroun Ndubi, "Parliament Failed: Make the Planes Ready for Hague", *Daily Nation*, February 4, 2009, p.11.

Wamanji, E., "Why IDP Trouble Will Linger", *The Standard*, April 2, 2009.

### **Journal articles**

Anderson, D., "Vigilante, Violence, and the Politics of Public order in Kenya", *African Affairs*, Vol. 101, No. 405 (Oct., 2002).

Barnett, M., H. Kim, M. O'Donnell, and L. Sitea, "Peacebuilding: What Is In a Name?", *Global Governance*, Vol. 13 (2007).

Fuchs, C., "Some Theoretical Foundations of Critical Media Study: Reflections on Karl Marx and the Media", *International Journal of Communication*, Vol. 3, 2009, pp.369-402.

Gawerc, M., "Peace-building: Theoretical and Concrete Perspective", *Peace and Change: A Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 31 Issue 4 (October 2006).

Graybill, L. and Kimberly Lanegran, "Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation in Africa: Issues and cases", *African Studies Quarterly*, Volume 8 issue I, p. 1.

Haugerudbraaten, H., "Peace-building: Six Dimensions and Two Concepts", *African Security Review*, 7:6, (July 2010).

Johnstone, L., "What's Vigilantism?", *British Journal of Criminology*, 36(2), 1996.

Kimani, M., "Broadcasting Peace: radio, a tool for peace", *Africa Renewal*, United Nations, Vol.21 #3 (October 2007).

Lazar, L., "Media as a Mediator of Intercultural Communication in the Age of Globalization", *International Journal of Communication Research*, Vol. 2, 2012, pp. 291-294.

McCombs, M. and D. Shaw, "The Agenda-setting Function of Mass media", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 36(2), pp. 176-187.

Meintjes, S., "The Aftermath: Women in Post-War Reconstruction", *Agenda*, No. 43, pp. 4-10.

Mutisya, E. and M. Yarime, "Understanding the Grassroots Dynamics of Slums in Nairobi", *International Transaction Journal of Engineering, Management, and Applied Sciences and Technologies*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 2011, p.198.

Ngui, M., "Community Radio and Post-election Violence in Kenya", *World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters – Africa (AMARC –Africa)*. 2009.

Nyanjom, O., "Factually True, Legally Untrue: political media ownership in Kenya", *Internews*, November, 2012, pp. 46-47.

Shaw, E., "Agenda-setting and Mass Media Communication Theory", *International Communication Gazette*, SAGE Publishers Inc. 1979. P.96.

Smedt, J., "The Nubis of Kibera: a Social History of the Nubians and Kibera Slums", Leiden University, 2011.

### **Reports**

Commission of Inquiry into Post Election Violence report (CIPEV), 2009, p. 3. <[http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas\\_16094-1522-2-30.pdf](http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_16094-1522-2-30.pdf)> (Accessed 23rd May 2012)

Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation < <http://www.dialoguekenya.org/>> (Accessed 7<sup>th</sup> August 2012).

"The Performance of Vernacular Radio Stations in Kenya", Media Council of Kenya, 2011.

Monitoring Report of the Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission: A Case of Concealing Truth to Reward Impunity, International Center for Policy and Conflict, April 2008 ó June 2010.

A Platform for Dialogue Towards National Integration and Cohesion ó Final project Report, Media Focus on Africa Foundation January 27<sup>th</sup>, 2010, p.8

*An Genda for Peace*: a report of the Secretary-General pursuant to the statement adopted by the Summit Meeting of the Security Council on 31 January, 1992, 17 June 1992.

Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation Commission Summary Report, p. 16. < <http://www.acordinternational.org/silo/files/kenya-tjrc-summary-report-aug-2013.pdf>> Accessed on October 28, 2014.

Kenya, Final Evaluation Report, University for Peace, by Amr Abdalla, 2012, p. 42.

African Media Barometer: Kenya 2012, Windhoek, Friedrich-Albert Stiftung (fesmedia Africa), 2012.

### **Workshop and seminar papers**

Evans-Kent, B. and R. Bleiker (Eds) "Post-Conflict Peace building: Who Determines the Peace?" in "Rethinking Humanitarianism Proceedings", held in St. Lucia: University of Quinsland, 2001.

Adam, G., and L. Holguin, "The Media's Role in Peace building: asset or liability?" *Our Media 3* Conference, Barranquilla, Columbia, May 19<sup>th</sup> -21<sup>st</sup>, 2013

Ascroft, J., "Communication in Support of Development: Lessons in Theory and Practice", paper presented at a seminar on communication and change, the University of Hawaii and the East-West Centre, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Adam, A. and L. Holguin, "The Media's Role in Peacebuilding: asset or liability?" *Our Media 3* Conference, Barranquilla, Columbia, May 19<sup>th</sup> -21<sup>st</sup>.

### **Internet sources**

Lindenmayer, E. and L. Kaye, "A Choice for Peace? The Story of Forty-One Days of Mediation in Kenya", New York: International Peace Institute, August 2009.  
[http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/KenyaMediation\\_IPI2009.pdf](http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/KenyaMediation_IPI2009.pdf)

(Accessed on> October 13, 2013).

Declaration on Fundamental Principles concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racialism, apartheid and incitement to war  
[http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-](http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13176&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html)

[URL ID=13176&URL DO=DO TOPIC&URL SECTION=201.html](http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13176&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html)

(Accessed on 27 October, 2014).

Universal Declaration of Human Rights  
<<http://www.ohchr.org/en/udhr/pages/language.aspx?langid=eng>>

(Accessed March 13, 2013).

Paula, P., "Community Radio: the future speaks 'local' An African experience: the Guinea-Bissau & Mozambique cases, Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, p.290 < [http://puj-portal.javeriana.edu.co/portal/page/portal/PORTAL\\_VERSION\\_2009\\_2010/en\\_home](http://puj-portal.javeriana.edu.co/portal/page/portal/PORTAL_VERSION_2009_2010/en_home) > (Accessed 13, March, 2012).

Radoli, L., "Press Freedom and Media's Role in Conflict and Peacebuilding: Case of the Post-2007 Crisis in Kenya," University of Gortenberg, 2011. <http://munin.uit.no/bitstream/handle/10037/3506/thesis.pdf?sequence=1>

(Accessed on October 13, 2013).

Maiese, M., "Peacebuilding Beyond Intractability." < [www.beyondintractability.org/essay/peacebuilding](http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/peacebuilding) > (Accessed 16, March, 2013).

Staub, E. et al, "Public Education Through Radio to Prevent Violence, Promote Trauma Healing and Reconciliation, and Build Peace in Rwanda and the Congo." < <http://people.umas.edu/estaub/radio%20article%20-January%202008.pdf> >

(Accessed 7, August, 2012).

Wilson, B., "How Newspapers Work" < <http://people.howstuffworks.com/newspaper3.htm> > (Accessed on 10/09/2013).

Wambua, M., "How Kenya Handled Local Tribunal Process," *Nation Media Group Library*, 17/9/2013. <http://mobile.nation.co.ke/News/How-Kenya-handled-local-tribunal-process--/-/1950946/1997172/-/format/xhtml/-/dwh96i/-/index.html>

(Accessed on October 12, 2013).

Estes, C., "Can Soap Operas Save the World?" *Yes! Magazine*, 2<sup>nd</sup>, June, 2006 < [sfcgupdate@sfcg.org](mailto:sfcgupdate@sfcg.org) >

(Accessed 7, August, 2012).

<http://www.kenyalaw.org/download/Bills/2008/>

(Accessed on September 20, 2013).

The\_Truth\_Justice\_and\_Reconciliation\_Commission\_Bill\_2008.pdf, pp.14 -17.

< <http://www.haguejusticeportal.net/index.php?id=12416> >

(Accessed on September 20, 2013).

The Kenya Information and Communication Act (1998)  
<<http://www.cck.go.ke/regulations/downloads/Kenya-Information-Communications-Act-Final.pdf>> (Accessed on March 20, 2014).

Universal Declaration of Human Rights  
<<http://www.ohchr.org/en/udhr/pages/language.aspx?langid=eng>>  
(Accessed March 13, 2013)

“Rule-of-law Rules for Post-conflict States: mapping the justice sector”, United Nations, Geneva, 2006, p. 1.  
<http://www.ohchr.org/documents/publications/ruleoflawmappingen.pdf> (Accessed on October 31, 2014).

Declaration on a culture of Peace <<http://www.un-documents.net/a53r243a.htm>>(Accessed on October 31, 2014).

Program of Action on a Culture of Peace <<http://cpnn-world.org/resolutions/resA-53-243B.html>>(Accessed on October 31, 2014).

Herrberg, A. and M. Savolainen, “What is a Good Mediator?: Personal Insights on the Essentials of a Good Mediator”, Initiative for Peacebuilding, 2009, p.7.  
<https://www.ictj.org/sites/default/files/ICTJ-IFP-EU-Mediation-Dialogue-2009-English.pdf> (Accessed on October, 20, 2014).

Dimova, M, “Bullets Beyond Ballot: Longer-Standing Youth Mobilization Patterns in the Slum Areas of Kibera, Nairobi”, Utrecht University.  
<http://dspace.library.uu.nl/handle/1874/179228#>(Accessed on October 13, 2014).