UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

CODED LANGUAGE AS A SOURCE OF ETHNIC CONFLICT IN AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF KENYA

VICTOR KIPKOSGEI SIELE

R51/67418/2013

A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS DIPLOMACY

NOVEMBER 2015

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented to any other institution, the sources have been well acknowledged.

Signature…………………………   Date……………………………

Victor Kipkosgei Siele

R51/67418/2013

This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as a university supervisor.

Signature…………………………   Date……………………………

Dr. Emmanuel Kisiangani

Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, University of Nairobi

DEDICATION

I dedicate this study to my late father Daniel Ngetich for his inspiration and my mother Ruth Ngetich for her moral and financial support throughout the study. My sister Judy and brothers Dickson, Nehemiah and Andrew for their moral support To my loving girlfriend Bilia Jepngeno for her immense support and understanding throughout the course of this study.

May the Almighty God bless you all abundantly.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to all those who, in one way or another, contributed to my completion of my Master Degree in general and this project in particular. I acknowledge my supervisor Dr. Emmanuel Kisiangani who diligently and patiently guided me through this research project. My acknowledgements also go to my colleagues at Nation Media Group for provision of good study environment.

Above all, I thank the Almighty God for His unending love, grace and provision throughout my study.

Be blessed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSRTACT

Conflicts world over have been majorly brought about by political rivalry, competition over resources and, religious differences, among others. Today, conflicts, especially those with ethnic dimensions continue to be the most common form of armed conflict around the world and in Africa in particularly. In the recent past for instance, there have been various occurrences of ethnic related clashes including in Kenya, South Sudan, Kurdish battle for self-governance in Iraq, Iran and Turkey, guerilla wars in El Salvador and Nicaragua and the 1994 Rwandan genocide between the Hutus and Tutsis, just to cite few examples.

This research looks at the role of coded language in ethnic conflicts. Coded language are words, phrases and terms used by a group of people to make reference to an object, person or groups of people that can only be understood by the said group. The study will investigate the contribution of coded language in aggravating ethnic conflicts by taking a case study of Kenya. The study will use Coded Language and Internally Recurrent Electoral Violence datasets to assess the role of linguistic diversity in determining the likelihood of ethnic conflicts. The study will perform a series of multivariate examinations so as to assess whether or not these variables have a huge effect in increasing or reducing the probability of occurrence of ethnic clash.

The objective of the study is to identify the coded languages used among the Kenyan ethnic communities and investigate the relationship between use of coded language and ethnic conflict

The specific objectives are to establish the genesis of the use coded language among the Kenyan ethnic communities and investigate the effects it has had on national integration in Kenya.

During the study, it was established that almost every ethnic community in Kenya has a coded language or phrase that uses to refer to another community, most of which have a negative connotation.

It was established that long-term and consistent usage of coded language has created an attitude towards the person or object in reference.

The media was also found to be a major contributor of promotion of ethnic violence as they provide a platform for broadcasting and publication of use of coded and unsavoury language among the political class.

This study makes recommendations to relevant institutions in government and the Media Council of Kenya. Key among the recommendations is to the government of Kenya to focus more on the implementation of policies formulation of strict laws on use of coded language and media policies governing broadcasting and publication of such.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

Conflicts world over have been majorly brought about by political rivalry, competition over resources and, religious differences, among others. Today, conflicts, especially those with ethnic dimensions[1] continue to be the most common form of armed conflict around the world and in Africa in particularly. In the recent past for instance, there have been various occurrences of ethnic related clashes including in Kenya, South Sudan, Kurdish battle for self-governance in Iraq, Iran and Turkey, guerilla wars in El Salvador and Nicaragua and the 1994 Rwandan genocide between the Hutus and Tutsis, just to cite few examples.[2] It is obvious that certain regions and states of the World are more likely to experience ethnic clashes than others. The question is, what makes ethnic conflict more or less likely to occur in a country? This study argues that language plays a critical role in promoting ethnic related conflict.

This research looks at the role of coded language in ethnic conflicts. Coded language are words, phrases and terms used by a group of people to make reference to an object, person or groups of people that can only be understood by the said group. The study will investigate the contribution of coded language in aggravating ethnic conflicts by taking a case study of Kenya. The study will use Coded Language and Internally Recurrent Electoral Violence datasets to assess the role of linguistic diversity in determining the likelihood of ethnic conflicts. The study will perform a series of multivariate examinations so as to assess whether or not these variables have a huge effect in increasing or reducing the probability of occurrence of ethnic clash.

---

[1]. Morrison, D. G., & Stevenson, H. M. (2012). Cultural pluralism, modernization, and conflict: An empirical analysis of sources of political instability in African nations. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, *5*(01), 82-103.

[2] Human Rights Watch (2013): *World Report*, Events of 2012,.p.128.
https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/wr2013_web.pdf. Retrieved on March 26, 2015 at 09:12hrs EAT

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

This study focuses on the role of coded language in conflicts and specifically how coded languages has contributed to ethnic tensions and conflicts among the Kenyan communities" Ethnic conflict has been a serious problem in African and in Kenya in particular since independence. The height of armed ethnic conflict in Kenya was experiences in the aftermath of 2007 General Elections, which resulted from the disputed presidential election. In Kenya and Africa at large, it can be established that ethnic communities have formed code names and phrases used to make reference to other ethnic groups based on their physical, biological, behavioural and other characteristics. Most of the Kenyan ethnic communities have had a code referring to another ethnic community. In many incidences, this is common with ethnic communities sharing geographical boundaries or frequent interactions. During times of political competition or tensions such as electioneering periods, the use of code language often comes into play to conceal conflicting political interests. This is so, especially between communities that have been experiencing political tension due to competition for resources such as land, pasture and water.

The use of coded language among the Kenyan ethnic communities range from coded names, terms or phrases used to refer to an ethnic community, most of which carry a negative connotation. There are, however, few studies in Kenya that examine whether or not the use of coded language among ethnic communities has a direct influence on armed ethnic conflicts. It is in that context that this study seeks the link, if any, between the use of coded language in Kenya and ethnic conflicts among the Kenyan communities.

1.3 Objectives of the study

1.3.1 Main Objective

To identify the coded languages used among the Kenyan ethnic communities

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

1. Establish the relationship between use of coded language and ethnic conflict

2. Establish the genesis of the use coded language among the Kenyan ethnic communities

3. Establish the effects it has had on national integration in Kenya.

1.4 Justification of the study

1.4.1 Academic justification

Much research has been done on major sources of ethnic conflict in Africa and areas that have been covered include political competition, religion and competition over resources. However, there exists a gap in this knowledge concerning the relationship between Africa's linguistic diversity persistent ethnic conflicts. To date, very little is known about the genesis of the use of coded language among African ethnic communities and whether or not it contributes to conflicts. It is because of this dearth in academic work in this area that this study seeks to explore the relationship between linguistic diversity and ethnic animosity among Kenyan ethnic communities.

1.4.2 Policy justification

In the Kenyan case at the International Criminal Court, witnesses in the case portrayed the leaders from Rift Valley as key figures who used coded language against some communities in the Rift Valley during the 2007 election campaigns.[3] It is, therefore, a worthy cause to study the use of coded language as an important policy issue for various national and private institutions, both in Kenya and Africa, especially those concerned with promotion and maintenance of peace and security. In Kenya for instance, the findings of this study will be of importance to policy makers in institutions such as Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC), National Cohesion and Integration Commission[4], Ministry of State for Internal Security and the Legislature. Due to the

---

3 Daily Nation: *Witness: William Ruto told youth to evict Kikuyu*, December 3, 2014 - http://www.nation.co.ke/news/politics/Witness-William-Ruto-told-youth-to-evict-Kikuyu/-/1064/2544008/-/k3ej2yz/-/index.html - Retrieved on March 30, 2014 at 18:54hrs EAT

4 The NCIC is a statutory body established under the National Cohesion and Integration Act (Act No.12 of 2008). The Commission was borne out of the realization that long lasting peace, sustainable development

widespread nature of the use of coded language among ethnic communities in Africa and the world over, the findings will be of great importance to international institutions mandated with promotion and maintenance of international peace and security. This include the Africa's Regional Economic Communities (RECs), the African Union and even the United Nations. If the findings of the study show a strong linkage between the use of coded language and ethnic animosity, it will be beneficial to the above named institutions in legislating laws governing the use of coded language among ethnic communities.

1.5 Literature review

This section will provide an evaluation of the past attempts in an effort to demonstrate the relationship between linguistic diversity and ethnic conflict. The literature review for this research will be drawn from books, academic materials, publications, peace negotiation materials and the internet. In order to build up on the theoretical framework for this exploration, it was essential to assess literature focusing on ethnic conflict itself and major source and consequences of ethnic animosity across the globe.

1.6 Causes and consequences of ethnic conflict

Ethnic tension and unrest are common in today's world. Televisions, newspapers and the internet are awash with stories of ethnic based conflict in and across nations of Africa, India[5], China and the Middle East. However more stable nations such as the United States, Great Britain, and Canada are nevertheless divided along ethnic basis, mostly marked by racial, linguistic and religious difference.[6]Africa has been affected by both intra- and inter-state ethnic conflicts which have affected about 30% of the countries in the continent.[7] The Horn of Africa Region has been considered to be an area more vulnerable to conflicts and is one of the mostly prone to conflict. According to Wamwere,

and harmonious coexistence among Kenyans requires deliberate normative, institutional and attitudinal processes of constructing nationhood, national cohesion and integration.

[5] Baylis J., Smith S. & Owen P. (2011); The Globalisation of World Politics; *An Introductions to International Relations* (pg 55)

[6] Bucholtz, M. and Hall, K. (2005). Identity and Interaction: A Socio-cultural Linguistic Approach. Discourse Studies, 7(4-5), 584-614.

[7] Ervin, S. and Bower, R. T. (2012). Translation Problems in International Surveys. Public Opinion

there has been no single year for the last six decades when the region has been free from conflict.[8]

There has been no single cause for ethnic conflict but rather a result from a number of causal factors and as Elbadawi, and Sambanis,[9], Hale [10] and Baylis et al,[11] noted, the prevalence of varied ethnic groups may not lead to ethnic conflict by itself but the specific economic, cultural and political context have an effect on the nature of interactions among ethnic groups. According to Dagne Shibru, a research Scholar at Andhra University in India, sources of ethnic conflict can be categorized into political, economic, cultural and historical factors.[12] In his journal, Ethnic conflict in East Africa: An over view of causes and consequences, Dr Shibru cited political factors as believed to be major causal effect for generation of ethnic animosity in Africa.

Berlo [13] contends that though competition for resources is a major sources of conflict in Africa, and specifically Horn of Africa, the most common source is the struggle for political power especially where ethnicity is a basis in government policies, institutions and programmes. Despite the fact that the sources of ethnic animosity in the Horn of Africa is the political nature of the state, the genesis is a result of combination of more than one factor, such as poor utilization of resources and unequal distribution of economic development. Elbadawi and Sambanis states that the state of the day does not represent the interests of the entire society and that almost all political regimes have been the causes, and not the solutions for the historical injustices. Constant hunger for political power and dominations and lack of fair political competitions have just heightened the

[8] Wamwere, K (2003).*Towards genocide in Kenya*, The course of Negative Ethnicity in Kenya, Mvule Africa Publishers, Nairobi.
[9] Elbadawi, E., & Sambanis, N. (2010). Why are there so many civil wars in Africa? Understanding and preventing violent conflict. *Journal of African Economies*, *9*(3), 244-269.
[10] Hale, H. E. (2004). Divided we stand: Institutional sources of ethnofederal state survival and collapse. *World Politics*, *56*(02), 165-193.
[11] Baylis J., Smith S. & Owen P. (2011); *The Globalisation of World Politics; An Introductions to International Relations (*pg 55)
[12] Shibru D. (2009) Ethnic Conflict In East Africa: *An Over View Of Causes And Consequences* (p16-22)-www.abhinavjournal.com/images/Arts_&_Education/.../3.pdf. Retrieved on March 30, 2015, 20:03hrs EAT
[13] Berlo K. (2011).World Politics and radio stations (pg 153-160). Retrieved on December 4, 2012. From http://fcis.oise.utoronto.ca/ncsjese/article.html

high levels of insecurity across Africa. Therefore, government policies that are ethnically discriminative play a major role in heightening the ethnic conflicts.

Political competition has been going hand in hand with economic factors as sources of ethnic conflict. As Mesthrie discovered in the former Yugoslavia, some ethnic communities such as Macedonia, Montenegro and Kosovo felt that the government policies deteriorated economic imbalance and created unequal development which brought about ethnic animosity. [14] Similarly, Baylis et al.[15] outlines the roles played by economic resources in eruption of ethnic conflict. According to him, irrespective of the form that ethnic conflict may take, the real cause of ethnic conflict in most countries in the Sub-Saharan Africa is the thirst to access and secure resource. This argument is similar to that of Bates who assert that ethnic conflict is a result of economic insecurity where political leaders discriminate against certain ethnic groups during distribution of resources.[16] In the same way, the unfair distribution of rural land in post-colonial Kenya has been a major borne of contention between ethnic conflict between ancestral inhabitants of different regions and immigrants.

Apart from economic and political factors Shibru mentioned cultural and historical factors as factors that cause and escalate ethnic animosity. Difference in traditions, cultural values can lead to ethnic tension. Bates agree that quest for cultural autonomy by minority groups which are suspicious and fear being 'swallowed' by dominant group results in culture related ethnic conflicts. Iraki adds that as a result, a politically dominant group may force its traditions, cultural values and language on the minority group which will result in ethnic animosity.[17] Also related to this in Shibru's study, is historical factors, especially in Africa, Asia and Middle East. The scramble and partition of Africa by the European colonial powers can blame for longstanding ethnic animosity across the continent. According to Bowen it was the colonialists, and the succeeding African

---

[14] Mesthrie, R. (2002). *Language in South Africa*. Cambridge University Press.
[15] Ibid p.5
[16] Bates et.al. (2009).*The Language Barrier; Cross Cultural Management*: An International Journal, 15(1): 49-60.
[17] Iraki F.K (2008). *How historical injustices fuel Africa's political upheavals,* Sunday Nation March 3, Nation Media Group, Nairobi.

independent governments that declared that every individual person had an 'ethnic identity' which determined their places in the colony and post-colonial system.[18] Bowen asserts that divide-and-rule policy used by the colonialist to conquer the colonies played a major role in promoting ethnic hatred. Colonialists in the British East Africa for instance rallied one ethnic community against another resulting in long-standing ethnic tension, even after independence.

In her research 'Ethnicity and Tribalism: Are these the Root Causes of the Sudanese Civil conflicts?' Pamela Paglia assessed the root causes of ethnic conflicts from two perspectives – The post-colonial Period and the Neoliberal period [19]. According to her, the new independent African governments gave a lot of optimism to the people but were unable to fulfill the demands. The states failed to fulfill its obligations to the people due to the absence of efficient institutions to continue the work left by the colonial governments. Due to the unmet expectations, political unrest, rising poverty levels and increasing militarization of governments, governments resorted to ethnic mobilization led to conflicts.[20]

According to Paglia, the post-colonial perspective has various factors that can be highlighted as root causes of ethnic conflicts in Africa. But of great importance is the fact that the colonial governments created and handed over political power to ethnically homogenous elites, as compared to the cultural heterogenic nature of African societies. She asserts that the colonial administration sought help from a small part of the colony's population to govern it. The negotiation for independence was therefore between the elites and the colonial administrators which confirmed them (elites) as the new ruling actors of post-independent Africa. The fact that the elites represented specific ethnic and interest groups and neglected others, it created competition for access of national resources and political empowerment. This resulted in animosity between the groups at the peripheries of the political power and those at the core, which were perceived to be

---

[18] Bowen, S. J. (2002). *English language proficiency and contextual factors influencing mathematics achievement of secondary school pupils in South Africa*. University of Twente.
[19] Paglia P. (2007): Ethnicity and Tribalism: *are these the Root Causes of the Sudanese Civil Conflicts?*- http://www.africabib.org/rec.php?RID=P00045000&DB=p. retrieved on April 4, 2015, 09:47hrs EAT
[20] ibid p.8

the sole beneficiaries of political power of the day. In addition, ethnic factor has played a major role in African power politics since independence. African political leaders have used ethnic ideology as a means to access political power and control.

Paglia asserts that scarcity of resources may contribute to – but cannot be a decisive factor for – the emergence of ethnic conflict since various groups live together without falling into a violent clash where there are no adequate resources. Conflict takes place where some groups attempt to benefit themselves at the expense of others. This happens either when power holders distribute resources among different ethnic communities unfairly or when an ethnic group attempts to occupy the territory of its neighboring group without the consent of the community concerned to allow it some access to the available economic resource. This type of conflict is common in the pastoralist's areas. But in Ethiopia, she says, prolonged social conflicts have been the result of competition over the control of state machinery, which is a guarantor of access to necessary resources of survival. This means that power holders, particularly during the imperial regimes, rewarded the members of their ethnic group by providing them access to economic resources at the expense of the other ethnic communities.

Donald L. Horowitz[21] gives ten explanations for ethnic animosity in his study 'Structure and Strategy in Ethnic Conflict' and according to him, ethnicity is an ancient affiliation such that is directly related to what people cannot live without, and among them is the traditionalist and the sense of collective self-consciousness. Ethnic affiliations are highly charged and the existence of another ethnic group is seen as a potential threat to the ethnic fabric that holds the subjects together. Animosity towards another ethnic group is born from the fear of erosion or disintegration of the cultures, traditions and norms that hold the subjects together.

Horowitz also appreciates the role of culture in fueling ethnic conflict, but from a different perspective. The first instance of the fear of erosion of one's cultures and

---

[21] Donald L. Horowitz, D. (2006). Language diversity in West Africa: An ecological approach. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, *15*(4), 403-438.

traditions by the existence of a different but from this perspective, it is a matter of clash of cultures whereby groups have conflicting values, different needs and lack of mutual understanding. Ethnic animosity is also brought about by modernization which makes people want similar and not different things which brings about competition for resources.

Ethnic conflict is a result of competitions for economic empowerment between ethnically different traders and customers. This is as a result of monopoly of resources. He cites an ethnic division of labour and conflict resulting from perceptions and stereotypes attached to groups associated with the various roles. This might be difficult to understand than imagined but as he states, ethnic groups 'see others as a service producing club' who are a tool of prosperity.[22]

In his study 'Conflict and violence in Africa: Causes, Sources and Types', Adeleye Oyeniyi [23] listed ethnicity as one of the sources of conflict in Africa. According to him, ethnicity has been the major source of conflicts in Africa and has continues to be so. Ethnicity being the sum of what makes a group or a community different from another in terms of shared cultural heritage, ancestry, origin myth, history, homeland, language and/or dialect among others, communities will strive to protect these identities against another group. Oyeniyi asserts that the characteristics that differentiate the communities such as difference in language and/or dialect leads to an ethnic group feeling that what they share in common is greater than the regional, tribal or other differences.

Another study closely related to and relevant to this study is: 'The role of hate speech and unsavoury language in inciting ethnic animosity: an experimental case study of the 2005 referendum on the draft constitution in Kenya' by Belinda A. Ochiel.[24] Ochiel's

---

[22] Human Rights Watch (2013): World Report, Events of 2012, (page 128)

[23] Transcend Media Service; *Conflict and Violence in Africa: Causes, Sources and Types:* February 28, 2011-
https://www.transcend.org/tms/2011/02/conflict-and-violence-in-africa-causes-sources-and-types/.
Retrieved on April 4, 2015 12:00hrs

[24] Ochiel B.A (2007); 'The role of hate speech and unsavoury language in inciting ethnic animosity: *an experimental case study of the 2005 referendum on the draft constitution in Kenya'*-
http://www.uonbi.ac.ke/faculties/postgrad-student-projects-etails.php?project_id=3327&fac_code=41.

investigations sought to find out whether the use of hate speech and vile language on radio stations in Kenya incites ethnic hatred among the communities. While this study will aim at identifying and analyzing the effects of use of coded language among ethnic communities, Ochiel delved on the unsavoury language used by politicians during the campaign for the 2005 Referendum for the Draft Constitution of Kenya, which she found triggered feelings of hatred amongst Kenyan ethnic communities.

According to her findings, radios played a big role in promoting ethnic hatred and animosity among the Kenyan communities through broadcasting of hate speech and vile language. The study also established that use of hate speech and vile language for a long period of time without intervention by relevant authorities, may lead to widespread ethnic animosity among Kenyan communities.

However, Ochiel's research majorly focuses on the role of the media promoting ethnic hatred but does not discuss the use of coded language among the ethnic communities, and not necessarily through a medium. The gap here is the use of coded language among and between the ethnic communities. This study will therefore aim at establishing whether or not the use of coded language among ethnic communities over a long period of time results in widespread ethnic animosity.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

This section discusses the theory that this study will be based on. This study will be guided by the theory of social constructivism as discussed in the literature review. This school of thought came into being towards the end of the cold war, in late 1980s and the beginning of 1990's. Nicholas Onuf is credited as being the father of constructivism. He describes the socially constructed nature of international relations. Onuf stated that hegemony, hierarchy, as different styles of domination in international affairs are respectively enabled by the repetition over time of behavior consistent with instructive, hierarchical, and commissure rules by agents. However, he was not the only founder of this theory, but other scholars credited include Richard K. Ashley, Alexander Wendt and

Friedrich Kratochwil and John Ruggie.[25]However, it is Wendt[26] who introduced social constructivism in the International Relations field. In his article "Anarchy is What States Make of It: the Social Construction of Power Politics'[27], which was published in International Organisation[28]. He challenged neorealists and neoliberalists assumption that people/institutions are committed to a crude form of materialism. Instead, he suggested that even a strong realist concept such as 'power politics' are socially constructed, meaning that they are not naturally acquired and therefore, can be changed by human behavior over time. The main assumption of this theory is that people act and behave towards objects/people on the basis of their (objects'/people's) meanings. They act towards the objects and people depending on how they perceive them, and therefore, people will react negatively towards enemies more than they will do against friends.

Another big impact of this school of thought in this field of study was the approach used by Fredrick Barth, Norwegian anthropologist in his essay 'Ethnic Groups and Boundaries' where he described ethnicity from a new perspective. Barth, elucidated the flexibility of ethnic relations in different types of societies stating that though ethnic societies maintained boundaries such as language and culture to spot their identity, people might change their ethnic identity depending on the context. According to the proponents of this theory, identity is manufactured rather than naturally acquired.

Barth challenged the assumption that the social world consisted of distinctively named groups and instead put over that the identity of a certain group is not just like the 'identity of a container' (they are not just fixed to the reality that they belong to a certain ethnic group) but self-identity will be much influenced by the interactions with other societies. This study will, therefore, be guided by the tenets of the social constructivism theory; that

[25] Baylis J., Smith S. & Owen P. (2011); The Globalisation of World Politics; *An Introductions to International Relations* (pg 153-160)

[26] Onuf in his book *The World of Our Making (1989)*, coined the term constructivism where he stated that states, in their own words, were actively debating on their 'identity' – who 'we' are and where do 'we' belong – in order to determine their interests and desired regional and international order

[27] Wendt A., (1992); Anarchy is what States Make of it: (*The Social Construction of Power Politics)* International Organization, Vol. 46, No. 2. (1992), pp. 395-410.

[28] International Organisation is a leading academic journal published by the Cambridge University Press that covers the entire field of International Relations on matters international relations, international and comparative political economy, security policies, disputes and resolutions, European integration, alliance patterns and war, bargaining and environmental conflict resolution, foreign policies, economic development and adjustment, and international capital movements.

behavior of an individual or a group towards another individual or a group is largely dependent on images, perceptions and views constructed over a period of time. Social constructivism theory can therefore explain the start of ethnic conflict due to the linkage of a person or an object and the meaning of a code language.

Social constructivism can therefore explain the relationship between the use of coded language and conflict. Continuous and frequent use of coded language will create a constructed mind that will associate the code language and the subject of reference. This means that persons will respond to objects and person depending on the meaning of the coded language.

1.8 Hypotheses

> ➢ Hypothesis 1 – frequent and/or long-term use of coded language among ethnic communities leads to a constructed mind that view the object or persons/groups in reference depending on the actual meaning of the coded language in question.

> ➢ Hypothesis 2 – Ethnic communities will treat/respond to the object/persons or groups referred to by the coded language depending on the actual meaning of the coded language. A coded language with a negative connotation will elicit negative reaction while a coded language with a positive connotation will elicit a positive response.

1.9 Methodology of the study

This study will utilize both primary and secondary data in order to enable for conclusive reports on the research findings.

1.9.1 Primary sources

The researcher will conduct non-structured discussions with a chosen number of audience on selected geographical locations that have been adversely affected by ethnic conflict such as Uasin Gishu, Turkana and West Pokot and Tana River, and selected ethnic communities who will be important in providing first-hand information on the required data. The researcher will also make efforts to seek face to face interview will officials

from relevant ministries such as Internal Security, Justice and Constitutional Affairs, government commissions such as the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) and news media such as newspapers, vernacular radio stations and televisions The researcher will make efforts to have discussions with experts in various fields relating to the research topic, such as linguistic scholars and vernacular language experts.

1.9.2 Secondary sources of data

Secondary data will be vital to this research in order to augment the primary sources and will include reports and documents done by private and government institutions that have been released on use of coded language in Kenya. This research will also utilize books, journals by renowned scholars found in libraries of university and other higher learning institutions. Internet will also be a vital source of secondary data that will important in augmenting information sourced from primary and other secondary sources. The internet will be important as this research intends to search for related studies that will support the findings of this research.

1.10 Scope and limitations

This study will depend heavily on the financial, material and academic resources available to the researcher. The amount of time at the disposal of the researcher will also determine the size of the sample used for primary data collection. Considering this study will be dwelling on a sensitive matter, it might take a long time to source for primary data from interviews and the geographical distribution of the potential interviewees. Sourcing for information at government or public institutions might also be tedious especially with the existence of bureaucracies and laws governing access to sensitive information. However, the researcher will invest a lot of energy to ensure that the above listed undertakings does not affect the quantity and quality of data collected and ensure that this study is successfully completed and in good time.

1.11 Chapter outline

Chapter 1: Introduction of the study

This chapter will introduce the research topic, the problem statement for the research, the main and other objectives of this study, justification of the study, the literature review, theoretical framework, and research hypotheses, methodology of the study and the scope and limitation.

Chapter 2: Chapter two analyses the genesis of coded language. The chapter focuses on the following sub topics;- history of coded language, language code and identity globally, Language code and Identity in Kenya, Understanding and translation of coded expressions, Effects of Coded Language on National Integration, economic development, and finally the conclusion.

Chapter 3: This chapter analyses the relationship between the use of coded language and ethnic conflict. The chapter is divided into the following subtopics: - overview of coded language, Kenyan communities and language coding, Coded Languages and Ethnic Conflict, The Negative Coded Expression and 2007/2008 Post-Election Violence, Coded Language and Politics, Coded Languages, Nature of Attitudes and National integration in Kenya and the Strategy to Avoid Violence Caused By Coded Language. The chapter ends with a conclusion.

Chapter 4: This chapter gives analysis of data collected and study the relationship between variables.

Chapter 5: This chapter make conclusions of the study and make recommendations to the relevant institutions and give suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER TWO: THE GENESIS OF THE USE CODED LANGUAGE

2.0 Introduction

This chapter analyses the genesis of coded language. The chapter focuses on the following sub topics;- history of coded language, language code and identity globally, Language code and Identity in Kenya, Understanding and translation of coded expressions, Effects of Coded Language on National Integration, economic development, and finally the conclusion.

2.1 History of coded language

Bailey states that globally, coded language has been in existence for thousands of years with the oldest and also the simplest technique, Atbash a Hebraic, (Cipher 600BC), which operates with a reversed alphabet.[29] Kaspar also invented his own coding technique the Caesar code which was aimed at ensuring that messages are not to be read by enemies. Secret languages have been important means of communication.[30] They have been used to serve the purpose of securing communication and as a protection against enemies. They are also used as a means for identification that establishes membership into a certain group. By means of artificially constructed linguistic barrier, only selected recipients can decode the communicated content correctly. An example of such secret language is the Rotwelsch, a language spoken by covert groups primarily in southern German and Switzerland, and whose vocabulary is derived from Hebraic roots and loans from the languages of the Sinti and in part from every day words that are given new meanings.[31] The language protected the communication of criminal plans and at the same time used as a means of identification that established membership into the group.

According to Lauring, about 500 years ago, oppressed women in the Chinese province developed a secret language and writing called Nushu, which was handed down through a

---

[29] Bailey, B. (2002). Language, race and negotiation of identity: A study of Dominican Americans. New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC.p.18

[30] Kaspar, R. (2013). Language coding; "Die Biologische Grundlagen der evolutionären Erkenntnistheorie," in K.Lorenz and P.M.Wuketits (eds) Die Evolution des Denkens, Munich and Zurich: Piper, pp. 125–45.

[31] Ibid p.9

sworn sisterhood.[32] In this way, they could pour out their hearts talk over problems and console each other without danger. In the present world too, in social sub cultures for instance, adolescent groups and users of internet forums, one finds artificial forms of expressions that generate a sense of membership and help the user of these languages to attain recognition within their groups. Coded language has been used in places of work as a means of harassment because of ones origin or race. Politicians have also been known to use coded language for political gains. The use of coded language for the purpose of security or for any other reasons aimed at protecting humanity is quite in order. However there are instance when secret language has been used negatively and has affected the notion of cohesion especially when used as a ground for discrimination on the basis of origin of race.

2.2 Language code and Identity Globally

According to Kaspar, language code and identity globally is inevitably at the center stage of identity construction in a multilingual and multidialectal contexts where language choices have to be made. [33] The earlier approach used to look at language and identity was based on social categories such as gender race, nation among others and were used to explain an individual's identity and other categories of identity constructions such as sex, nation and race. For example in Labov's New York study, language identity was correlated with a speaker's social economic class. Labov showed how social economic class could be used to index a speaker's language. Also using a speaker's phonological features one can determine their socioeconomic class. [34]

As much as socially contracted categories are important in language research, recent study have found them to be inadequate because they focused little on social factors and assumed identity to be static hence scholars such as Bucholtz and Hall characterize identity as an emerging contract. They view identity as a construct that continues to

---

[32] Lauring, J. (2008). Rethinking Social Identity Theory in International Encounters: *Language Use as a Negotiated Object for Identity Making*. International Journal of Cross Cultural Management, 8(3): 343-361.

[33] Kaspar, R. (2013). Language coding; "Die Biologische Grundlagen der evolutionären Erkenntnistheorie," in K.Lorenz and P.M.Wuketits (eds) Die Evolution des Denkens, Munich and Zurich: Piper, pp. 125–45.

[34] Labov, W. (2012). *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Philadelphia

emerge and is negotiated based on different situations. [35] Bulcholtz and Hall define identity as "the social positioning of self and other." In this definition, the idea of others in identity construction is acknowledged. One way in which speakers construct identity in bilingual situations is well explained by Gumperz, which shows how the "we" code and "they" code represent an individual's group identity in relation to others. [36] According to Gumperz, the "we" code present the speakers state as being informal familiar and proximal in terms of social distance in multilingual settings this code would be used as a local language. [37] The "they" code denotes unfamiliarity formal and social distance.

This is what one would associate with English or French in post-colonial era where official languages and local languages are ever competing for communicative space in public domains. However this approach has been found to have shortfalls due to the intermediate varieties such as the urban ones that do not fall in either of the two categories of official or ethnic language.

Cain et. Al.,[38] show how the Corsican school influences young people to abandon their Corsican language and instead embrace French for a better career and future. Through their study, one is able to see how the dominant French ideology was used by the Corsican teacher to demonize the Corsican language. They note that in Corsica as was the case in other French dominated colonies elsewhere, teaching the colonized people French was viewed as an important means of elevating them culturally, that is, cultural assimilation. It is very clear in this case that the school had a very influential role in inculcating assimilatory bound. French reasoning in the minds of youth, which eventually emerged in a mindset that Bickmore [39] characterized as Ukolonia in the case of Africa.

Another recent study on language and identity is by Onuf[40] who shows Chinese Americans in California unify as an in group but also acknowledge their different

---

[35] Ibid

[36] Gumperz, J.J. (2008). Discourse strategies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[37] Ibid

[38] Cain, K., Oakhill, J., & Bryant, P. E. (2004). *Children's reading comprehension ability*: Concurrent prediction by working memory, verbal ability, and component skills. Journal of Educational Psychology, 96, 31-42. 72

[39] Bickmore, K (2007) *Teaching conflict and conflict resolution in schools*. Retrieved on December 4, 2008. From http://fcis.oise.utoronto.ca/ncsjese/article.html

[40] Onuf (2009). *Language and identity*; The World of Our Making. New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC

identities as Cantonese and Mandarin. In this study parents temporarily identified with Mandarin Chinese not because they have positive attitudes towards it but because they realize that it is vital for their children and it has become a dominant. Chinese language is among Chinese Americans. People's prior knowledge about Mandarin is brought along to have a negative attitude about it but acknowledge that they still identify with it only for instrumental reasons.

2.2.1 Language code and Identity in Kenya

African's multilingual situations present an important context where language and identity should be at the forefront. Gumperz's approach shows how blacks in South Africa, a society in transition, demonstrated multilayered identities of English language depicting code before apartheid, an ideological we code during apartheid for those who access the language to communicate with other people in South African. [41] Kamwangamalu uses the naturalized we code to refer to the identity of those blacks in urban areas who have shifted from indigenous African languages to English. [42] The different characterization of English shows the dynamic nature of language identities and how participants continually construct their identity in response to the situations they face. An interesting point which Kamwangamalu shows is that in any given society, a language is assigned not one, but several identities at various times in its history.

According to Ong'ayo, Kenya is a country with its own uniqueness. The country is known for its multi-cultural nature. [43] This is whereby there are over forty two tribes in the country and each has its unique way of communicating. Translation of language from one tribe to the other may bring out its own limitations and challenges in the sense that there are some words which when translated in another community may refer to insults. The country is both a multilingual and multiracial. Language is what defines different communities that exist. Tribes emanate from different languages such as the Kikuyu, Luos, Kalenjin, Luhya, Teso, Kamba, Giriama, Meru and Turkana among others.

---

[41] Ogechi, N. O. (2013). On language rights in Kenya. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, *12*(3), 277-295.

[42] Kamwangamalu, C. (2008). *Kenya: Language and the search for a coherent national identity* (p. 235). Oxford University Press on Demand.

[43] Ong'ayo, A.O (2008). The post-election violence: An overview of the Underlying factors, Fahamu (Oxford).

According to Sipalla there are languages in Kenya with majority speakers and are therefore considered as dominant languages for example Kikuyu, Luos, Kalenjin, Luhya and so forth. [44] Others have fewer speakers and some of them are at the point of extinction as a result of strong tendency to emulate the majority language not because they like the speaker of the majority language but because the fact that they want to benefit in one way or another from them.

Sometimes they do it for security reasons, if they are living among them for example a Kisii living in Kisumu — area dominated by the Luo — may opt to speak Dholuo to hide his/her identity. The same may happen to a Luhya or Luo in Kiambu — area dominated by the Kikuyu — and so forth. The implication here is that people may interact freely physically and socially for inconvenience but habour negative feelings about each other. It also implies that identification of people through languages impacts negatively on cohesion and especially in situations where language identity is correlated with a speaker's socio economic class. It is such feelings that drives people to start using coded language. The Kenyan society has been divided on tribal lines right from the colonial era. To date, this division has remained a major challenge to the national cohesion and integration. The many conflicts experienced in Kenya are as result of tribalism. Different communities use coded language to exclude those they regard as enemies because they do not speak their Language. Kenyan youths are also known to negotiate their identity through their daily language performances. [45]

2.3 Understanding and translation of coded expressions

There are various categories of translations, key among them being the intra-lingual translation, the Interlingua translation and inter semiotic translation. The intralingual translation is an interpretation of the verbal sign by means of other signs of the same language. It mainly occurs when one rephrases an expression in the same language to

---

[44] Sipalla, F (2008) Exploring ethnicity and identity, Sunday Nation, November30, Nation Media Group, Nairobi.
[45] Ibid

explain or clarify something.[46] This type of translation is very important since a number of coded word expressions or phrases are translated through explanation within the same language. For example, watermelon can only be translated literally being rephrased as a type of a fruit that is green from the outside while the inside is red. This however is just the literal meaning. The Ocampo 6 can be translated as it is to be rephrased as the six Kenyans, taken to the ICC after they were linked to the post-election violence in 2007. The Interlingua translation on the other hand is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language for example. Onjelo used by Luos to refer to a Kalenjin athlete, Afilisti used by Kikuyus to refer to the uncircumcised, Nyoni used by Kikuyus to refers to a politician as bird, Imeet used by Maasai to refer to Kikuyus as thieves In his description of interlingual translation.[47] Translation involves substituting messages in one language into separate code units but for the entire message in some other message For example Otutun labotonik used by Kalenjins to refer to non Kalenjins occupying Kalenjin land can be translated with an equivalent sentence as "uproot the weed". Thus, involves two equivalent codes. The code units for the two equivalent messages will be different because they belong to two different sign systems.[48]

The intersemiotic translation is an interpretation of verbal sign system.[49] This particular one occurs if a written text were to be translated into a film or painting. Translation strategies for cultural bound terms depend on the particular text type and the importance of the cultural word in the text. When translating cultural words / expressions / phrases. Newmark proposes two opposing methods: Transference and componential analysis. Componential analysis gives local colour by keeping cultural names and concepts although the method is used for general readership it may hinder the understanding of some aspects.[50] It may be difficult for a translator to render an equivalent translation with

---

[46] Phillips, H. P. (1960) Problems of translation and meaning in field work. In R. N. Adamsand J. J. Preiss (eds) Human Organisation Research: Field Relations and Techniques. Homewood, ILL: Dorsey Press Inc.

[47] Lauring, J. (2008). Rethinking Social Identity Theory in International Encounters: Language Use as a Negotiated Object for Identity Making. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management,* 8(3): 343-361

[48] Ibid

[49] Chesterman, A. (1998). Interpreting the Meaning of Translation. Retrieved from http://www.linguistics.fi/julkaisut/SKY2006_1/1FK60.1.1.CHESTERMAN.pdf

[50] Newmark J. (2008).). *I'll meet you halfway with language: Code-switching within a South African urban context* (pp. 381-421). Amsterdam, John Benjamins.

the source language and the translation language. Grammatical rules may differ from one language to the other and this may pose problems in finding equivalents in the target language. The coded expressions and phrases are good example especially when it comes to the structures in the source and translation may cause changes in the manner in which the message is carried across Example: Kalenjin (i) Ngonai / tarit / Konnyi/ Kiswahili kujua / ndege / nyumba. Proper translation would be 'kila ndege arudi kwa nyumba yake' (let every bird go back to its nest) (ii) ngosamis / muriat / kobo/ koot / nebo Kunuka / panya / ako / kwake (even a stinking rat belongs to its home)- Even if a person of your community is bad he is still yours. [51]

According to Gentler[52] the new emphasis in translation came to regard translation as not merely a linguistic operation but rather as a process of cultural transfer. Translators depend not merely on the surface structure of a 'sacred' source text, but also focuses on the function of the translation itself within the larger context of the target culture. The shift in emphasis in debates on translation from concerns with the source text itself to issues of target text function presupposes a belief in translators as holding the power to shape or mould 'one culture upon another'. In addition to recognition of the function of translation itself, recognition of other roles has arisen, for example, sociopolitical dimensions as power relationships between men and women, between the colonized and the colonizers, and between academics and professionals. From such a perspective, translation is a process that includes linguistic elements in addition to revealing or projecting the underlying culture within the original text into the new language.

Translation is considered a cognitive process of perceiving cultural alteration, that is, the difference or 'otherness' of different cultures and languages.[53] Translators themselves are crucial to both the source and target texts in that they are both communicators and mediators of these texts. Such a shift also eliminates or at the very least, re-focuses the

---

[51] Butt, D. G. et al. (2004). "Grammar – the first covert operation of war", Discourse &Society, 15(2-3), 267-290.

[52] Gentler R. T. (1952). *Translation Problems in International Surveys*. Public Opinion Quarterly, 16, 595-604

[53]Muaka, L. (2011). Language perceptions and identity among Kenyan speakers. In *Selected Proceeding of the 40th Annual Conference on African Linguistics* (pp. 217-230). Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

nature of the formerly central issue of equivalence in translation debates since more than one translation is possible. In fact, multiple translations are now preferred as providing greater insights into the different possible meanings of language, culture, and translation. [54]

According to Lauring in discussions of translation, structural linguistics and literary translation are often seen as textual polarities. [55] Structural linguistics is seen as concerned primarily with choices in grammatical structures such as relative clause use or verb tense choice, and with underlying theoretical cognitive language issues. Translation studies, on the other hand, is viewed as focusing its efforts on specific texts and their existence within a particular context and embedded in a larger cultural background. In other words, from the point of view of structural linguistics, language is the object of study and research; it is the instrument for conveying or transmitting larger socio-cultural and sociopolitical meanings. The translated text in the former perspective is the 'ends' while in the latter it is the 'means to an end'. In its extreme form language 'lies beyond the text or the translation itself'.

In the Kenyan political arena, coded language has been used for political gains. This has led to ethnic conflicts experienced mainly during the referendum of 2005 and electioneering period 2007/2008.[56] This has impacted negatively on national cohesion and integration. As a result an attempt has been made by the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) to translate coded language largely used during the country's 2007/2008 postelection violence to propagate hate speech carried in coded language.

---

[54] Harzing, A.W.K., & Feely, A.J. (2008). The Language Barrier and its Implications for HQ-Subsidiary Relationships. Cross Cultural Management: An International Journal, 15(1): 49-60

[55] Ibid

[56] Baylis J., Smith S. & Owen P. (2011); *The Globalisation of World Politics; An Introductions to International Relations* (pg 55)

2.4 Effects of Coded Language on National Integration

2.4.1 Overview of National Integration

Benjamins states that National Integration is the awareness of a common identity amongst the citizens of a country. [57] It means that though people belong to different races, religions and regions and speak different languages. It also means unifying all the forces in the country so as to give the idea of one nation. National Integration involves:-. the sentiments of nationalism, the feeling of oneness, social, political, economic, linguistic and cultural unity, common ideas of life and common code of behaviour, the ability to subordinate sectarian and parochial loyalties to loyalty of the nation.

National integration is a complex concept. It has social, political, religious, regional and economic dimensions. The three basic factors of national integration are; Structural equality: equal opportunity must be provided for all especially those who are socially and economically backward, secondly, Cultural unity: discriminations due to race, religion, and caste should be eradicated, and finally Ideological unity: awareness about 'national objectives' should be created among the people who hold divergent views on political and religious and similar other fields.[58] The societies that have been integrated into bonds of unity have always enjoyed peace, stability, prosperity and permanence. And those torn by mutual disruptive tendencies among various sections of the society have always been short lived and become non-existent.

2.4.2 Coded Language and National Integration

According to Ericsson, Coded language, when used negatively is the special scourge of minorities and indigenous peoples: like a disease that afflicts only certain populations, it can cause some people to suffer greatly, while others remain unaware and unsympathetic. It gives rise to both psychological and physical harm, and affects a variety of minority and indigenous communities. For example, negative code has recently been followed by

---

[57] Ibid p.25

[58] Feely, A.J. (2008). *The Language code and its Implications for Subsidiary Relationships*. Cross Cultural Management: An International Journal, 15

violent attacks against Coptic Christians in Egypt, Muslims in Burma and immigrants in Greece. [59]

In those and other parts of the world, coded language is thriving, nurtured by coinciding factors: economic hardship, large-scale migration, competition between groups for political power after the fall of repressive central regimes, and the ease of expressing hatred online. The growth of negative coded speech has inspired alarm in diverse quarters, because it can cause or inspire serious harm in several ways. It directly affects its targets, the people it purports to describe by frightening, offending, humiliating or demeaning them. This often has the secondary effect of silencing them, by means of fear. Negative coded Speech can also harm indirectly (but no less severely) by inciting, or pitting members of one group of people against another. Hatred, discrimination and dehumanization are steps in a process that can lead to violence.[60]

In Kenya, for instance, there is consensus that months of negative coded speech before the 2007 General Elections contributed to severe violence that broke out when the presidential results were disputed. Since then, Kenya has formed a new national agency, the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC), charged with reducing hate speech, among its other duties.

Kiarie says that at the regional and international levels, too, there are new efforts to respond to negative coded speech. [61] The Council of Europe will soon complete a two-year project called the 'No Hate Speech Movement', focused on youth and on what they read, write and hear online. Frank LaRue, the UN Special Rapporteur on freedom of opinion and expression, devoted his 2012 annual report to the 'increasingly visible' manifestations of hate speech. He noted several cases in which killings were linked to incitement, such as the murders of Ahmadiyya community leaders in Pakistan after a television broadcast in which two maulanas said the Ahmadiyya deserved to die; violence

---

[59] Ericsson, N (2008) Kenya: Murdering days, Focus on Africa, B.B.C World service, Plattsburgh
[60] Ibid p.27
[61] Kiarie, J. (2009). *Language and Multiparty Democracy in a Multiethnic Kenya*. Africa Today, Volume 50, number 3, spring, pp. 55-72/10-1353.

against members of the Catholic and Jewish communities in Venezuela after incitement against them; and incitement to racism in Israel against the Arab population in Israel, and against Jews in the occupied Palestinian Territory.

2.5 Languages and Economic Development

With regard to the effect of language use on national building in Africa, it is observed that African states, with a small number of exceptions, have not experienced language nationalism that has characterized the growth of various nations in Europe from the 19th century onwards. A common language is paramount in establishing nationhood and subsequent development of such a nation. In fact, there is need to acknowledge that all the world's developed countries have developed on the basis of their national languages, as they have adapted and integrated technology within their cultural and social values, thus reaching all the people in their countries.

According to Chilton, Japan rose to dazzling industrial heights by 'scientificating' the Japanese language and making it the medium of its own industrialization.[62] Can Africa ever take off technologically if it remains so overwhelmingly dependent on European languages for discourse on advanced learning? Can Africa look to the future if it is not adequately sensitive to the cultural past? This lingo-cultural gap, then, is seen as a serious impediment to the full maturation of Africa's own scientific genius. Against this backdrop, then, the need to "scientificate" African languages cannot be over-emphasized". As Batibo notes, the fast-developing countries of Asia, such as China, Korea, Taiwan, and Thailand base their development strategies on their indigenous languages as this is the only way to involve the whole population in the development effort and to meaningfully bring technological advancement within the country's cultural framework. [63]

---

[62] Chilton, P. (2004). *Analysing Political Discourse: Theory and Practice.* Educational Research, 29, 543-553

[63] Abdulaziz, M. H. (2012). Patterns of language acquisition and use in Kenya: Rural-urban differences. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *1982*(34), 95-120.

Unfortunately, in most African countries language planning activities and issues of language policy are not given much attention. Of the 54 countries (including South Sudan), indigenous African languages are recognized as official in only 10 countries, Arabic in 9, and all the remaining 47 countries have ex-colonial ones as official languages distributed as follows: French in 21 countries, English in 20, Portuguese in 5 and Spanish in 1. This is a result of the colonial legacy where the dominance of "imported" languages, which began in the colonial period has persisted to-date.[64]

Another aspect of colonial legacy is the separation of some languages in arbitrary geographical divisions arising from the artificial borders created as a result of partition of Africa at the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885. Consequently identical or related languages came to be divided and this has led to the incidence of cross-border languages. The severity of the partition can be illustrated by the example of Cameroon, which shares as many as 70 cross-border languages with the neighboring countries, one of which is Nigeria, with which it shares as many as 45 languages. The reason for the partition was to reduce the numerical strength of each cross-border language in the territories concerned and correspondingly enhance the status of ex-colonial languages.

2.6 Conclusions

In Africa, ethnic violence is a regular trend and has plagued the continent for decades especially after the period of western colonization. Several countries were plunged into civil wars for various reasons including political and power greed, injustice, and ethnic division. Violence comes in many shapes based on the context and interpretation. Young's[65] concept of violence is when the action of someone is aimed at inflicting pains on others or killing other human beings. However, violence can also have the broader aim of groups seeking to achieve political goals by using power so that 'A' can compel 'B' to do things against his will.

Ethnicity is not a negative word but something neutral and harmless that describes ethnic particularity. However, negative ethnicity indicates ethnic hatred and bias, a concept

---

[64] Warschauer, M. (2010). Language, identity, and the Internet. *Race in cyberspace*, 151-170.
[65] Young (1995). Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: Benjamins.

thought to be currently destroying Africa. Such a concept has also surfaced on the airwaves. With the emergence of more radio stations on the continent, ethnic groups and individuals now use these outlets to promote their interests the enhancement of unity and social cohesion and a sense of belonging among groups of people. This is often done through the use of coded language.

CHAPTER THREE:

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN USE OF CODED LANGUAGE AND ETHNIC CONFLICT IN KENYA

3.0 Introduction

This chapter analyses the relationship between the use of coded language and ethnic conflict. The chapter is divided into the following subtopics: - overview of coded language, Kenyan communities and language coding, Coded Languages and Ethnic Conflict, The Negative Coded Expression and 2007/2008 Post-Election Violence, Coded Language and Politics, Coded Languages, Nature of Attitudes and National integration in Kenya and the Strategy to Avoid Violence Caused By Coded Language. The chapter ends with a conclusion.

3.1 Overview of Coded Language

Globally, the phenomenon of coded language is not entirely unique to bilinguals, for even within the same language, monolinguals switch between different styles for different purposes and in different situations. The only difference as Owen points out is: "In the case of the 'bilingual' individual, it is argued that the codes used and the switches made are simply made more obvious to the listener than in the case of the 'monolingual' individual".[66] To Owen, therefore, code switching involves the use of "any linguistic system used for interpersonal communication". This means that, languages, dialects, and varieties of dialects or languages, are thus involved in cases of code switching.

So when a speaker substitutes one language for another, or one dialect for another, or one variety of a dialect for another, he or she is indeed involved in code switching.

Cain and Bryant [67] points out that each individual's speech habits vary according to the different situations. One readily distinguishes the different types of speech used by the same person in intimate family circles, among strangers and with persons of different

---

[66] Owen P. (2011); The Globalisation of World Politics; An Introductions to International Relations (pg 55)

[67] Cain, K., & Bryant, P. E. (2004). *Children's reading comprehension ability:* Concurrent prediction by working memory, verbal ability, and component skills. Journal of Educational Psychology, 96, 31-42. 72

social positions, in official, professional and learned discourse, and so on, though with intermediate borderlines between each; and in writing, the composition of a family letter is very different from that of a technical article. Since speech communities are governed by communication rules that stipulate how and what to say in particular contexts, speakers often find themselves with no choice but to choose the language or style that best suits the context. So particular situations may therefore require codes or styles that suggest respect, friendliness, anger, rejection, secrecy, danger and so on. In the context of bilingual societies, researchers have observed that people switch between languages according to topic and situation in much the same way as monolinguals switch between styles.

According to Chilton, code switching could be motivated by the desire to preserve group ideals and secrets. [68] This is especially because the "cultural norms and values of a group are transmitted by its language. Group feelings are emphasized by using the group's own language, and members of the out group are excluded from its internal transactions". Language is, therefore, not only an instrument for the communication of messages, but actually one that carries with it social meanings and connotations. Chilton further say, language is an exponent of group identity since, "everything that differentiates a group from another group constitutes the group's identity." It is therefore not surprising that members of the country multilingual community code-switch. Several types of code switching patterns can be identified among citizens of a given nation.

3.2 Kenyan communities and Language coding

Kiarie explains that coded language has a more or less symbiotic relationship. Coded expressions, especially negative ones about other ethnic communities are normally expressed in coded language while some coded expressions reflect the stereotypes held by inner communities about outer community. [69] In all Kenyan ethnic communities, there are entrenched beliefs amongst the people about the behaviour, attributes, attitudes,

---

[68] Chilton, P. (2004). *Analysing Political Discourse: Theory and Practice.* Educational Research, 29, 543-553

[69] Kiarie, J. (2009). *Language and Multiparty Democracy in a Multiethnic Kenya*. Africa Today, Volume 50, number 3, spring, pp. 55-72/10-1353.

abilities and weaknesses of members of other ethnic communities. Every linguistic community in Kenya use coded expressions about other Kenyan Communities.[70] Some of these are specific to particular communities while others are general referring to all "other" Kenyan communities. Similarly, practically all ethnic communities studied have coded expressions used to refer to them by other communities in Kenya.

According to Amitai, it is difficult to state the exact number of codes, used in the country. The Constitution of Kenya Review Commission (CKRC) states that 70 codes are used in Kenya. [71] These are grammatically stated codes and are categorized in 3 distinct groups namely: Bantu, Nilotic and Cushitic languages. Examples of Bantu codes includes Kiswahili, Gikuyu, Ekegusii, Luhya, Kamba, while Nilotic codes comprise Kalenjin, Luo, Turkana, Maasai while Cushitic codes include Rendile, Somali, Borana and Gabra.[72] In terms of numerical numbers, third of Kenyans are native speakers of Bantu languages, followed by Nilotes and Cushites in that order. Kiarie[73] states that these are black African indigenous codes. Kenya being a multiracial country, there are other widely used codes with Europeans and Asian descent codes. These include; English, French, Hindi and Punjabi. A large percentage of coastal residents also use Arabic through descent or the strong influence of Islamic culture. Other codes spoken include Japanese, Chinese and Korean respectively among business people from other countries who are running business enterprises in Kenya.

There exist some indigenous Kenyan codes with few native speakers, which are facing extinction. They include Sengwer, Elmolo, Okiek (Ogiek) and Suba.[74] This is as a result of existence of a strong tendency whereby the speakers of the minority code, are accommodating their speeches towards the dominant neighboring codes. In most cases

---

[70] Ibid p.33

[71] Amitai, E. (2005). *Political Unification*: A Comparative Study of Leaders and Forces. International Organization, Vol. 46, No. 2. (1992), pp. 395-410.

[72] Misau, P.M (2009) *Constraints of acquisition planning of indigenous African Languages*: The case of Kiswahili in Kenya.Lnguage culture and curriculum, Vol. 12, No 2.

[73] Scotton, C. M., & Ury, W. (2007). Bilingual strategies: The social functions of code-switching. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *1977*(13), 5-20.

[74] Munialo M.M, (2008) A study of students' attitude towards learning Kiswahili on their performance among Secondary Schools in Rachuonyo District, Kenya. Unpublished M. Phil thesis, Moi University, Eldoret.

the neighboring code is considered of superior culture worth emulating e.g. Sengwer and Okiek speakers tend to use Nandi & Kipsigis (Kalenjin dialect), while Elmolo speakers use Samburu. Suba speakers adore Dholuo.

According to Misau, these are more recent coded expressions associated with significant historical events especially of political nature e.g. some coded words, are associated with 2007 post-election violence in Kenya between different communities.[75] The use of those coded languages have been perpetuated by local media especially radio and televisions where presenters and actors imitate the speeches or act out the perceived attitude, behaviour and other characteristics associated with particular ethnic community. The different coded phrases and expressions used in different settings in the country are normally aimed at excluding and including certain groups from a conversation. This is done with various motives among which negative ones that can bring about rifts in the society which is a major challenge in the national cohesion and integration. The translation of coded language can go a long way in discouraging the habit of coding for the purpose promoting peace and national cohesion among the different ethnic groups in the country.

3.2.1 Factors That Constitute the Make Up of Negative Coded Language

Ngujiri states that a universal understanding of the term negative coded expression would be communication that is deemed offensive to a certain people group. [76] However, each country has its standards by which it determines whether negative code is present or not. The following is a breakdown of the determinants of negative code in the Kenyan context as laid out by the NCIC:-Speeches that cause hatred; the speech must be such that will solicit disdain against a person or group because of their ethnicity, Speeches or utterances that encourage ethnic, religious or group violence; the speech must encourage the audience into some negative action; utterances that depict others as inherently inferior; the speech must infer superiority and inferiority to parallel groups;

---

[75] Ibid
[76] Ngujiri, J (2008). Author takes ethnicity head on, Book confronts reader with how Kenyans turned against each other, Sunday Nation, Nov 30, Nation Media Group. Nairobi.

utterances that degrade others; the utterance must infer or state that another person is a lesser human; utterances that dehumanize; the utterance must state or infer that the other person is not human e.g. calling them a weed, use of cultural stereotypes; the generalization or categorization of a group while depicting them in a negative way, utterances that promote discrimination on the basis of tribe, colour, ethnic group, religious group, use of abusive, negative and insulting language, use of inciting and/or provocative language, use of stories that use imagery, poems, metaphor, proverbs etc which could stir up ethnic hatred, pictures published in media which could lead to ethnic, religious, or racial discrimination, stories or essay use by the media houses to depict others less inferior or which could be used to propagate hatred, ridiculing of another on basis of ethnicity, race or religious belief and use of alarming language.[77]

3.2.2 Main Causes/Motivations for the Use of Coded Languages among Communities

According to Ochiel the main cause of the use of coded expressions among ethnic communities include: - Ignorance about the referent communities; some stereotypes and coded expressions seem to be associated also with lack of reasonable awareness about other ethnic communities in terms of cultural orientations, economic activities and religious practices, among other issues. [78] Apparently, it has emerged that there is the presumption that the cultures of the inner communities and other socio economic issues raised above, are more superior to that of the outer communities.

There are also stereotypes and coded expressions that seem to capture the sheer suspicion of one ethnic community by another due to lack of adequate information or interaction. Another motive of use of coded expression is lack of reasonably long interactions, unfair generalization of isolated incidents.

In addition Benjamins says that use of coded language is attributed to propagate hate and to incite people to violent conflict or conflict of various forms by a section of ill-motivated politicians or other influential members of the communities with personal

---

[77] Mworia, Henry, 1994.I,. The Gikũyũ and White Fury. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers

[78] Ochiel B.A (2007); 'The role of hate speech and unsavory language in inciting ethnic animosity: an experimental case study of the 2005 referendum on the draft constitution in Kenya'-

motives such as to win support against political opponents, instill fear in some sections (e.g. to stop them from supporting someone) or to rally support when threatened with certain consequences e.g. by being sacked from positions held in the government. [79]

3.3 Coded Languages and Ethnic Conflict

According to Muthwii Kenyan ethnic communities have both positive and negative stereotypes about others. [80] The positive stereotypes reflect such beliefs as courage, generosity, business acumen, loyalty to deals, success in education and recognition of some unique characteristics about the target communities. The negative stereotypes, on the other hand show contempt, insult and sometimes outright hate about the target communities. Most of the stereotypes and even coded terms are historical and deep-rooted and have been passed on from generation to generation to the extent that it was not possible to identify exactly when the community started holding/using them e.g. Emoitloaakwara, used by the Turkana in reference to the Pokot, which means enemy with a spear.[81] However, there are more recent stereotypes and coded expressions associated with significant historical events, especially of a political nature. For example some stereotypes and coded words are associated with the 2007/2008 post-election violence in Kenya or "political" relationships and/or affiliations between different communities. For example, one Kenyan community is referred to by a few others as kabila choma due to their perceived roles (burning of houses) during the postelection violence.

Bickmore states that some coded expressions reflect the cultures of the target communities. [82] For example, the communities that practice male circumcision and

[79] Benjamins. Whyte, W. F. and Braun, R. R. (2008) *On Language and Culture*. In H. S. Becker, B. 74 Geer, D. Riesman and R. Weiss, (eds) Institutions and the Person. Papers presented to Everett C. Hughes. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.

[80] Muthwii, M.J (2004) *Language of instruction*: A qualitative Analysis of the perception parents, pupils and teachers among the Kalenjin in Kenya. Language, culture and curriculum, vol.17, No.1.

[81] Laitin, D., & Eastman, C. M. (2009). Language conflict: Transactions and games in Kenya. *Cultural Anthropology*, *4*(1), 51-72.

[82] Bickmore, K (2007) coded language;*Teaching conflict and conflict resolution in schools*. Retrieved on December 4, 2008. From http://fcis.oise.utoronto.ca/ncsjese/article.html

those that do not, attract stereotypes and coded terms that reflect such identities. Many communities identify the Luo with expressions that identify them as no circumcising.[83] It is also common to find stereotypes and coded terms associated with the economic activities of the communities referred to such as; farming, fishing, pastoralism or business people. For example, most communities studied identify people from the Kikuyu community as being business men and women while some identify the Maasai as pastoralists. Still some coded expressions capture peaceful and close social relationships between communities such as, extent of intermarriage and /or whether the referent communities "produce" good wives or not. A relevant example is the reference to the Luhya by the Luo as kayuochwa, translated literally as 'our in-laws', which is interpreted to mean those from whom the user community have married and/or those who have married from the user community.[84]

The opposite of the kind of stereotype and coded expressions highlighted above are those stereotypes and coded expressions that are intended to refer to communities that are regarded as enemies in one way or the other or those communities whose members should never be trusted. For example, these kinds of stereotypes and coded expressions are held/used by the Turkana and Pokot with regard to one another and a number of other communities. The study also shows that the stereotypes and coded expressions are predominantly about neighboring communities. However, some of them refer to communities that live quite far apart. For example, the Kamba have stereotypes about the Luhya, while the Kisii have stereotypes and coded expressions about the Meru.

3.3.1 Coded languages used in Kenya urban areas

In the urban areas where there are different Kenyan communities living and/or working together the stereotypes held and coded expressions used reflect those of the "counties of origin". For example, Kenyans who speak Luo, Kisii, Kamba or

---

[83] Ibid p.38
[84] Ngujiri, J (2008). Author takes ethnicity head on, Book confronts reader with how Kenyans turned against each other, Sunday Nation, Nov 30, Nation Media Group. Nairobi.

Bukusu languages generally hold stereotypes and used coded expressions similar to those held in the counties predominantly inhabited by these people. This is similar in counties that are cosmopolitan in nature (where many different ethnic communities have settled) such as Trans Nzoia, Uasin Gishu and Nakuru. The stereotypes held by many Kenyan communities and the coded expressions used are known to or understood by many people among the target communities.[85]

Feely states that this is common among neighboring ethnic communities, in urban areas, in cosmopolitan counties or amongst people who have lived extensively amongst other ethnic communities. The stereotypes in particular have been perpetuated by the local media (especially Radio and Television) through the many entertainment programmes where presenters or actors imitate the speeches or act out the perceived attitudes, behaviours and other characteristics associated with particular ethnic communities in Kenya. Generally, it has emerged that coded expressions (even when they are negative) would not necessarily cause hate or cause people from particular ethnic communities to be violent against the other. Indeed, it emerged that ethnic hate and/or violence is largely associated with malicious individuals who would want to emphasise the negative stereotypes and possibly use coded expressions to incite particular ethnic communities against others for very selfish reasons, usually couched as community concerns or interests.[86]

Use of coded language and stereotypes were widespread during the 2007 electioneering period in Kenya and partly contributing to heightening of inter-ethnic tensions which culminated in inter-ethnic violence.[87] Some of the perceptions towards these coded language have the potential to advance hate, which could possibly

---

[85] Feely, A.J. (2008). *The Language code and its Implications for Subsidiary Relationships*. Cross Cultural Management: An International Journal, 15

[86] Bates et.al. (2009).*The Language Barrier; Cross Cultural Management*: An International Journal, p. 49-60.

[87] Mwangi, E (2009). Queries over Ngugi's appeal to save languages culture: indigenous languages can destroy just as much as the can restore continent Sunday Nation, June 24, Nation Media Group, Nairobi.

precipitate violence in Kenya. According to Baylis et al.[88] politicians tend to use coded expressions during political campaigns to rally support of members of inner communities (and sometimes other communities) against target communities. The implication here is that either very few Kenyans truly interact freely enough to enable them "correct" the stereotypes held or the possibility that these interactions are primarily on the surface and have very minimal effects. Perhaps a more analytical way of putting it is that Kenyans interact physically and socially in the urban areas and cosmopolitan counties but, in terms of general deep emotional engagement, they still retreat or feel safer to their ethnic boundaries. The import of this is that, it should not be assumed that Kenyans in the cosmopolitan counties and/or urban areas are free from the stereotypes they would also benefit from the educational interventions.

3.4 The Negative Coded Expression and 2007/2008 Post-Election Violence

According to Nderitu the negative coded expressions show contempt, insult and sometimes outright hate about the target communities.[89] In relevance to the stereotypes and coded expressions that are considered negative, four possible scenarios are identifiable in Kenya: Identification of a community with a "bad" practice, expression of contempt due to a trait considered immoral or childish, Instilling of a sense of suspicion and /or mistrust about the target community and expression of deep seated hate of the target community.

In Nairobi, Kenya's capital, use of coded language and stereotyping of different ethnic communities is causing animosity and hatred among communities. According to National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC)[90] hate speech and hatred is largely associated with malicious individuals who want to emphasise the negative stereotypes and possibly use coded expressions to incite particular ethnic communities for selfish

---

[88]Baylis J., Smith S. & Owen P. (2011); *The Globalisation of World Politics; An Introductions to International Relations (*pg 55)

[89] Nderitu, T (2007). *When Radio spreads Violence*: Free speech Questioned in Kenya: Support independent media contribute towards freedom. Retrieved on August 1, 2009.

[90]The NCIC (2008) National Cohesion and Integration Act (Act No.12 of 2008).

reasons. Some of the stereotypes have been passed from generation to generation and have become an integral part of the identity of the target Kenyan communities in the view of the inner communities. "The use of stereotypes and coded expressions in this manner can be traced to specific contexts associated with crime, competition for resources and political contest".

According to a study done by National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC), some of the stereotypes and coded language discovered among various communities during 2007/2008 post-election violence included the word 'thief'. While the word 'thief' is a normal term in a day- today life, it emerged from the study that many communities use it to connote negative emotive feelings where referring to the Kikuyu community. [91] This term tends to stir ethnic animosity anytime it is used refer to members of the Kikuyu community. Different terms are used by different communities to refer to thief (Kikuyu) *Tugo* and *Sokomokabul* were used by Somali people, *Imeet* and *Osuuji* were used by Maasai, *Chorik* was used among Kalenjin and *Jokuoye* was a term used by the Luos.

Another term used among communities is 'uncircumcised'; this term has been used repeatedly to refer tom the members of the Luo ethnic community who culturally did not use circumcision to initiate the youth into adulthood. The term is therefore used negatively by various communities to portray all the members of the Luo community as childish, premature, not fully developed etc. *Mwiji*, *Kabisi* and *Jathi* were codes used by Embu people to refer to Luos, *Lamemurata* was used by Samburu, *Ng'etik* was used by Kalenjin, *Abachabu/abaisia/abagima* were used by Kisii people, *Oluende* used by the Maasai and *Kihii* was used by Kikuyu to refer to all Luos as uncircumcised and therefore immature. [92]

---

[91] Setati, M. (2008). Code-switching in a senior primary class of second-language mathematics learners. *For the Learning of Mathematics*, 34-40.

[92] Ismail, J. A., & Deane, J. (2008). The 2007 general election in Kenya and its aftermath: The role of local language media. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *13*(3), 319-327.

3.5 Coded Language and Politics

According to Sarifa, code switching, being the co-current use of more than one language or language variety in conversation is used by multilingual speakers all over the world. [93] In Kenya, which is multi-ethnic, politicians tend to learn many languages and use them to code switch for various reasons. According to the Kenyan constitution, only English and Kiswahili are official languages. But all other ethnic groups have their first languages which are mostly used by politicians in different contexts for social and psychological reasons. When a speaker in a formal interaction switches from English or Kiswahili to the audience's first language, then English or Kiswahili is seen as the main language whereas mother-tongue is seen as the embedded language. But in local informal speeches using mother tongue and switching to English or Kiswahili the latter are the embedded languages.[94]

The choice of code switching as used in political speeches has been guided by the frequency in which politicians use this technique in order to achieve various goals such as; winning the trust of the electorates, make a statement the they don't want to be understood by other communities, convincing electorates of the politicians development records, emphasizing on an important point, for emotional solidarity, or to mark their competence in the switched code among other reasons. Politicians at various levels ranging from national to local level apply code-switching for different purposes as afore-mentioned. At local level, they use code-switching divergently while at the national level they use it convergent. It seems therefore that there is social and psychological motivation for code switching from English to Kiswahili to vernacular and vise-versa as elaborated by Communication Accommodation Theory which seeks to expound on the socio-psychological motivation for code switching.[95]

---

[93] Sarifa, M. (2006). *Language pluralism and social cohesion.* European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, Council of Europe, Strasbourg.

[94] Paglia P. (2007): Ethnicity and Tribalism: are these the Root Causes of the Sudanese Civil Conflicts?

[95] Wamwere, K (2003).*Towards genocide in Kenya*, The course of Negative Ethnicity in Kenya, Mvule Africa Publishers, Nairobi

3.6 Coded Languages, Nature of Attitudes and National integration in Kenya

After the 2007 Kenya's general elections the post-election violence that followed rocked the country and claimed over 1000 lives and displaced hundreds of thousands of people. The post-election clashes were at first political but soon took an ethnic and criminal trend and this was when tribal gangs continuously erected illegal checkpoints for extortion or to flush out and kill ethnic rivals. And at this point it was clear that a target was one who couldn't speak a language of the attackers so a negative attitude was already developed on rival community languages. Lucky for those who could speak more than one language. In Kenya few people know more than one local language and there is nothing wrong in knowing a language and Multilingualism is a strength and not a weakness. According to Thiong'o, even speaking Kiswahili in most parts was equally suspicious. One could be mistaken of being from another community; another form of attitude, towards the national language and nationalism. This suspicion may still remain behind even with everlasting peace in Kenya. [96]

According to Webb, ethnic tension, political marginalization and economic inequalities language attitude researchers are faced with another challenge; the conflict and language attitudes. [97] Worrying, the majority of perpetrators of violence were young people the future of our nation who as noted are unfortunately less involved in various institutionalized processes that are designed to manage the conflict. Bickmore states that ironically, the young people involved many don't understand themselves as social actors who make choices that influence the course of that activity. [98] Warigi notes that there is a strong indication that local politicians gave support to these violent groups. [99] This can be traced from campaigns where the language used to woo support and gain popularity is given in harmless jokes on different communities had ironically made the young people get involved in violent activities. These gradually grew into ethnic prejudices which eventually gave way to use of derogatory terms and then hostility. Ngunjiri adds that at

---

[96] Thiong'o, N (2006).Why I write in Gikuyu Focus on Africa, B.B.C World Service, and Plattsburgh.
[97] Webb, V. N. (2002). *Language in South Africa: The role of language in national transformation, reconstruction and development* (Vol. 14). John Benjamins Publishing.
[98] Momanyi, C. (2009). The effects of 'Sheng'in the teaching of Kiswahili in Kenyan schools. *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, *2*(8), 127-138.
[99] Ibid pg.20

stages like this, proponents of negative ethnicity inculcate in people that they justify violence. [100]

3. 6.1 Coded Language, Politics and National Integration

In Kenya, we are a multi-ethnic country, negative ethnicity challenges multi-ethnic nationalism replacing it with ethnic patriotism as seen from political alliances of ethnic groups. Politics has taken on an ethnic nature such that those who refuse to identify with ethnic patriotism but rather nationalism are branded traitors to the ethnic cause. During Kenya's post-election violence, Kiswahili speakers could have been mistaken to be potential targets of violent attack on suspicion that they were from rival/enemy communities. This was a way to show they can't speak the community language.

It has also been argued that vernacular FM radio stations were used by politicians and callers to highlight the deep-seated ethnic hatred. Example, in 1994 Rwandan genocide, hate message broadcast where minority Tutsi community was derogatively referred to as cockroaches by Hutus who were numerically dominant tribe (kill the inkotanyi-cockroaches). Even in Kenya in December 2007, vernacular FM radio station were already igniting ethnic consciousness by urging support for political leaders. This kind of ethnic stereotypes among main tribes in Kenya only fuelled the clashes in the country. Furthermore speaking the national language Kiswahili during this time could not have in any way been associated with nationalism but rather suspicious negativity and then humiliation.[101]

3.7 Coded Language and Media Involvement in the 2007/2008 Post-Election Violence

According to Wamwere the 2007 election was a trigger for the deep seated tribal and political rivalries in Kenya, and community radio stations were mainly used to

---

[100] Ngujiri, J. (2008). Political crisis hits publishers. Sunday Nation, February 3, Nation Media Group, Nairobi.

[101] Ibid p.45

propagate what some of the respondents called, 'negative ethnicity'. [102] For instance, the Kikuyu radios allowed politicians and callers to name opposition leader, Raila Odinga a *'kihii'* (an uncircumcised person) and reiterated that such an individual cannot lead Kenya. On the other hand, the Luo and Kalenjin callers and guest politicians were also telling their audiences on their community radios that the election was rigged by the Party of National Unity and they needed to act. They were also insinuating that it was now time for the leadership of Kenya to go into the hands of the Luos because they gave power to the Kikuyus in 2002. This is an apparent reference to the past merger between Raila Odinga (Luo) and Mwai Kibaki (Kikuyu) on the ticket of the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) in the 2002 election, in which they won against the entrenched ruling party, KANU of Uhuru Kenyatta.[103]

Nderitu says that during the 2007 elections, media audiences were already divided on party lines just like radio stations. There were two leading political parties Party of National Unity (PNU) of President Mwai Kibaki and the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) of opposition leader, Raila Odinga.[104] It was therefore clear that Kibaki was supported by members of the Kikuyu ethnic group along with about two sub-tribes (Embu and Meru), and Odinga was supported by the Luo, Luhya, Kalenjin, among other ethnic groups in the country. Similarly, the community radios were divided along these ethnic and political lines. However, it was revealed to this study that some Kikuyus supported Raila Odinga in the same way some Luo, Kalenjin and other tribes supported president Kibaki during the election. The dissemination of coded messages in tribal languages by influential individuals seriously flared up animosities among the various ethnic communities that will take time to heal. Kioko, and Muthwii [105] states that adequately coins and simplifies the concept of message

---

[102] Ibid p.45

[103] Nderitu, T (2007). *When Radio spreads Violence*: Free speech Questioned in Kenya: Support independent media contribute towards freedom. Retrieved on August 1, 2009.

[104] Ibid

[105]Kioko, A. N., & Muthwii, M. J. (2003). English variety for the public domain in Kenya: Speakers' attitudes and views. *Language Culture and Curriculum*, *16*(2), 130-145.

as follows: 'When we write, the writing is the message. When we paint, the picture is the message. When we gesture, the movement of our arms, the expression on our faces are the message'.

In other words, message takes into account the code and content that are structured and arranged in certain orders that are meaningful to a specific group of people. Berlo's perspective captures and paints the situation that befits Kenya and the way in which community or vernacular radios were used to communicate special messages to various ethnic communities during the ethnic violence.

According to Jane[106] the majority of the population prefer receiving their broadcast messages in their mother tongue or tribe. It can be argued that message serves as the epicenter of communication in any media matter, and it comes in different forms traditional or modern to accomplish an objective.

3.8 Strategy to Avoid Violence Caused By Coded Language

In order to avoid a repeat of the nationwide violence following the previous elections, the Kenyan authorities restricted campaign methods which use "hate speech" to whip up ethnic tensions. Kenya's independent Media Council monitors 80 radio stations, TV channels and newspapers round the clock to clamp down on "retrogressive utterances". Mobile phones, the primary medium used to spread violent messages in the last election, was made subject to tight guidelines. However, more efforts should be put in monitoring online conversations. There are plenty of good perceptions about Kenyan ethnic communities other than bad ones. The task for all Kenyans is to promote equal opportunities for Kenyans so as to create the chance to bring out the different strengths for recognition by others. Perhaps in this way, the seemingly entrenched notion (through) the stereotypes that some ethnic communities are more endowed, gifted, favoured, suited or preferable in particular professions, occupations, activities or situations would be demystified. Thus, highlight the positive stereotypes that unite us

---

[106] Jane, J. (2008). Political crisis hits publishers. Sunday Nation, February 3, Nation Media Group, Nairobi.

than focus on the negative ones that divide us. Use of the positive coded expressions promote harmonious relationships/co-existence between the users and the target communities is greatly encouraged. This positive coded expressions for example include the Luos and the Luhyas who regard each other as in-laws. In fact this has played well in football, between Kenya Premier League clubs Gor Mahia and AFC Leopards. The two, which originate from Luo Nyanza and Luhyia respectively, have long-standing rivalry and the every match pitting the two sides is ofteb referred to as *Mashemeji Derby,* meaning 'The Clash of the In-laws' Some of them invoke a sense of pride e.g. when the Kikuyus are "recognised" as astute business people and the Kamba are credited as great craftsmen or the Kalenjin are praised as gifted athletes.[107]

3.9 Conclusion

According to Temple there is need to strongly discourage the use of negative emotive stereotypes and coded language that have the intrinsic potential of causing tension and conflict between different ethnic groups. [108] There is need to embark on massive "education" of Kenyan ethnic communities about others. This kind of education would target the stereotypes and coded expressions that particularly seem to stem from the lack of appreciation of different social-cultural- economic orientations of Kenyan ethnic communities. Such educational endeavors could target particularly young people, preferably those of the primary school going age who face the immediate "danger" of imbibing the stereotypes and coded expressions before they are able to fully comprehend their meanings.

---

[107] Temple, B. (2007) *Watch your tongue*: issues in translation and cross-cultural research. Sociology, 31(3), 607-618.

[108] Floyd, M., & Noe, F. (2009). Understanding intra-ethnic environmental attitude variations: Cuban origin population views. *Managing urban and high-use recreation settings*, 127-129.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE USE OF CODED LANGUAGE IN KENYA: AN ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter covers data presentation and analysis of the data collected through interview and Secondary data collected through evaluation of reports and documents done by private and government institutions that have been released on use of coded language in Kenya, books, journals by renowned scholars found in libraries of university and other higher learning institutions and internet.

4.1 General Understanding of Coded Language

Majority of the key informants defined Coded language as words, phrases and terms used by a group of people to make reference to an object, person or groups of people that can only be understood by the said group. [109] Coded language is the use of language in a manner intended to conceal the normal meanings of expressions (words, phrases, sentences etc.). Such language are usually known to the users (in this case the ethnic communities that use them) while the target communities may not be aware about them or their mean. On media and political view, coded expressions are messages that are intended to generate actions on the part of the audiences, doing exactly what the politicians and radio presenters want them to do.

One of the key informants explains that coded language has a more or less symbiotic relationship. Coded expressions especially negative ones about other ethnic communities are normally expressed in coded language while some coded expressions reflect the stereotypes held by inner communities about outer community.[110] In all Kenyan ethnic communities, there are entrenched beliefs amongst the people about the behaviour, attributes, attitudes, abilities and weaknesses of members of other ethnic communities. Every linguistic community in Kenya use coded expressions about other Kenyan

---

[109] An interview with respondents from Uasin Gishu
[110] Ibid p.53

Communities. Some of these are specific to particular communities while others are general referring to all "other" Kenyan communities. Similarly, practically all ethnic communities studied have coded expressions used to refer to them by other communities in Kenya.

4.3 Factors that Lead to the Use of Coded Language among Communities

According to the study findings, there are many factors that lead to the use of coded languages among the communities in Kenya. The use coded expressions could be motivated by the desire to preserve group ideals and secrets. This is especially because the "cultural norms and values of a group are transmitted by its language. Group feelings are emphasized by using the group's own language, and members of the out group are excluded from its internal transactions".[111] Language is, therefore, not only an instrument for the communication of messages, but actually one that carries with it social meanings and connotations.[112] The key informants[113] further observed that, language is an exponent of group identity since, "everything that differentiates a group from another group constitutes the group's identity." It is therefore not surprising that members of the country multilingual community code-switch. Several types of code switching patterns can be identified among citizens of a given nation.

According to Carol, these are more recent coded expressions associated with significant historical events especially of political nature e.g. some coded words, are associated with 2007 post-election violence in Kenya between different communities.[114] The use of those coded languages have been perpetuated by local media especially radio and televisions where presenters and actors imitate the speeches or act out the perceived attitude, behaviour and other characteristics associated with particular ethnic community. The different coded phrases and expressions used in different settings in the country are normally aimed at excluding and including certain groups from a conversation. This is done with various motives among which negative ones that can bring about rifts in the

---

[111] Butt, D. G. et al. (2004). "Grammar – the first covert operation of war", Discourse & Society, 15(2-3), 267-290.
[112] An interview with respondents from news media, Nairobi
[113] An interview with an officer in government commissions, Eldoret town
[114] Carol Justice and Constitutional Affairs officer, Nairobi

society which is a major challenge in the national cohesion and integration.[115] The translation of coded language can go a long way in discouraging the habit of coding for the purpose promoting peace and national cohesion among the different ethnic groups in the country.

According to the study findings, conflicts world over have been majorly brought about by political rivalry, competition over resources and, religious differences, among others. Today, conflicts, especially those with ethnic dimensions[116] continue to be the most common form of armed conflict around the world and in Africa in particularly.

According to majority of the informants use of coded expressions were motivated by; Lack of reasonably long interactions, unfair generalization of isolated incidents, most of these participants attributed the use of stereotypes and coded expressions to propagate hate and to incite people to violent conflict or conflict of various forms by a section of ill-motivated politicians or other influential members of the communities with personal motives such as to win support against political opponents, instill fear in some sections (e.g. to stop them from supporting someone) or to rally support when threatened with certain consequences e.g. by being sacked from positions held in the government.

Ignorance about the referent communities was a major motive to use of coded expressions. [117] The participants explained that some coded expressions seem to be associated also with lack of reasonable awareness about other ethnic communities in terms of cultural orientations, economic activities and religious practices, among other issues. Apparently, it has emerged that there is the presumption that the cultures of the inner communities and other socio economic issues raised above, are more superior to that of the outer communities. There are also stereotypes and coded expressions that seem to capture the sheer suspicion of one ethnic community by another due to lack of adequate information or interaction.

---

[115] An interview with an officer in National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC)
[116] Ibid p. 52
[117] Respondents from west pokot

4.4 Examples of Coded Language

The key informants, however, gave different example of the coded word they were familiar with. Coded languages are used by different communities' races nations for different aims for instance, the word thief is a normal term in a day- today life, it emerged from the study that many communities use it to connote negative emotive feelings where referring to the Kikuyu community. This term tends to stir ethnic animosity anytime it is used refer to members of the Kikuyu community. Different terms are used by different communities to refer to thief (Kikuyu) Tugo and Sokomokabul were used by Somali people, Imeet and Osuuji were used by Maasai, Chorik was used among Kalenjin and Jokuoye was a term used by the Luos.[118]

Uncircumcised; this term has been used repeatedly to refer tom the members of the Luo ethnic community who culturally did not use circumcision to initiate the youth into adulthood. The term is therefore used negatively by various communities to portray all the members of the Luo community as children, premature, not fully developed etc. Mwiji, Kabisi and Jathi were codes used by Embu people to refer to Luos, Lamemurata was used by samburu, Ngetik was used by Kalenjin, Abachabu/abaisia/abagima were used by Kisii people and Kihii was used by kikuyu to refer to all luos as uncircumcised and therefore immature.

4.5 Relationship between Coded Language and Peace Building

The study findings reveal that language pervades social life. It is the principal vehicle for the transmission of cultural knowledge, and the primary means by which we gain access to the contents of others' minds. Language is implicated in most of the phenomena that lie at the core of social psychology: attitude change, social perception, personal identity, social interaction, intergroup bias and language coding, attribution, and so on. Moreover, for social psychologists, language typically is the medium by which subjects' responses are elicited, and in which they respond: in social psychological research, more often than not, language plays a role in both stimulus and response. Just as language use pervades

---

[118] An interview with faith vernacular radio stations officer Tana River

social life, the elements of social life constitute an intrinsic part of the way language is used.

Linguists regard language as an abstract structure that exists independently of specific instances of usage (much as the calculus is a logico-mathematical structure that is independent of its application to concrete problems), but any communicative exchange is situated in a social context that constrains the linguistic forms participants use.[119] How these participants define the social situation, their perceptions of what others know, think and believe, and the claims they make about their own and others' identities will affect the form and content of their acts of speaking.

According to the key informants, use of coded language can be used as a tool of peace building in a society. [120] Kenyan ethnic communities have both positive and negative coded expressions about others. The positive stereotypes reflect such beliefs as courage, generosity, business acumen, loyalty to deals, success in education and recognition of some unique characteristics about the target communities. There are plenty of good perceptions about Kenyan ethnic communities other than bad ones. The task for all Kenyans is to promote equal opportunities for Kenyans so as to create the chance to bring out the different strengths for recognition by others. Perhaps in this way, the seemingly entrenched notion (through) the code that some ethnic communities are more endowed, gifted, favoured, suited or preferable in particular professions, occupations, activities or situations would be demystified. Thus, highlight the positive stereotypes that unite and bring peace to a nation. Use of the positive coded expressions promote harmonious relationships/co-existence between the users and the target communities is greatly encouraged. This positive coded expressions for example include the Luos and the Luhyas who regard each other as in-laws. Some of them invoke a sense of pride e.g. when the Kikuyus are "recognised" as astute business people and the Kamba are credited as great craftsmen or the Kalenjin are praised as gifted athletes.

[119] Sarifa, M. (2006). *Language pluralism and social cohesion.* European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, Council of Europe, Strasbourg.p.25

[120] An interview with Newspapers writter Michael O. Turkana

Kenyan audiences particularly trust their vernacular radio stations. Instructions that were broadcast during the 2007 elections were heeded, according to most focus group respondents in Uasin Gishu. [121] If an audience trusts a community radio, it can then be argued that the radio can serve as an effective catalyst to facilitate collective action. In journalism, mass media including radio have the whole people as an audience and this fact makes their social importance apparent. Considering the power of radio and the believability of the Kenyan audience's receptiveness in this medium, who should then be responsible for the action of the audience? According to Kenya Human Rights Commission (KHRC), the community radio stations played a big role in the actions of the audiences because they mobilized and encouraged them not to accept defeat whenever it arose. On one hand, one could argue that the violence was a question of democracy and contestation, and on the other, it was as if everyone else was widely expected to win at all cost, thereby preparing losers to refuse to accept negative election results. Through vernacular radios the national leaders including MPs governors and senators can use coded expressions that have positive impacts to enhance unity peace and love among or between communities.

4.6 Determinants of Negative Code in Community

Most of the key informants gave examples of what could be termed as the negative coded language, including utterances from a community that degrade other communities; the individual utterance must infer or state that another person is a lesser human, Utterances that dehumanize an individual or a group of people; the communities utterance must state or infer that the other person is not human for instance,. calling them a weed, use of cultural stereotypes; the generalization or categorization of a group while depicting them in a negative way, Utterances that promote discrimination on the basis of tribe, colour, ethnic group, religious group, Use of abusive, negative and insulting language, Use of inciting and/or provocative language, Use of stories that, people that use imagery, poems, metaphor, proverbs etc. which could stir up ethnic hatred, Pictures published in media which could lead to ethnic, religious, or racial discrimination , stories or

---

[121] Interview with a focus group respondents in Uasin Gishu

essays used by the media houses to depict others less inferior or which could be used to propagate hatred, Ridiculing of another on basis of ethnicity, race or religious belief and Use of alarming language; Languages that cause disgust to the other person or party; the talking must be such that will beseech disdain against a person or group because of their civilization, utterances that inspire cultural, spiritual or group violence; the speech must encourage the audience into some negative action , Utterances that depict others as communities inferior than others; the dialogue must conclude superiority and inferiority to parallel groups.

One of the key informants studying law[122] explained that a person using of negative coded language was termed as one who; "uses threatening, abusive or insulting words or behaviour, or displays any written material; Publishes or distributes written material; presents or directs the public performance of a play; distributes, shows or plays, a recording of visual images; or provides, produces or directs a programme; which is threatening, abusive or insulting or involves the use of threatening, abusive or insulting words or behaviour commits an offence if such person intends thereby to stir up ethnic hatred, or having regard to all the circumstances, ethnic hatred is likely to be stirred up. Other key informants explained that 'ethnic hatred" means hatred against a group of persons defined by reference to colour, race, nationality (including citizenship) or ethnic or national origins."

4.7 Politicians Use Coded Language and conflict Glorification

According to the study findings, politicians tend to use coded expressions during political campaigns to rally support of members of inner communities (and sometimes other communities) against target communities. The implication here is that either very few Kenyans truly interact freely enough to enable them "correct" the code speeches held or the possibility that these interactions are primarily on the surface and have very minimal effects. Perhaps a more analytical way of putting it is that many Kenyans interact physically and socially in the urban areas and cosmopolitan counties but, in terms of general deep emotional engagement, they still retreat or feel safer to their

---

[122] Amos, a student at Moi university school of law, date of interview

ethnic boundaries. The import of this is that, it should not be assumed that Kenyans in the cosmopolitan counties and/or urban areas are free from the coded expressions they would also benefit from the educational interventions. [123]

Due to extreme use of coded language, Kenya has not yet found the means to bring electoral violence to an end. Indeed, political violence remains one of the preferred courses of action by competitors, especially in the election preparation period. [124] Thus, the 2007 elections were marked by violence of such an unexpected intensity that it took observers by surprise. In the aftermath, the violence which swept the country for several weeks had a far-reaching impact on the Kenyan social, economic and political fabric: more than 1,000 people were killed and some 300,000 displaced from their homes; many damages were also noticed. The lack of both reliability and impartiality of the modalities of election organisation (electoral boundaries, registration on voter rolls, compilation process, transmission and, notably, verification of results) largely contributed to the unleashing of violence. These failures, however, do not independently explain the intensity and the ethnic dimension that the clashes took. The latter reflects reasons that are more profound and more complex, and which have a historical, social and economic trait in Kenya.

Whereas the causes of the 2007–2008 postelection crisis are complex, aggravating factors also contributed to the rise of violence, particularly the highlighting of "differences" between ethno-regional communities. This emphasis recurs in Kenyan elections, as the political battle structure enhanced by use of coded languages. Political parties and their leaders often compete in calling for community votes. During the 2007–2008 elections, under the context of disputed results, a line was crossed with open stigmatization of some communities, which translated into the propagation of hate speech dominated by use of coded expressions.

The study findings reveal that coded expression, often are declared not only by politicians but also by other actors (religious and opinion leaders, for instance) and have largely

---

[123] An interview with a respondent from National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC)
[124] Philip, Walter and Martin respondents from West Pokot

contributed to the escalation of violence. Apart from the mainstream media (political rallies, vernacular radio stations, leaflets, newspapers), mobile phone texting services and social media have permitted the rapid spread of such speech at country level. These hate speech full of coded expressions bear witness to the volatility of every electoral process, that it can rapidly contribute to its shattering, and what would have been the essential quality of the election; They also allow us to understand the characteristics of leadership: during the 2007 voting, national and local opinion leaders exploited community membership's feelings and violence as a preferred means of disputing results to the detriment of other forms of action (for example, election petitions). As a result, fears of renewed violence weighed heavily on March 4, 2013 elections with the stigma of the post-electoral crisis of 2007 still present.[125]

4.8 Media Use, Coded Language and Ethnic Violence

The study finding revealed that one of the ways media is manipulated is the use of propaganda. propaganda is concerned with the management of opinions and collective attitudes by the manipulation of symbols such as images and voices. Media as an independent 'mirror' of the society, reflecting all that takes place, transmitting information that citizens use to make various kinds of democratic and informed decisions. Another group of respondents view sees the media by which powerful social classes, whether political, economic or ethnic groups maintain their control over society. Ethnic violence is a regular trend and has plagued the continent for decades especially after the period of western colonization. Several countries were plunged into civil wars for various reasons including political and power greed, injustice, and ethnic division. Violence comes in many shapes based on the context and interpretation. According to Tom[126] violence is when the action of someone is aimed at inflicting pains on others or killing other human beings. However violence can also have the broader aim- of groups aiming to achieve political goals – with power to become effective so that 'A' can compel 'B' to do things against his will.

---

[125] An interview with a respondent from National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC), Nairobi offices
[126] Tom television broadcaster, Nairobi

According to Javan, in Kenya, the involvement of the community radio in encouraging violence involved the use of airwaves to by 'radicalized voices' to send coded messages to their various communities.[127] These communities have become radicalized as a result of continuous ethnic fighting in the country. They are therefore used to listening to radicalized voices. Radicalized voices are individuals that wield excessive powers in their various political parties and ethnic communities. They are so powerful that their tribal communities and political parties find it difficult to reject suggestions they make.

In an interview with a NGO respondent[128] it was made known that the rival ethnic radios were inviting powerful voices as studio guests. For instance, the Kikuyu radios were inviting radical politicians who were encouraging their ethnic community to remain calm and assured that the Kikuyu president will win and maintain power during the election. On the other hand, the Luo and Kalenjin radios were similarly assuring their communities that they must win, and that it was time for them to be in power. Anything on the contrary could be a denial of their right to reign, and could therefore be tantamount to their inability to co-exist with the Kikuyus in the provinces.

One of the respondents victims of 2007/2008 post-election violence[129] explained that they fled the clashes in Kisumu, they lamented that they fled for their lives because senior members of the Luo ethnic group were asking their kinsmen via community radio to 'chase away non- members' of their community. Similar assertion was witnessed by Human Rights Watch. In the days leading to the elections, that local elders and ODM organizers in many rural communities in Kenya declared victory for President Kibaki would give a signal for war against the local Kikuyu ethnic group. These comments were indeed reechoed on the community radios using such idiomatic expressions like, 'people of the milk, you need to cut the grass and reclaim our land'. In Kenya, the Kalenjins of the Rift Valley are known to be the 'milk people', and they refer to the Kikuyus as the 'grass'. In other words, they need to clear the Kikuyus from their Land.

---

[127] Javan data analyst from Turkana
[128] In an interview with a NGO respondent, joseph Mathu. Turkana
[129] Felix, Mathew, Joy Tanti, Syombua, respondents from vernacular radio stations

According to the findings vernacular radios have always served as the platform for the mobilization and coordination of violent activities by the various ethnic groups. It was due to the failure or inability of journalists/presenters and the state to control talk shows and other phone-in programmes that were especially live. Respondents[130] agreed that community radios were used to coordinate rallies of ethnic groups in the various provinces. 'The radios were telling us where to go for rallies', a respondent emphasized. These radios could allow members of their ethnic groups to call and say things against their rivals, and to also announce rallies sites. Some callers to the phone-in programmes could call to exalt their compatriots for their violent activities and/or retaliatory actions without being stopped by the presenters, suggesting that he/she supports whatever is being said.

4.9 Coded Language and National Integration

According to the study findings in multilingual societies like Kenya, use of coded language which can be used as an effective instrument for national development and the promotion of national consciousness and unity can also be used as a weapon for marginalization and or exclusion. The latter trend can destabilize a nation as it sets different linguistic groups against each other in an attempt to fashion out an identity for themselves and express their existence and or relevance to the society. This scenario can be found in Kenya, where language has been the sole factor in group integration and a times, disintegration. According to the key respondents[131] the debate so far among writers, thinkers and linguists still leaves the language question within the national question a largely open-ended one, with the language sauntering across the horizon as a sole bride. The elitist status of code language makes it unsuitable as a language of national development and integration. If concrete national development must take place within the context and essence of grass-root mobilization and participation, then the question of utilizing the language of the people, the indigenous languages, without resorting to ethnic nationalism, cannot be side-stepped. Positive coded expressions can be

---

[130] Ibid p.63
[131] An officer from National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC). Nairobi

used to bring national development especially when one community view others as better than they are.

Coded languages can be used to preach peace among communities of a given nation. Interaction and association of people in big cities such as people in Nairobi can lead to formation of coded expressions that that unity them as one people. Use of these codes can result to economic growth especially when there is no any form of discrimination or corruption in employment bases.

4.10   Challenges to Controlling the use of Coded Language

According to the study findings although the provisions in the Penal Code have been in the Kenyan laws for longer and hate speech as a specific offence affecting the right to individuals and groups to full realization of their human rights, has been an issue since the Kenya National Commission for Human Rights produced its Report in 2005 on political incitements in the build up to the 2005 Constitutional referendum. Specific prosecution of hate speech recognized as a crime that can lead to serious international crimes such as genocide, has only been found in the Kenyan laws with the coming into force of the NCI Act.

The key informants explained that distinguishing what is positive or negative coded language still remained a challenge to many. There are certain important considerations that one need check off when determining that coded expression has been uttered as a tool of inspiring conflict. These include; The Context: The context in which the statement is made is important, for example, a statement provoking resentment against members of an ethnic group would have a heightened impact in a politically charged, and ethnically polarized environment; Ripple effect: The statement should be such that it can cause a ripple or humiliation among members of a targeted group; Fear: The statement should be capable of spreading feelings of fear or loathing across an entire community; Possible retaliation: It should be statement that can create tides of retaliation and counter retaliation; Violence: it must be speech that advocates or encourages violent acts or crimes of hate; Hostility: It must be a statement that creates a climate of hate or

prejudice, which may lead to the commission of other crimes; Impact: hate speech carries far more weight than other criminal acts. Consideration of all these determinants still give a challenge on judgment of speech of any kind.[132]

Respondents of civil society, government, audiences, and NGOs interviewed[133] expressed concern about the recruitment of amateur journalists to run radio stations. Celebrities and disc-jockeys (DJs) are hired by these radio stations to conduct talk-shows on topics that are topical and thought-provoking. According to media respondents Professional and trained journalists are quite expensive to be taken on by community radio stations. As a result, proprietors prefer hiring and training their own staff while maintaining a skeletal team of trained editors to provide guidance to the others. The issue of hiring correspondents has also come to the fore. [134] They are sometimes paid 500 shillings, less than eight US dollars for story used. The general grievance of journalists, like any ordinary Kenyan, is that they are poorly paid. There needs to be clearly defined regulations that could put into perspectives the minimum wage of a journalist and the criteria for anybody wanting to broadcast especially on a community radio in Kenya. This also remains a bigger challenge in controlling use of coded language in Kenya.

Media respondents from rural and urban Kenya Kikuyu and Luo revealed that they did not see themselves as journalists anymore during the violence. They saw themselves as members of ethnic communities, speaking for their people for a cause. According to the findings however this behaviour did not only affect the media people alone but also people working in other areas such as pastors in churches who found themselves giving order or getting involved in chasing away members who were not of their tribe. Use of coded language also led to chasing away of teacher who could not speak some languages, business people lost their valued properties as a result of inability to identify themselves with a particular ethnic group. This also remain a challenge in controlling the use of negative coded language where everyone forgets who they are for the sake of their tribe.

---

[132] ibid

[133] Civil society, government, audiences, and NGOs interviewed. Eldoret

[134] media respondents vernacular radio stations and televisions

4.11   Conclusion

According to the study findings the use of negative coded language in different ethnic communities is causing animosity and hatred among communities in Kenya, hate speech and hatred is largely associated with malicious individuals who want to emphasise the negative use of coded expressions to incite particular ethnic communities for selfish reasons.[135] Some of the coded expressions have been passed from generation to generation and have become an integral part of the identity of the target Kenyan communities in the view of the inner communities. "

According to the key informants Kenyans need to work out whether additional regulation is needed and whether to pursue it through the Constitution, new laws, international bodies, or some other approach. [136] Here the comparison with the United States might be instructive. For the most part the U.S. has limited the legal regulation of hate speech (use of coded expressions). (European nations are much more explicit in their limits on certain topics.) But, as the experience of trying to regulate hate speech on U.S. college campuses has shown, the effort to develop new law in this area led to a vigorous debate that was productive in changing social norms. Even though the Supreme Court struck down college regulations of hate speech, campuses themselves institutionalized and experienced greater degrees of tolerance. Having the national debate over the laws may have made law unnecessary; in the process of debating, new norms emerged. It may be that the current discussions of hate speech and legal regulation in Kenya may shift public norms.

In conclusion respondents stated that, activities can be designed to broaden the public space for discussing ethnicity in productive ways. Discussions, television exhibitions, and the telling of pasts of inter-ethnic cooperation could all be considered. In the wake of the violence, none of these are easy to pursue and might not be possible until more time has passed. But, for instance, a national dialogue on ethnic relations could be a useful parallel to addressing root causes as described above. Relatedly, efforts toward post violence

---

[135] Ibid p.66

[136] An interview with civil society, government and audiences from R. Tana,

remedies, including reconciliation among groups, should include an explicit discussion of the relations among speech, power, and violence and the context and histories behind the recent expressions of hate.

CHAPTER FIVE
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents summary of the findings, conclusions based on the findings and recommendations there-to on coded language as a source of conflict in Africa: the case study of Kenya. The chapter also makes recommendations on areas for further studies.

5.2 Summary of the Study's Findings

The study's findings confirm that in all Kenyan ethnic communities, there are entrenched beliefs amongst the people about the behaviour, attributes, attitudes, abilities and weaknesses of members of other ethnic communities. The study revealed that every linguistic community in Kenya has use coded expressions about other Kenyan Communities. Some of these are specific to particular communities while others are general referring to all "other" Kenyan communities. Similarly, practically all ethnic communities studied have coded expressions used to refer to them by other communities in Kenya. Almost every Kenyan ethnic community has both positive and negative stereotypes about other communities. The positive coded expressions reflect such beliefs as courage, generosity, business acumen, loyalty to deals, success in education and recognition of some unique characteristics such as excellence in sports about the target communities.

The study findings also established that the negative coded expressions show contempt, insult and sometimes outright hate about the target communities. Most of the coded terms are historical and deep-rooted and have been passed on from generation to generation to the extent that it was not possible to identify exactly when the community started holding/using them e.g. Emoit loa akwara, used by the Turkana in reference to the Pokot, which means enemy with a spear.

However, the findings reveal that there are more recent stereotypes and coded expressions associated with significant historical events, especially of a political nature. For example some stereotypes and coded words are associated with the

2007/2008 post-election violence in Kenya or "political" relationships and/or affiliations between different communities. For example, one Kenyan community is referred to by a few others as *kabila choma* due to their perceived roles (burning of houses) during the post-election violence. The study reveals that several stereotypes and coded expressions reflect the cultures of the target communities. For example, the communities that practice male circumcision and those that do not, attract coded terms that reflect such identities. For instance, many communities identify the Luo with expressions that identify them as no circumcising.

From the findings it is also common to find coded terms associated with the economic activities of the communities referred to such as; farming, fishing, pastoralism or business people. For example, most communities studied identify people from the Kikuyu community as being business men and women while some identify the Maasai as pastoralists while others relate fishing to the Luo community due to their fishing activities in Lake Victoria. Still some coded expressions capture peaceful and close social relationships between communities such as, extent of intermarriage and /or whether the referent communities "produce" good wives or not. A relevant example is the reference to the Luhya by the Luo as *kayuochwa*, translated literally as our in-laws, which is interpreted to mean those from whom the user community have married and/or those who have married from the user community. The opposite of the kind of coded expressions highlighted above are those coded expressions that are intended to refer to communities that are regarded as enemies in one way or the other or those communities whose members should never be trusted.

The study also shows that the coded languages are predominantly about neighboring communities. However, some of them refer to communities that live quite far apart. For example, the Kamba have coded terms about the Luhya, while the Kisii have coded expressions about the Meru. Furthermore, the study reveals that in the urban areas where there are different Kenyan communities living and/or working together the coded expressions used reflect those of the "counties of origin". For example, Kenyans who speak Luo, Kisii, Kamba or Bukusu languages generally hold

stereotypes and used coded expressions similar to those held in the counties predominantly inhabited by these people. The study further reveals that in many cases, the stereotypes held by many Kenyan communities and the coded expressions used are known to or understood by many people among the target communities. This is common among neighboring ethnic communities, in urban areas, in cosmopolitan counties or amongst people who have lived extensively amongst other ethnic communities.

On media and coded languages, coded expressions in particular have been perpetuated by the local media (especially Radio and Television) through the many entertainment programmes where presenters or actors imitate the speeches or act out the perceived attitudes, behaviours and other characteristics associated with particular ethnic communities in Kenya.

In political view, it emerged that ethnic hate and/or violence is largely associated with malicious individuals who would want to emphasise the negative stereotypes and possibly use coded expressions to incite particular ethnic communities against others for very selfish reasons, usually couched as community concerns or interests. Indeed it featured from the data that the use coded expressions in this manner can be traced to specific contexts associated with crime, competition for resources or perhaps more commonly political contests. It was confirmed that the use of coded language was widespread during the 2007 electioneering period in Kenya and partly contributing to heightening of inter-ethnic tensions which culminated in inter-ethnic violence. Some of the perceptions towards these stereotypes and coded language have the potential to advance hate, which could possibly precipitate violence in Kenya. Politicians tend to use coded language during political campaigns to rally support of members of inner communities (and sometimes other communities) against target communities.

The implication here is that either very few Kenyans truly interact freely enough to enable them "correct" the stereotypes held or the possibility that these interactions

are primarily on the surface - and have very minimal effects. Perhaps a more analytical way of putting it is that yes, Kenyans interact physically and socially in the urban areas and cosmopolitan counties but, in terms of general deep emotional engagement, they still retreat or feel safer to their ethnic boundaries. The import of this is that, it should not be assumed that Kenyans in the cosmopolitan counties and/or urban areas are free from the stereotypes – they would also benefit from the educational interventions.

On peace building and use of coded languages it is clear that, generally, the positive coded expressions promote harmonious relationships/co-existence between the users and the target communities, for example the Luos and the Luhyas who regard each other as in-laws. Some of them invoke a sense of pride e.g. when the Kikuyus are "recognised" as astute business people and the Kamba are credited as great craftsmen or the Kalenjins are praised as gifted athletes. There are many more positive stereotypes and coded expressions as reported in the findings and generally the study shows that they elicit equally positive reactions. This is because the positive stereotypes reflect such beliefs as courage, generosity, business acumen, loyalty to deals, support of friendly communities success in education and recognition of some unique characteristics about the target communities.

Instead of uniting the various tribes, the community radios were bent on keeping each community to itself and enhancing strong affinity. These stations were unprofessionally handled during the period of crisis especially by people who were not trained. For instance callers could call and send messages of hate and violence without being stopped by the radio presenters. Above all there was no state regulation regarding community radios that were involved in fanning the tribal feud. These underlying factors were findings among others that produced justifications that community radios participated in the Kenyan violence. community radios are still broadcasting in their vernacular languages and lots of them are still owned by politicians. The violence in Kenya has stopped but signs for it recurring are still rife. Journalists who facilitated the misuse of the community radio airwaves are

still broadcasting, although not flaring up violence at this time. These factors have given us an insight into understanding the roles audiences, journalists and users of community radio played during and after the violence.

At this moment, measures are now being put in place to improve the regulatory framework after the violence. The government has established the Media Act which will empower it to monitor programs and content of radio stations in the country. The process is an attempt to prevent vernacular radio station from abusing the airwaves as was done during the 2007 elections.

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) after the post-election in Kenya provided studio equipment for Pamoja FM, a community radio station based in Kenya's largest slum, Kibera. The reason given by USAID is that Pamoja helped to reduce the wave of violence, to promote peace, reconciliation and development for its inhabitants particularly at the height of the post-election clashes. However the radio did not prevent the destruction of lives and property. Butits distinctiveness is that it officially broadcasts only in Kiswahili national language, a language understood by the dozens of ethnic groups in the slum unlike other vernacular radios. It focuses on educational programmes such as youth education, environment, child rights, empowerment of women, anticorruption and good governance. Although most of the vernacular radios were involved in providing platform for dissemination of hate messages among tribes, Pamoja was unique, an initiative that needs to be encouraged nation-wide.

5.3 Conclusion

There are plenty of good perceptions about Kenyan ethnic communities other than bad ones. The task for all Kenyans is to promote equal opportunities for Kenyans so as to create the chance to bring out the different strengths for recognition by others. Perhaps in this way, the seemingly entrenched notion (through) the coded language that some ethnic communities are more endowed, gifted, favoured, suited or preferable in particular professions, occupations, activities or situations would be

demystified. Thus, highlight the positive stereotypes that unite us than focus on the negative ones that divide us.

5.4 Recommendations

5.4.1 The Government of Kenya

The study recommends that the government of Kenya, need to focus more on the implementation of policies and laws that are formulated, including media policies. The reason is clear the post-election violence was based on the failure of various governments to either implement or put in place the relevant frameworks that should address a wide-range of reforms in Kenya. Several reports and regulations have been made on behalf of the government without any action. The government has to ensure that the media in Kenya serve the interest of the public. It boils down to political will by the government and the political elite to clamp down on use of coded language.

The study also recommends that the government through the help of the international community should facilitate the training of journalists in conflict resolution strategies, human rights monitoring and talk shows, election and development reporting, and provide financial support that will enhance their work in meeting the needs of the public. The use of such a mechanism for post conflict healing has been tested elsewhere and proven successful in Africa. In Burundi for example, studio Ijambo was established by the American conflict resolution . The models of Studio jambo and the Talking Drum Studio could be good lessons for Kenya to learn.

5.4.2 Media Council of Kenya

The study recommends that the Media Council of Kenya should obtain legislative powers to enforce these recommendations. Journalists need security and protection in carrying out their functions. The Media Council should ensure that journalists are responsible and accountable in the discharge of their duties. A journalist should be trained with all the relevant skills needed. The Media Council of Kenyan should ensure that conflict resolution Modules that are embedded in the curriculum of the relevant institutions that train journalists in the country. These modules would help potential journalists to

understanding issues with moderating conflict sensitive issues, disputed election matters, and ethnic violence when discussing on radios. Practicing journalists should be encouraged by their outlets to benefit from these courses in order to improve their skills.

5.4.3 National Cohesion and Integration Commission

The study also recommends that the commission needs to strongly discourage the use of negative emotive stereotypes and coded language that have the intrinsic potential of causing tension and conflict between different ethnic groups. National cohesion and integration commission need to embark on massive "education" of Kenyan ethnic communities about others. This kind of education would target the coded expressions that particularly seem to stem from the lack of appreciation of different social-cultural- economic orientations of Kenyan ethnic communities. Such educational endeavors could target particularly young people, preferably those of the primary school going age who face the immediate "danger" of imbibing the stereotypes and coded expressions before they are able to fully comprehend their meanings. There is need to tackle the opportunistic use of coded expressions that would be to demonstrate that in the specific contexts, the given coded language would aim at invoking a particular perception with the intention of incitement or expression of hate.

The study also recommends that National cohesion and integration commission need to enlighten Kenyans about the diversity expressed in the stereotypes and acknowledge the inevitable existence of various sociocultural-economic orientations among Kenyan communities none of which is superior whatsoever to any other encouraging citizens to get involved in national development and refrain from making utterances especially on radio that have the tendency of dividing the country. The training could focus more on the proper use of radio to unite the nation.

5.5.1 Areas for Further Studies

The study established that the various coded expression have led to ethnic violence, hatred and even caused death. The researcher, therefore, recommends for a more in-depth study to be carried out on the measures that need to be taken by the Kenyan government as well as African Union to regulate the use of coded language.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abdulaziz, M. H. (2012). Patterns of language acquisition and use in Kenya: Rural-urban differences. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *1982*(34), 95-120.

Amitai, E. (2005). *Political Unification*: A Comparative Study of Leaders and Forces. International Organization, Vol. 46, No. 2. (1992), pp. 395-410.

Bailey, B. (2002). *Language, race and negotiation of identity*: A study of Dominican Americans. New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC.

Bates et.al. (2009).*The Language Barrier; Cross Cultural Management*: An International Journal, 15(1): 49-60.

Baylis J., Smith S. & Owen P. (2011); *The Globalisation of World Politics; An Introductions to International Relations (*pg 55)

Benjamins. Whyte, W. F. and Braun, R. R. (2008) *On Language and Culture*. In H. S. Becker, B. 74 Geer, D. Riesman and R. Weiss, (eds) Institutions and the Person. Papers presented to Everett C. Hughes. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.

Berlo K. (2011).*World Politics and radio stations* (pg 153-160). Retrieved on December 4, 2012. From http://fcis.oise.utoronto.ca/ncsjese/article.html

Bickmore, K (2007) *Teaching conflict and conflict resolution in schools*. Retrieved on December 4, 2008. From http://fcis.oise.utoronto.ca/ncsjese/article.html

Bowen, S. J. (2002). *English language proficiency and contextual factors influencing mathematics achievement of secondary school pupils in South Africa*. University of Twente.

Bucholtz, M. and Hall, K. (2005). Identity and Interaction: A Socio-cultural Linguistic Approach. Discourse Studies, 7(4-5), 584-614.

Cain, K., Oakhill, J., & Bryant, P. E. (2004). *Children's reading comprehension ability*: Concurrent prediction by working memory, verbal ability, and component skills. Journal of Educational Psychology, 96, 31-42. 72

Chilton, P. (2004). *Analysing Political Discourse: Theory and Practice.* Educational Research, 29, 543-553

Daily Nation: Witness: William Ruto told youth to evict Kikuyu, December 3, 2014: retrieved on March 30, 2014 at 18:54hrs EAT

Donald L. Horowitz, D. (2006). Language diversity in West Africa: An ecological approach. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, *15*(4), 403-438

Elbadawi, E., & Sambanis, N. (2010). Why are there so many civil wars in Africa? Understanding and preventing violent conflict. *Journal of African Economies*, *9*(3), 244-269.

Ericsson, N (2008) Kenya: Murdering days, Focus on Africa, B.B.C World service, Plattsburgh.

Ervin, S. and Bower, R. T. (2012). Translation Problems in International Surveys. Public Opinion

Feely, A.J. (2008). *The Language code and its Implications for Subsidiary Relationships*. Cross Cultural Management: An International Journal, 15

Gumperz, J.J. (1982). Discourse strategies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hale, H. E. (2004). Divided we stand: Institutional sources of ethno federal state survival and collapse. *World Politics*, *56*(02), 165-193.

Human Rights Watch (2013): World Report, Events of 2012, (page 128)

Iraki F.K (2008). *How historical injustices fuel Africa's political upheavals,* Sunday Nation March 3, Nation Media Group, Nairobi.

Iraki F.K (2008). *How historical injustices fuel Africa's political upheavals,* Sunday Nation March 3, Nation Media Group, Nairobi.

Iraki, F.K (2008) Author explores ethnic linkages; Kenya's Ethnic communities, Sunday Nation.

Ismail, J. A., & Deane, J. (2008). The 2007 general election in Kenya and its aftermath: The role of local language media. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *13*(3), 319-327.

Kaspar, R. (2013). Language coding; "Die Biologische Grundlagen der evolutionären Erkenntnistheorie," in K.Lorenz and P.M.Wuketits (eds) Die Evolution des Denkens, Munich and Zurich: Piper, pp. 125–45.

Kiarie, J. (2009). *Language and Multiparty Democracy in a Multiethnic Kenya*. Africa Today, Volume 50, number 3, spring, pp. 55-72/10-1353.

Kioko, A. N., & Muthwii, M. J. (2003). English variety for the public domain in Kenya: Speakers' attitudes and views. *Language Culture and Curriculum*, *16*(2), 130-145.

Labov, W. (1972). Sociolinguistic Patterns. Philadelphia, PA: University of Philadelphia

Laitin, D., & Eastman, C. M. (2009). Language conflict: Transactions and games in Kenya. *Cultural Anthropology*, *4*(1), 51-72.

Lauring, J. (2008). Rethinking Social Identity Theory in International Encounters: *Language Use as a Negotiated Object for Identity Making.* International Journal of Cross Cultural Management, 8(3): 343-361.

Misau, P.M (2009). *Constraints of acquisition planning of indigenous African Languages*: The case of Kiswahili in Kenya.Lnguage culture and curriculum, Vol. 12, No 2.

Momanyi, C. (2009). The effects of 'Sheng'in the teaching of Kiswahili in Kenyan schools. *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, *2*(8), 127-138.

Momanyi, C. (2009). The effects of sheng' in the teaching Kiswahili in Kenyan schools.

Morrison, D. G., & Stevenson, H. M. (2012). Cultural pluralism, modernization, and conflict: An empirical analysis of sources of political instability in African nations. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, *5*(01), 82-103.

Moshi, L (2006) The Globalized world languages: The case of Kiswahili. Selected proceedings of the 36th Annual conference on Africa Lingustics, Ed Olaoba F. Arasanyia and Michael A. Pambeston, 166-175. Somaville, MA: Cascadilla proceedings project.

Muaka, L. (2011). Language perceptions and identity among Kenyan speakers. In *Selected Proceeding of the 40th Annual Conference on African Linguistics* (pp. 217-230). Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

Munialo M.M, (2008) A study of students' attitude towards learning Kiswahili on their performance among Secondary Schools in Rachuonyo District, Kenya. Unpublished M. Phil thesis, Moi University, Eldoret.

Munialo, M.M (2009*). Divided language*. Focus on Africa, January- March ,B.B.C World Service, Plattsburgh.

Musau, P.M (1999) Constraints on the acquisition planning of indigenous African languages: *The case of Kiswahili in Kenya*. Journal of language, culture and curriculum, Vol. 12, No. 2, 117 – 127.

Muthwii, M.J (2004) *Language of instruction*: A qualitative Analysis of the perception parents, pupils and teachers among the Kalenjin in Kenya. Language, culture and curriculum, vol.17, No.1.

Mwangi, E (2009). Queries over Ngugi's appeal to save languages culture: indigenous languages can destroy just as much as the can restore continent Sunday Nation, June 24, Nation Media Group, Nairobi.

Mwazemba, J, (2009) Book takes issue with voters for failing to vet aspiring leaders Sunday Nation. The challenge for Africa June, 21, Nation Media Group, Nairobi.

Mworia, Henry, (1994).I, The Gikũyũ and White Fury. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers

Nderitu, T (2007). *When Radio spreads Violence*: Free speech Questioned in Kenya: Support independent media contribute towards freedom. Retrieved on August 1, 2009.

New Butt, D. G. et al. (2004). "Grammar – the first covert operation of war", Discourse & Society, 15(2-3), 267-290.

Newmark J. (2008).). *I'll meet you halfway with language: Code-switching within a South African urban context* (pp. 381-421). Amsterdam, John Benjamins.

Ngujiri, J (2008). Author takes ethnicity head on, Book confronts reader with how Kenyans turned against each other, Sunday Nation, Nov 30, Nation Media Group. Nairobi.

Ngujiri, J. (2008). Finally a book on tribal clashes. Sunday Nation, April. The last villagers of Mollo. 27, National Media Group, Nairobi.

Ngujiri, J. (2008). Political crisis hits publishers. Sunday Nation, February 3, Nation Media Group, Nairobi.

Nzau, M. (2013). NCIC may Ban Code words, The Star Newspaper, Friday, February 8, 2013 - 00:00.

Oakhill, J. V., Cain, K., & Yuill, N. M. (2008). Individual differences in children's comprehension skill: Towards an integrated model. In C. Hulme & R. M. Joshi (Eds.), Reading and spelling: Development and disorder.

Ochiel B.A (2007); '.*The role of hate speech and unsavory language in inciting ethnic animosity*: an experimental case study of the 2005 referendum on the draft constitution in Kenya'-

Ogechi, N. O. (2013). On language rights in Kenya. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, *12*(3), 277-295.

Ong'ayo, A.O (2008). The post-election violence: An overview of the Underlying factors, Fahamu (Oxford).

Onuf (1989). The World of Our Making. New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC

Paglia P. (2007): Ethnicity and Tribalism: are these the Root Causes of the Sudanese Civil Conflicts?

Phillips, H. P. (1960) Problems of translation and meaning in field work. In R. N. Adamsand J. J. Preiss (eds) Human Organisation Research: Field Relations and Techniques. Homewood, ILL: Dorsey Press Inc.

San Antonio, P.M. (1987). Social mobility and language use in an American company in Japan. Journal of Language and Social Psychology, 6(3/4): 191–200.

Sarifa, M. (2006). *Language pluralism and social cohesion.* European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, Council of Europe, Strasbourg.

Scotton, C. M., & Ury, W. (2007). Bilingual strategies: The social functions of code-switching. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *1977*(13), 5-20.

Setati, M. (2008). Code-switching in a senior primary class of second-language mathematics learners. *For the Learning of Mathematics*, 34-40.

Sipalla, F (2008) Exploring ethnicity and identity, Sunday Nation, November30, Nation Media Group, Nairobi.

Susan (1998) "Models of Traditional, Transitional, and Modern Communication Systems," in L. W. Pye (ed), Communication and Political Development. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

Temple, B. (2007) *Watch your tongue*: issues in translation and cross-cultural research. Sociology, 31(3), 607-618.

The NCIC (2008) National Cohesion and Integration Act (Act No.12 of 2008). The Commission was borne out of the realization that long lasting peace, sustainable development and harmonious coexistence among Kenyans requires deliberate normative, institutional and attitudinal processes of constructing nationhood, national cohesion and integration.

Thiong'o, N (2006).Why I write in Gikuyu Focus on Africa, B.B.C World Service, and Plattsburgh.

Transcend Media Service. (2011); Conflict and Violence in Africa: Causes, Sources and Types: February 28, 2011

Wamwere, K (2003).*Towards genocide in Kenya*, The course of Negative Ethnicity in Kenya, Mvule Africa Publishers, Nairobi.

Wangai, K (2008). Home-grown ideas to resolve African conflict, Sunday Nation, November 30,, Nation Media Group, Nairobi

Warigi. G., (2007). Third force: How much of a threat is vigilantism to the elections in December. Focus on Africa B.B.C World Service, Plattsburgh.

Warschauer, M. (2010). Language, identity, and the Internet. *Race in cyberspace*, 151-170.

Webb, V. N. (2002). *Language in South Africa: The role of language in national transformation, reconstruction and development* (Vol. 14). John Benjamins Publishing.

Wendt A., (1992); Anarchy is what States make of it: (The Social Construction of Power Politics) International Organization, Vol. 46, No. 2. (1992), pp. 395-410.

APPEDIX I: INTERVIEW GUIDE

The following questions will be used to collect data and information from the selected sample.

i.   What is your understanding of coded language?

ii.   What coded language, or phrase are you aware of, in or outside your community?

iii.   In your own view what is the origin of use coded language?

iv.   In your own understanding what triggers the use of coded language among communities today?

v.   Is the use of coded language good or evil in your view?

vi.   How do you relate coded language with peace building in a nation?

vii.   In your own understanding is there a relationship between coded language and any form of conflict?

viii.   What do you take as determinants of negative code in your community?

ix.   Do you think politicians use coded language in a manner that glorifies conflict?

x.   Do you think media use of coded language can lead to any form of conflict?

xi.   How do you relate coded language with national integration?

xii.   What challenge do you attach to control of coded language in a community?

xiii.   What are your closing remarks on the issue?