

**PERCEPTIONS OF POLITICAL LEADERS' UTTERANCES AND THEIR  
INFLUENCE ON INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS IN KASARANI SUB-  
COUNTY NAIROBI CITY COUNTY, KENYA**

**SERAH WAIRIMU NJOROGE**

**N50/88880/2016**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE INSTITUTE OF ANTHROPOLOGY,  
GENDER AND AFRICAN STUDIES IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE  
REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF  
ARTS IN LINGUISTIC ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF  
NAIROBI**

**2020**

## DECLARATION

I do hereby declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been presented for examination in any other university.

Signature



Date 27/11/2020

**SERAH WAIRIMU NJOROGE**

This thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval as university supervisors.

Signature .....



Date .....27/11/2020

**DR. KHAMATI SHILABUKHA**

Signature ...



Date 27/11/2020.....

**DR. GIDEON MARETE**

## **DEDICATION**

To my loving mother Margaret for her immeasurable support, encouragement and assurance that I can accomplish whatever thing I begin, am forever grateful. To my husband Peter and our daughter Tamara for the love and unwavering support. May this be a motivation to my family to always pursue excellence in all they undertake.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

I wish to thank Almighty God for giving me good health and a sound mind as I pursued my studies. I wish to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisors Dr. Khamati Shilabukha and Dr. Gideon Marete for the countless hours they put in to mentor, guide and encourage me in the entire period. Their proficient supervision and review was very essential in making this thesis a success.

I am grateful to the University of Nairobi for awarding me a scholarship which made it easier for me to pursue my postgraduate studies. May they continue investing in making the future of other students brighter.

I wish to thank the people of Kasarani Sub-County who gave their time and input to the study, I appreciate their sincerity, cooperation and invaluable assistance that led to the success of my work. I convey my gratitude to the local administration of Kasarani Sub-County for facilitating community entry, logistical support and ensuring I had ample time in the field. Special thanks goes to my friend Joyce Kakya for invaluable support she gave throughout fieldwork period may she succeed in all her endeavor.

I wish thank my husband Peter for the tireless hours he put in to assist in typing my transcriptions, the encouragement, prayers and offering me all the necessary support. Lastly I wish to thank Prof. Tom Ondicho for reviewing my first draft thesis, my classmates, friends and family who were a great pillar of support in the entire period. May the Lord bless you and reward you greatly.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>DECLARATION.....</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>DEDICATION.....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>LIST OF TABLES .....</b>	<b>ix</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES .....</b>	<b>x</b>
<b>ABSTRACT.....</b>	<b>xi</b>
<b>ABBREVIATION AND ACRONYMS .....</b>	<b>xii</b>
<b>CHAPTER ONE .....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Introduction .....	1
1.2 Background of the study .....	1
1.3 Problem Statement .....	4
1.4 Objective of the Study.....	6
1.4.1 General Objective .....	6
1.4.2 Specific Objectives .....	6
1.5 Assumptions of the Study .....	6
1.6 Scope and Limitation .....	7
1.7 Justification of the Study.....	7
1.8 Definition of Terms .....	9
1.9 Conclusion.....	10
<b>CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW.....</b>	<b>11</b>
2.1 Introduction .....	11
2.2 Literature Review .....	11
2.2.1 Political leaders’ utterances .....	11
2.2.2 Perceptions and Communication.....	12

2.2.3 Perceptions of political leaders’ utterances .....	14
2.2.4 Aspects of Inter-ethnic Relations Affected by Perceptions.....	16
2.2.5 Influence of Perceptions on Patterns of Inter-Ethnic Relation .....	18
2.3 Theoretical Framework .....	19
2.3.1 Relevance Theory .....	19
2.3.2 Media Dependency Theory .....	22
2.4 Relevance of the Theory to the Study .....	23
2.5 Conceptual framework .....	24
<b>CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY .....</b>	<b>26</b>
3.1 Introduction .....	26
3.2 Description of Study Site .....	26
3.3 Research Design.....	28
3.4 Study Population and Unit of Analysis.....	28
3.5 Sample size and Sampling Procedure .....	29
3.6 Data Collection Methods.....	29
3.6.1 In-depth Interviews.....	29
3.6.2 Focus Group Discussions .....	30
3.6.3 Key Informant Interviews.....	31
3.6.4 Secondary Sources of Information .....	31
3.7 Data processing and Analysis .....	32
3.8 Ethical Considerations.....	33
3.9 Field Challenges and their Solutions.....	34
<b>CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS.....</b>	<b>36</b>
4.1 Introduction .....	36
4.2 Characteristic of Participants .....	36

4.2.1 Gender .....	37
4.2.2 Age.....	38
4.2.3 Marital Status.....	39
4.2.4 Education level .....	40
4.2.5 Occupation.....	41
4.2.6 Ethnic Affiliation.....	42
4.3 Media of access to the political utterances.....	43
4.4 Perceptions of Political Leaders’ Utterances .....	48
4.5 Aspects of Inter-ethnic relations affected by perceptions on political leaders’ utterance .....	52
4.5.1 The Social Aspects of Inter-Ethnic Relations.....	52
4.5.2 Inter-ethnic Relations and Economic Activities .....	55
4.5.3 Places of Residence .....	57
4.5.4 Employment.....	59
4.5.5 Inter-marriage .....	60
4.5.6 Education .....	62
4.6 Patterns of inter-ethnic relations .....	63
<b>CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS, SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION .....</b>	<b>68</b>
5.1 Introduction .....	68
5.2 Perceptions of Political Leaders Utterances.....	68
5.3 Aspects of Inter-ethnic Relations Affected by Perceptions on Political Leaders’ Utterances.....	73
5.4 Influence of Perceptions on Patterns of Inter-Ethnic Relations .....	77
5.5 Summary .....	81

5.6 Conclusion.....	83
5.7 Recommendation.....	84
<b>REFERENCES.....</b>	<b>86</b>
<b>APPENDICES .....</b>	<b>90</b>
APPENDIX 1: INFORMED CONSENT STATEMENT FOR THE STUDY .....	90
APPENDIX II: IN DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE.....	91
APPENDIX III: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE .....	93
APPENDIX IV: KEY INFORMANTINTERVIEW GUIDE .....	94
APPENDIX V: NACOSTI PERMIT .....	95



## LIST OF TABLES

<b>Table 3.1:</b> Summary of FGD characteristics .....	30
<b>Table 4.1</b> Summary of Demographic Characteristics .....	36
<b>Table 4.2</b> Summary of sources of political utterances and their channels .....	43
<b>Table 4.3</b> Summary of Aspects of Inter-Ethnic Relations Identified .....	52

## LIST OF FIGURES

<b>Figure 2.1:</b> Conceptual Framework .....	25
<b>Figure 3.1:</b> Map of Nairobi City County, Source: <a href="http://www.kenyacountyguide.co.ke">www.kenyacountyguide.co.ke</a> .....	27
<b>Figure 3.2:</b> Map of Kasarani Sub-County, Source: <a href="https://informationcradle.com">https://informationcradle.com</a> ....	28
<b>Figure 4.1:</b> Demographic by Gender, Source: Field data .....	38
<b>Figure 4.2:</b> Demographic by Age, Source: Field data .....	39
<b>Figure 4.3</b> Demography by marital status, Source: Field Data.....	40
<b>Figure 4.4</b> Demography by Level of Education, Source: Field data.....	41
<b>Figure 4.5</b> Demography by Occupation; Source: Field data.....	42
<b>Figure 4.6</b> Demography by Ethnic Affiliation, Source: Field data.....	43

## ABSTRACT

Kenya being a multi-ethnic nation seems to experience numerous effects on inter-ethnic relations due to politically motivated utterances. However, it is the interpretation of this utterances and the perceptions people form that determine the impact it has on a nation. This was a cross-sectional descriptive study conducted in Kasarani Sub-County in Nairobi City County, Kenya. The purpose of the study was to tease out the perceptions of political leaders' utterances and their influence on inter-ethnic relations. The specific objectives of the study were to analyse perception people have on political leaders' utterances, to discuss aspects of inter-ethnic relations affected by these perceptions and to examine emerging patterns of inter-ethnic relations as a result of the perceptions. The study seeks to address the role of perceptions on political leaders' utterances in influencing inter-ethnic relations given the ethnic conflicts differences that have occurred in Kenya in the recent past. The study was guided by relevance theory that poses that to understand an utterance requires more than linguistic decoding and media dependency theory that explains that people in urban area rely on mass communication to obtain information they need for day to day decision making. Qualitative data techniques were used to collect qualitative data. Forty in-depth interviews were conducted, four focus group discussions were conducted with purposive selected participants based on age, gender and ethnic affiliation. Four key informants were purposively selected to gather more data on the study. Data was transcribed, emerging themes identified and analyzed using Nvivo (version 12), and the findings were presented in narrative, verbal quotes and tables. The findings indicated socialization, gender and ethnic affiliation played a major role in how a person perceived political leaders' utterances and how they interacted with other people. The value a person attached to political leaders and the utterances they made affected how they related with people of other ethnic group whether positively or negatively. Economic relations, social relations, place of residence and employment were among aspects of inter-ethnic relations that were affected both positively and negatively. There were notable patterns of inter-ethnic relations where people engaged in ethnic disunity during each election period, avoid political discussion and change how they react socially. This study unveiled the possible cause of continuous ethnic division that occurs during and after each election period where the country incurs loss of lives, ethnic rivalry and economic loss. The study helps people recognize there is a role they play in building or tearing down the nation though the focus for a long time has been on the leaders who are entirely blamed for such outcome. There is a need to explore the role the media plays in shaping perceptions of political leaders' utterances given that they are the custodians of either good news or bad news as narrated by the leaders, and the effect they bring on inter-ethnic relation. This could present future researchers with an area to explore. Given the large audience political leaders have the study recommends that media council of Kenya see to it that journalists are responsible as to how they package political leaders' utterances to avoid bringing more ethnic division. Political leaders, should make a conscious decision to pay keen attention to what they tell their audience since the effect of their interpretation cannot be undone. National cohesion and integration commission should sensitize people to develop tight ethnic ties that cannot be shaken by what political leaders say.

## **ABBREVIATION AND ACRONYMS**

BBI	Building Bridges Initiative
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GEMA	Gikuyu, Embu and Meru Association
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KI	Key informant
LUTATCO	Luo Thrift and Trading Corporation
MCA	Member of County Assembly
NACOSTI	National Commission for science Technology and Innovation
NCIC	National cohesion and integration commission
NKCC	North Kavirondo Chamber of Commerce
SMS	Short Message Service

## CHAPTER ONE

### 1.1 Introduction

This thesis presents findings of a qualitative study conducted in Kasarani Sub-County on perceptions of political leaders' utterances and their influence on inter-ethnic relations. This chapters gives the background of the study followed by the problem statement, objective of the study, assumptions of the study, scope and limitation, justification and finally definition of terms commonly used in this thesis.

### 1.2 Background of the study

Historically, the narrative of people viewing a political leader of their ethnic group as an “insider” and that of another ethnic group as an outsider has been one of the defining themes if we were to critically analyze political leaders' utterances and inter-ethnic relations. Political leaders' utterances are masked in a way that hides their true meaning and purpose. Their interpretation is thus dependent on the recipient of the utterances whose perceptions maybe guided by their ethnic identity, ethnic discrimination and ethnocentrism. A number of studies suggest that inter-ethnic relations, especially in the context of plural ethnicities, are influenced rather negatively, by these utterances (Mawere, 2008 cited in Wangechi *et al.* 2014).

Many multi-ethnic countries seem to place a great value to ethnicity due to constant reference to it by their leaders, Huber (2012) states that there is a great correlation between voting, political behavior and ethnicity. Chandra (2011) notes that politician in political parties claim to speak for the interest of a particular ethnic group while this can be entirely for their selfish gains. Similarly, Nisser (2017) argues that though the aim of politicians is to change voters' political behavior by their utterances the in adverted consequence are changes in behavior in individual cross-ethnic interaction.

In Kenya ethnicity is continually used by political leaders as a means to marshal voters behind them. According to Biegon (2018:8) ethnicity is ranked to be the single most important variable in Kenyan politics. These therefore means that the emphasis of most political leaders has been on an individual's ethnic group from colonial era 1920 to 1963 where they introduced divide and rule to turn one tribe against another. In post-colonial time KANU and KADU which were the first political parties were equally formed along ethnic lines a situation that has continued to date. There has been a growing culture of ethnic violence stimulated by political utterances given the diverse interpretation they are given by people.

When utterances are laced with ethnic rhetoric, they tend to create tension among people from different ethnic groups. Kenya has experienced ethnic division and at times ethnic clashes especially after general elections. These clashes have been seen to be fueled in one way or another by political leaders' utterances whom in many instances incite their followers against others. The 1992 and 1997 conflicts in Kenya were motivated by the ruling party of Kenya National Union (KANU) to remain in power following incitement by politicians and political parties formed along tribal lines (Wamere, 2008 cited in Wangechi *et al.* 2014). The 2007-2008 post-election violence were also seen to be ethnically fueled where thousands of people were killed and others internally displaced with the genesis of this being utterances made by political leaders to their followers. Additionally, it marked a new dawn with Kenyan realizing the effects of their actions in light of political leaders' utterances. Similarly, the after month of the 2017 election saw a lot of ethnic division created by political leaders as a result of dissatisfaction with the election result.

Most political leaders have mastered the art of making divisive political utterances which they use cleverly to entice their followers. The common use of "we" against

“them”, being the order of the day. In the process political leaders are known to use all manner of political rhetoric to pull crowds and whatever they say in rallies is known to reach vast audiences especially with the help of the media. In most cases the message passed in these gatherings are certain to trigger emotions and bring different interpretation considering human beings think and act differently. When leaders in society especially those with political influence make statements the recipients develop perceptions based on how they interpret that information.

Kenya is one of the country that is known to be ethnically diverse with more than 42 ethnic tribes interacting in their day to day. This interaction makes people develop certain ties, friendship, trade among others which we call inter-ethnic relations. Several scholars have conducted studies which have variously set out to understand how political utterances influence inter-ethnic relations (Yieke, 2010; Nnuta and Ezeifika, 2017). While Yieke (2010) looks at ethnicity and development and their association with politics and elections, on their part Nnuta and Ezeifika focus on what they refer as verbal hygiene and ethnic politics in Nigeria. In his study Yieke notes that ethnicity is a convenient political resource which can be exploited to serve the selfish purpose for an individual politician, a political party or a government. Using selected print Nnuta and Ezeifika analysed political utterances that were in their consideration verbally unhygienic and the threats they pose on inter-ethnic relations in Nigeria. They note that there is a strong relation between poor verbal hygiene, hate speech, electoral violence and ethnicity. Wangatiah (2016:52) indicate that politicians use a well thought and skillful language to not only gain support from people but also influence their thoughts and behavior. These studies among other mentioned in the review of literature lay a foundation for us to critically analyses what role people’s perception play in influencing inter-ethnic relations.

It is this context which informs these study to focus on how people's perception on utterances by political leaders influence inter-ethnic relations. The study was conducted in Kasarani Sub-County which is in Nairobi City County in Kenya. The area is occupied by ethnically mixed groups living together and interacting in their day to day activities. Inter-ethnic relations in Kasarani is affected in one way or another by what political leaders' utter given that some of political rallies are held in Kasarani stadium.

### **1.3 Problem Statement**

All over the world leaders in the political arena are known to make utterances that appeal to their followers. The utterances at times touch on matters to do with inter-ethnic relations in a way that bring ethnic tension as argued by some scholars. Hezenbroek (2012) argue that when politician utter words that are hateful they pose danger to society considering their influence and huge following. Their words are in one way or another likely to create an impact based on what utterances they make and how they say them. Political leaders especially in Kenya have a great following and we cannot undermine the extent to which utterances they make traverse the country and beyond borders. The impact of their utterances has been in the past detrimental especially when they used utterances that bring division along ethnic lines.

Relationship building is unavoidable in multi-ethnic countries since most people depend on one another both economically and socially. The ethnic ties are segmented through trade, friendship, good neighborhood among other factors that are as a result of personal initiative or leadership structure that exist to guide people. The value system of a people, socialization and exposure to different world view shape how they comprehend what they hear and how they view one another across ethnic groups.



Ethnic divisions created by political leaders during elections go beyond voting causing hostility in social places where people coexisted peacefully before (Wilkson 2004)). Habwe (1999) states that political leaders are highly regarded by people and they engage with people very frequently using a language full of persuasion, commands, threats and reasoning. These studies among others point to the idea that what political leaders' utterances in public spaces such as political rallies, funerals, press conferences and media interviews greatly influence inter-ethnic relations. There unanimous agreement is that these utterances are not only the political topography in line with the wishes of political leaders but also social cultural fabric that are ethnic relations. What is more the utterances are taken in by the audiences without any once of reflection on their ramification. What they say is thus adored by masses making audiences develop perceptions on lenses through which they see each other. This historical scenario has permeated many countries including Kenya.

With emergence and development of communication channels reaching vast audiences within a short period of time concurrently, the effects of political leaders' utterances especially those laced with ethnic rhetoric become a point of interest. This is exacerbated in a country like Kenya, where political contest is remarkably aligned to ethnic identities and loyalties. It may not be farfetched to conceive a situation where political leaders' utterances are likely to affect inter-ethnic relations. The more acute area of concern the confluence of perceptions and ethnic relations in face of these utterances resulting in intolerance that may affect various aspects of inter-ethnic relations. This study was therefore design to answer the following question:

- i. What perceptions do people of Kasarani Sub- County have on political leaders' utterances?
- ii. How are the aspects of inter-ethnic relations affected by their perception?
- iii. What are the emerging patterns inter-ethnic relations as a results of the perceptions?

## **1.4 Objective of the Study**

### **1.4.1 General Objective**

To explore the role of perceptions of political leaders' utterances in influencing inter-ethnic relations in Kasarani Sub-County.

### **1.4.2 Specific Objectives**

- i. To analyse perceptions that people of Kasarani Sub-County have on political leaders' utterances.
- ii. To discuss aspects of inter-ethnic relations affected by the perceptions.
- iii. To examine emerging patterns of inter-ethnic relations as a result of perceptions.

## **1.5 Assumptions of the Study**

The study was guided by the following assumptions:

- i. That people of Kasarani Sub-County have diverse perceptions on political leaders' utterances.
- ii. That various aspects of inter-ethnic relations are affected by the perceptions and can be expressed.
- iii. That the perception influence patterns of inter-ethnic relations affecting residents of Kasarani.

## **1.6 Scope and Limitation**

The study was conducted in Kasarani Sub-County of Nairobi City County in Kenya. The study focused on voter resident of Kasarani Sub-County male and female. The aim was to ensure the sampled residents had a deeper understanding of inter-ethnic relations in the area. Being previous voters and residents would mean they mostly have encountered the role political leaders' utterances play in the area and the outcome of it. This also allows potential use of the outcome of this study to address inter-ethnic relations in the area and beyond. Conceptually, this study only focused on people's perception on political leaders' utterances and how they affect inter-ethnic relations. It is important to note that there are other influential leaders' such as religious leaders' and cultural leaders whose utterances can affect inter-ethnic relations but the focus of this study was political leaders' whose utterances are mostly in public domain.

The utterance by political leaders were considered as those made in public rallies, funerals, television and radio interviews, press conferences address that residents in Kasarani Sub-County had heard and developed perception on. This ensured residents expressed their views based entirely on political leaders' utterances they heard, allowing minimal biases from the researcher.

Given the qualitative nature of the study and the sample size used in the study it limits generalization.

## **1.7 Justification of the Study**

The effects of political leaders' utterances in a multi-ethnic country like Kenya cannot be ignored, given the constant ethnic conflicts that have occurred over time especially after election campaigns that seems to be fueled by ethnic based utterances. However,

much emphasis or the blame has over time been placed on the political leaders who are the speakers of this utterances without giving much consideration on what role the hearers of the utterances play. The perceptions people form when they hear this utterance and the interpretation and value they attach to it is a core thing since it affects their interactions within the neighborhood with people of diverse ethnic group. The recent discussion happening in Kenya in political arena on how to ensure there is peace beyond an election can borrow greatly from this study which seeks to unveil the role each individual play in inter-ethnic relations.

This study will contribute to the body of knowledge on language use, its interpretation and inter-ethnic relations in Kasarani region, Kenya, and beyond. It will also go to show how linguistic anthropology is applicable in bringing language, culture and society and how all the aspects of it are intertwined. The study also contributes to political anthropology giving a clear picture as to how ethnic groups which are part of ethnicity are used to impact a society.

If the findings are adopted they will provide guidance on social and economic implications of negative perceptions on political leader's utterances. Bodies such NCIC, BBI committee and some civil societies may find these findings useful and they can use them to make recommendation on how to address issues of inter-ethnic relations as constantly interrupted by political leaders' utterances and their perceived meanings given by people. The findings can also be used by NCIC to tailor campaigns and civil education programs that deal with role citizen play in inter-ethnic relations after listening to political leaders' utterances.

## **1.8 Definition of Terms**

**Aspects-** Visible concepts that are influenced by perceptions could be in social sphere, economic, cultural or anything provided it touches on inter-ethnic relations. It gives an individual a sense of belonging and recognition.

**Inter-ethnic relations-** Interactions between people of different tribes or ethnic groups. In this study we will focus on relationship between different ethnic groups that resides among each other in Kasarani.

**Influence-** How it affects could be in a positive or negative way.

**Perceptions-** The way something is regarded, understood or interpreted. In this study perceptions refers to thoughts, feelings, ideas and views that people form on utterances they hear.

**Politics-** Activities associated with governance and leadership, where parties involved are interested with power in political domain where election and voting is required as a constitution requirement. Involving governing a geographic zone.

**Political leaders-** leaders who are in active politics could be parliamentary positions, county positions or executives both at local and national level.

**Patterns-** A repeated or regular way in which something is done or happens. For the purpose of this study pattern will be used to refer visible or notable trends that can be identified emerging from inter-ethnic interactions.

**Utterances-** In linguistics an utterance is a unit of a speech. For this study it means any verbal communication made in public rallies, press conferences, radio or TV interviews, funerals, harambees, and other public platforms.

## **1.9 Conclusion**

This chapter has provided a synopsis of the thesis, discussed the problem statement and stated the research question that the study set out to answer. The chapter has also justified why it is important to carry out research in this area and the last bit has defined terms that have been used regularly in the entire thesis.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter gives a review of literature used in the study, the theory that guided the study and the conceptual framework. It also explains clearly the relevance of the theory to this study as it shall be applied in the later chapters of this study. The section presents an overview of the relevant empirical and theoretical literature. The review is divided into two parts: the first part reviews studies done that are related to the topic both globally and locally in Kenya. The second part deals with theoretical and conceptual framework. The discussions are along political leaders' utterances, perceptions and how they are communicated, how political leaders' utterances are perceived, aspects of inter-ethnic relations affected by perceptions and influence of perceptions on patterns of inter-ethnic relations.

#### **2.2 Literature Review**

##### **2.2.1 Political leaders' utterances**

Political leaders are known to have large audience and huge following. Habwe (1999 cited in Wangatiah 2016:52) political leaders are highly regarded by people, and they directly relate with people in using a complex language matrix using persuasion, instructions, coercion, and reasoning. Political leaders use a specialized and clever language to gain support from people and to influence their thoughts and behaviors. Potts (2005) drawing differences between utterances, sentences, and propositions note that utterances involves two parties an agent who produce a linguistic object and the linguistic object itself. An utterance is fluid in nature since it has numerous pragmatic interpretation and a speaker can refute some interpretation as pointed out by Wangatiah (2016).

Political leaders in their quest to look for votes and gain popularity, they use ethnic differences as a mobilizing tool. Flesken (2014) notes that there is need for political leaders to be careful when they use ethnicity to mobilize support, since their utterances can lead to detrimental effects as those seen in Rwanda, North Ireland or Ukraine where economic and social structures were destroyed to points of people fleeing their countries for refuge.

A study by Michira (2013) used discourse analysis to look at concealed meanings and ideologies in 2013 presidential campaigns. In this study he argues that politician use language or utterances to not only communicate their policies and ideologies but to also create certain perceptions that can help in influencing votes. This confirms that political leaders do not only make utterances but they have a goal or some intentions once their utterances are received.

### **2.2.2 Perceptions and Communication**

Communication is a vital to human interactions whether between parents, children, bosses and employees or even husband and wife. The diversity and characteristics of those involved in interactions can thus affect communication. Therefore, consideration of any diversity in interaction rather than assuming uniformity is important to achieve effective communication (Fiske and Taylor, 1991).

To pass a political message an utterance is mostly made acting as a media of communication. In contemporary fast paced world, the communication process is becoming more and more complex because of globalization process which is closely impregnated with quickly developing innovative communication processes (Kornienko, 2016). Communication maybe defined as an act of transferring information from one person to another, although this is a simple definition, when we



think about how we communicate the subject becomes a lot more complex (Canary and Dindia, 1992). An important imperative to note is that there are various categories of communication and more than one may occur at any time (Robb, 2004). Even though an utterance may lack a distinct definition it can be defined as a unit of speech bonded by silence (Eugene 2004). Perceptions on the other hand, is the process of selecting, organizing and interpreting information (Lippa, 2002). In this process we select stimuli from the external environment, which then pass through our perceptual filters. The stimuli are then organized into our existing structures and patterns and are interpreted based on previous experiences (Robb, 2004).

Utterances as a way of communication and perception are closely related in the sense that communication is influenced by perceptions (Coates 1996). In a way the perceptions we form about others and that others make of us affect how we communicate and act. Some scholars have argued that perception is largely a cognitive and psychological process. However, the way an individual perceives the people and object around them is a social process that affects our communication (Coates, 1996). This is because factors outside cognition affect the way we respond to stimuli around us (Robb, 2004). We therefore, respond differently to an object or person that we perceive favorably than we do to something we find unfavorable. Perception has to do with the way individuals filter through the massive amounts of incoming information, organize it, and makes meaning from what it makes through our perceptual filters and into the social realities (Bayram 2010: cited in Wagantiah 2016:52) notes that perceptions that people have is based on social construction, individual or group relation. Utterances and perceptions are also intertwined because an individual or groups use utterances to express feelings, emotions, opinions and

values (Robb, 2004). These are then applied in the assessment of interaction between individuals and groups.

Noting that communication between individual or groups is complex, Canary and Dindia (1996) have gone on to argue that effective communication is difficult to master and can be a major source of strife. They proceed to argue the gaps in communication arise when the intended message is not transmitted or are misconstrued. The resultant miscommunication is mainly to the different styles of communication that may influence the perceptions of the recipients. To understand the differences in communication patterns we should begin by considering different elements of communication process between sender of information and receiver. Elements of communication such assertiveness, expressiveness, the use of analogies, inter-personal biases, communicative style and expert opinions usually comes in to affect the perceptions of what is communicated.

### **2.2.3 Perceptions of political leaders' utterances**

Humans beings in nature will differ in opinion because they hold different world views, beliefs, norms and attributes. Interpretation of political leaders' utterances and perception on what they say also differs. According to a study done in Nigeria by Nnuda and Ezeifika (2017: 48) social variables such as ethnicity, education status, gender and culture shape the way a person reacts to issues and discourse linguistically. In addition, they state that "Due to individual differences no two people can react and interpret information the same way except when they share same opinions, sentiments, believes and worldviews"

There are distinct characteristics that can be attributed to certain ethnic groups some which are visible while others are invisible. According to Nisser (2017) the ability to

tell one's ethnicity has important consequence for cross-ethnic interactions since it is highly visible and ethnicity allows discriminatory behavior even between strangers. This discriminatory behavior is additionally fueled when political leaders address masses making utterances that maybe uniting or dividing people. Opinions made in public should especially be well thought due to the numerous interpretation they attract. According to Molnar (2012) there are opinions on public matters that can be considered as hate speech and need more illustrations to clearly distinguish between free speech and hate speech. Odongo (2016) argues that there is no universally agreed definition of hate speech like many other offences that are recognized internationally.

A study by Michira (2013) that used discourse analysis to analyze concealed meanings and ideologies in the 2013 presidential campaigns argues that language is a powerful tool used by politicians not only to communicate their policies and ideological positions but also create certain perceptions in influencing their votes. There is a need to go deeper and identify how these perceptions created through political leaders' utterances end up affecting inter-ethnic relations on a day to day life.

It is important to note that utterances by political leaders have the potential to reach and move large groups of people within society due to the enormous influence most political leaders have, which may be dangerous depending on how it is perceived (Hanzenbroek 2012). The 2017 August general election in Kenya was followed by a case presented in the Supreme Court. The court ruled that the election had been nullified and there would be a repeat election. The ruling was followed by several reactions by political leaders who held press briefings and public rallies address. Some political leaders cheered the judges while others condemned them. Kenyans took to the social media mainly Twitter and Facebook expressing their views and perceptions. Some Kenyans felt that political leaders that were opposed to the ruling

were attacking the Chief justice and their ethnic group by extension while on the other hand there are those who felt nullifying election was meant the judges had ill motives against political leaders from their backyard and by extension their ethnic group. The result of it was an election boycott in some areas in obedience to the political leaders' utterances and a large turnout in numbers in other areas following the utterance of their leaders. Wangechi *et al.* (2014) argues that politicians are believed to fuel conflicts whenever they turn a community against each other in order to gather votes, they become ethnocentric and portray other ethnic groups as enemy with negative ethnic stereotyping dominating their utterances. Political incitements end up becoming a major cause of conflicts and disagreement.

Bayram (2010 cited by Wangatiah 2016:53) observe that when listening to an utterance it triggers an attitude, prejudice or stereotype about the community from which a speaker is thought to belong.

#### **2.2.4 Aspects of Inter-ethnic Relations Affected by Perceptions**

The term ethnic is derived from the Greek word "ethnikos" which originally meant heathen, Pagan, Gentile, none Jewish and none Christian. It is from this word ethnic that ethnicity is formed. Unlike its earlier meaning its pejorative connotation is offloaded (Ahmed 1997:63 cited by Kakai 2000). For elite ethnicity can constitute means to gain support from masses (Fearon and Laitin, 2000). This is common especially when political leadership and democracy come to play. Ethnicity differs from other types of social identity since it is difficult to change and can easily be noticed from a person's physical feature, name and how they speak (Chandra 2006:416 cited by Nisser 2017:3). People who are strangers when they interact they can intuitively tell the ethnicity of their counterparts (Chandra, 2006:416 cited by

Nisser 2017:3). These therefore mean perceptions people form will affect various sphere through which people engage whether social or economic among others.

Fisherman (1997:15:26 cited by Kakai 2000) explains that ethnicity is understood as an aspect of being recognized by both the community and by an outsider. Therefore, it follows that certain judgment will be made about an individual by an outsider who is from a different ethnic group and vice visa and the outcome is a difference in how they relate at various levels. According to Mazrui (1969b cited by Kakai 2000) argue that ethnic relations leading to tensions and conflicts are a global affair facilitated by two revolutions of communication and identity explosion.

Ekeh distinguishes to types of citizenship primordial and functional citizenship. Primordial is based on an indigenous group or community in the nation. Functional citizenship is based on a sense of belonging to a nation as legally defined (Ekeh 19972 cited by Yieke 2010:12). Yieke (2010) states that ethnic citizenship thus focuses on belonging to an ethnic group. In addition, he argues that ethnic citizenship is slowly taking roots in Kenya as revealed by increased ethnic allegiance among different tribes. These, therefore, weakens national patriotism as it encourages ethnic patriotism.

Perceptions of political leaders' utterances can lead to change in some aspects of inter-ethnic relations such inter-marriage, friendship and smooth trading. Ibrahim (2005) indicate that external factors that change quality of social relations of different ethnic groups are political policies issued, social influence among other things. In addition, Ibrahim (2009) points that internal factors that can change quality of social relations are ethnic identity and a sense of self that is ethnocentric.

### **2.2.5 Influence of Perceptions on Patterns of Inter-Ethnic Relation**

According to Ibrahim (2012) patterns of social associations built by different ethnic groups is important in ensuring there is peaceful coexistence between ethnic communities. When various aspects of interaction such as social or economic are affected there is a notable change that occur in regard to how people relate. The result could be strong ties being formed, weaker ties or a whole new way being formed on inter-ethnic relations. These becomes an observable thing since people's perceptions are said to be based on social construction, individual or group relations (Bayram 2010: cited by Wangatiah 2016:52)

Ese (1994 cited in Kakai 2000) analyse ethnic conglomeration as having both merits and demerits. On the positive side ethnic group are promoted and nurtured as tools for social economic and political advancement. He cites the Luo Thrift and Trading Corporation (LUTATCO) and North Kavirondo Chamber of Commerce (NKCC) to boost his argument. These organizations even though ethically based they assisted individuals to acquire wealth and power, they also challenged Asians monopoly of retail and wholesale trade.

Ethnic tension can be created among ethnic groups as a results of their perceptions. Schopfin (1996) argues, in order to get a solution to inter-ethnic tension, the true cause of it has to be identified. He proceeds to say that convectional analysis makes assumption that ethnicity is only made political by "artificial" means and that people belonging to different ethnic groups have lived together in peace for centuries implying if it were not for these "artificial" intervention they would continue to live peacefully. He disregards the approach since it seems to miss the dynamic of ethnicity which might actually give understanding to inter- ethnic relations.

When people form perceptions on one another they are able to socialize more or limit their interaction. In cases where there is peaceful coexistence interaction can take form of inter-ethnic marriage (Usman, 2008) in this case this becomes a new pattern and affect how individualxc view one another.

## **2.3 Theoretical Framework**

In research theories are used to give a systematic way to deal with the problem. These section discusses the two theories that guided the study and create a link between them. The two theories are relevance theory and media system dependency theory also known as media dependency theory.

### **2.3.1 Relevance Theory**

Relevance theory founded by cognitive scientist Sperber and Wilson (1986) and revised in (1995) and expounded in Wilson and Sperber (2004). The theory has its antecedents in theory of conversation implicature (Grice, 1975). The theory has three tenets namely: the notion of context, principle of relevance in communication, and comprehension procedure of relevance theory. On the notion of context, the search for relevance is psychological guided by mental context. Sperber and Wilson (1995:15) define context as ‘a psychological construct, a subset of hearer’s assumption about the world’. Schronder (2008) adds that it is a kind of encyclopedia about the world made of societal norms and values, personal beliefs and cultural norms. The principle of relevance in communication is that an utterance raises expectation as a basic feature of human cognition that is exploited by communicators. An utterance is relevant when it connects to background information they have and is able to yield a conclusion that matters to them like answering a question they had in mind, remove doubts, correct a mistake and improve knowledge on certain subject. On comprehension procedure of a

hearer an utterance is more relevant if the speaker is compatible with the hearer's ability and preference.

In proposing this theory Sperber and Wilson posited that understanding an utterance requires more than linguistic decoding. It involves what the speaker intended to say, what the speaker intended to imply, the speakers intended attitudes to what was said and implied and the intended context (Wilson, 2004). In expanding the argument of the theory, (Clark, 20:100) adds that those things that are relevant to what was being said. Thus, for Clark in order to contextualise and understand relevance, an important imperative is the need to know the kind of phenomena have a degree of relevance and those with greatest effects are more relevant. According to Clark this includes utterances, thoughts, memories and interpretation of this. The central claim of the theory is that expectation of relevance raised by an utterance is direct enough and predictable enough to guide the hearer towards the speakers meaning.

Language is the most efficient mode of communication for human beings allowing expression of vast ideas including political utterances. Thus as Van Dijk (1997), observed expression of political content in society is made possible using language as primary level of communication through verbal and nonverbal communication. That alone makes language the principle vehicle for political campaigns. The implication is that, to the extent that language is primary to making political communication, then it follows that politics cannot exist without language. We may then, in the context of this study describe the language of politics as political discourse and utterances. This means political speeches that form part of discourse in various context, situations and plethora of positions.

Depending on the context, the discourse is clothed in various keys that are operated based on the norms and genres which are relevant to govern the context. Thus



political leaders use language as defined both by text and context. Then they generate political utterances only when these utterances are contextualized in such a communicative event such as funeral, political rallies, election campaigns, protest demonstration, and media interviews. The outcome of this communication contexts of political utterances are based on the cost benefit in the mind of the communicator and that of the audience (Wilson and Sperber 2004:610)

Based on the cost and benefits of both the leaders and the audiences, we can then analyse the outcome at two levels. The informative level and the intention level. At the informative level, political leaders are consciously aware that political utterances will conjure up perceptions in the cognitive faculties of audiences. Thus, the hearer of the political utterance should be able to single out relevant interpretation that are mutually beneficial to all of them, and thus how they perceive others who are different from them. This is the basis of speaker intended meaning. Political utterances are in most cases tailored for the purpose of stirring up inter-ethnic intolerance, which then benefit the leaders while purporting to accord the hearer a sense of belonging. This is done through gestures and verbal utterances. Interpretation on the other hand is done through selective perceptions and thoughts. This is because human cognition tends to be geared to maximization of relevance of communicated political utterances.

The second level is the intentional component which communicates the intention of the speaker. These are verbal and nonverbal cues political leaders build around their utterances. The cues are intended to accentuate the relevance of the communicated utterances to enable audiences understand the message as intended by the speaker. However, it is not only the perceptions of the audiences that come out of the political process. The assumptions are that political leaders' utterances are relevant to the

audience and subsumes other tangents of outcomes. Language use being a social process, leads to establishment or wrecking of social networks in this case inter-ethnic relations. As Van Dijk (1998), points, the use of contrastive dimension of 'Us versus Them' in political landscape facilitates the articulation of mental representativeness which yield into building of ideological networks and relations.

### **2.3.2 Media Dependency Theory**

Media dependency theory was first described by Melvin Defleur and Sandra Ball Rokeach in 1976. This theory was an extension of Gratification approach brought about few years earlier explaining the correlating relationship between media content nature of society and behavior of audiences by Katz and Blumer. The Media dependency theory assumes that people in urban society are increasing their dependency on mass media to receive news and information in order to make decisions regarding daily lives. According to LittleJohn and Foss (2002) a person becomes more dependent to a media that meets several of their needs than the one that meets few. Considering every person is different people depend on different media, and the more a media meets their desire the more they continue to use it.

Dependency is also motivated by social stability where in times of conflicts society tends to depend on media for a sense of stability (Littlejohn and Foss, 2002). In addition, we at times see a rise in people using media when something significant is coming up such as presidential elections. Dependency on media increases to be able to know what is happening in society. In the process of using the media to make sense of the social world we allow it influence our choices and decisions.

Dependency theory brings forth a number of cognitive changes. Firstly, the media brings attitude formation and impacts on setting the agenda for people. Secondly, since the theory states that people depend on information to make decisions, it is clear

it can help people cultivate certain attitudes concerning a particular topic. It also encourages people to have conversations about certain things. The media also create different feelings such as fear, anxiety or happiness based on what they are sharing and how they do it. Finally, we can say that the media promote behavior changes.

#### **2.4 Relevance of the Theory to the Study**

Relevance theory has been significant in explaining how people interpret utterance they hear and if they receive what the speaker intended for them. In some instances, the speaker intention is to make utterances that are not obvious or with hidden agenda with intention to stir up various emotions that eventually work to their benefits based on the recipient.

The employment of the dichotomy may lead to affirmation or deconstruction of fragile inter-ethnic relations. This becomes more evident when inter-ethnic power relations are introduced with one group (Us) presenting itself in positive terms, and the other (Them) in negative terms. In this context, the political utterances have reified and used the ‘Us and Them’ dimension to advance hate speech message and achieve relevance of the utterance. Therefore, the role of context in interpretation of political utterances on hate speech is also evident in establishing the possible intended speaker meaning. In this sense, context is utilized by the speaker as an ostensive stimulus as seen in the utterances of inclusion (for supporters) and exclusion (for opponents). In reinforcing the relationship between politics and society, Eagleton (2000) and Bayram (2010) have observed that the way we perceive language is the foundation of our social construction and individual or group relationships. And this may spill over and disrupt other realms of social organization such as inter-cultural marriages and economic transactions in cosmopolitan contexts, even when such were smooth before the advent of the political campaigns. In this way anthropologists and

socio-linguists may try to account for individual or group relationships to establish how language operates in society as a medium of building relationships and perceptions. It is within this framework of understanding on how language operates in society that this paper investigates the role of context in interpretation of political utterances on hate speech in Kenya.

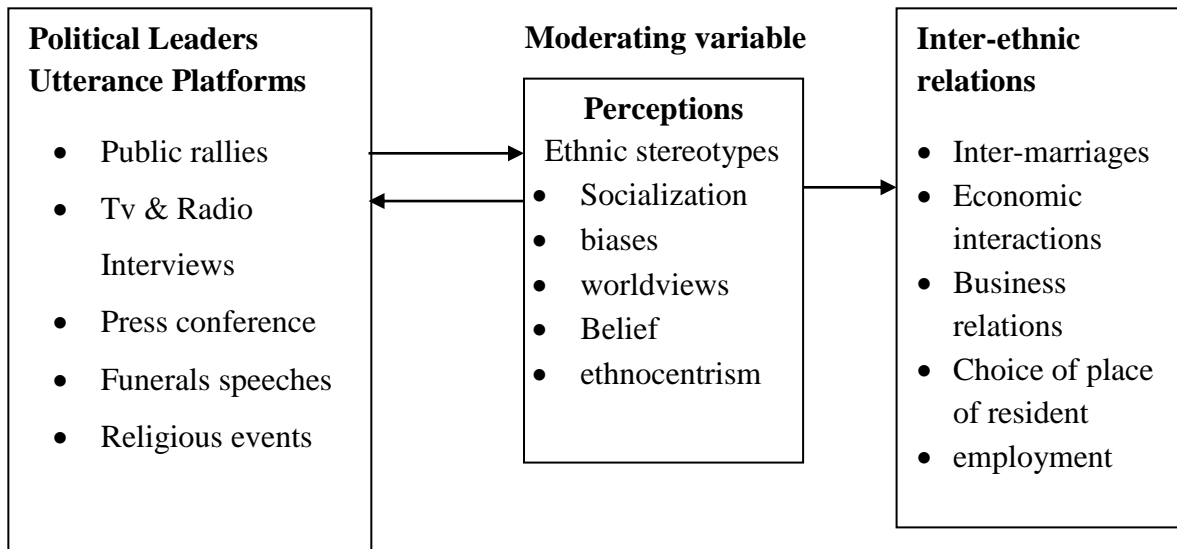
The media dependency theory helped in understanding where the people receive utterances and the attitudes they form as a result. Whatever utterances were shared by the media seem to be setting an agenda and since people rely on media to receive most information especially on day to day occurrences. The theory also address the issue of conversations held by people as a result of the affective nature of the media. In the context of political leaders ‘utterances people listened to more utterances during campaigns and the outcome of such was developed attitudes and different feeling that manifested in how different people act. This theory can therefore be seen to be revealing the vehicle used to receive utterances that are then interpreted and given relevance.

## **2.5 Conceptual framework**

Political leaders make utterances in various platforms such as public rallies, Media interviews, funerals among other places. These utterances are received by audiences through various channels who then interpret the utterances and form perceptions on them. The perceptions people form is at times shaped by ethnic stereotypes, socialization, biases, ethnocentrism, individual world views, beliefs among other this. The perception on political leaders’ utterances affects inter-ethnic relations in regards to social interactions, economic transactions, intermarriages, employment and place of residence.

**Independent variables**

**Dependent variables**



Source: Author

**Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework**

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

The focus of this section will be on methodology used in the study. It includes a context description of research site, study design, and study population, sample size, sampling procedure, data collection methods and how data analysis, interpretation and presentation. The section also looks at ethical consideration, problems encountered in the field and their solutions.

#### **3.2 Description of Study Site**

This study was conducted in Kasarani Sub-County in Nairobi City County (figure 3.2). The sub-county borders Ruaraka, Embakasi Central, Embakasi North and Embakasi East sub-county on the South, Roysambu sub-county on the West, Ruiru sub-county to the North and Kagundo sub-county to the East. Kasarani has a population of 200984. The area is approximately 152.60 square kilometer (KNBS, 2017). It consists of five wards namely: Clay City ward, Mwiki ward, Kasarani ward, Njiru ward, Ruai ward (IEBC 2013). Kasarani Sub-County is a highly residential area with people running small business. Some areas are occupied by people practicing urban agriculture especially in Ruai ward and Mwiki ward. People in Kasarani Sub-County are occupied with formal employment, self-employment and another percentage is unemployed.

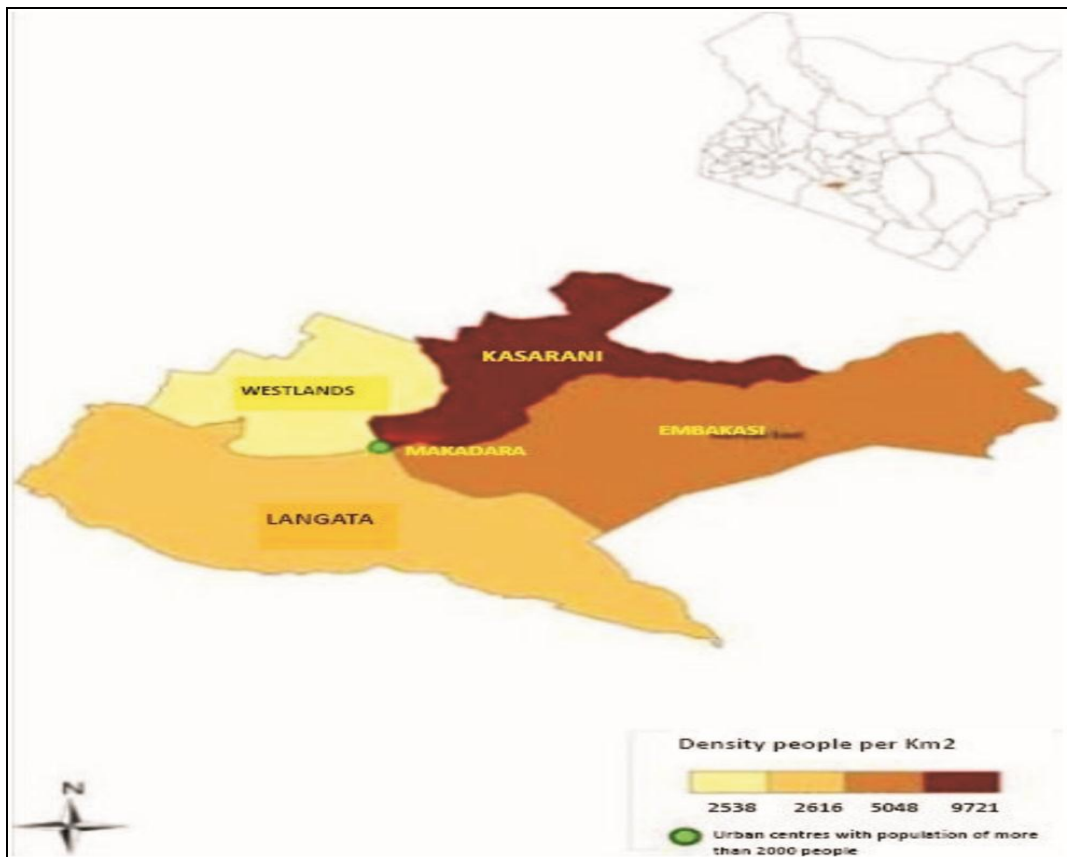
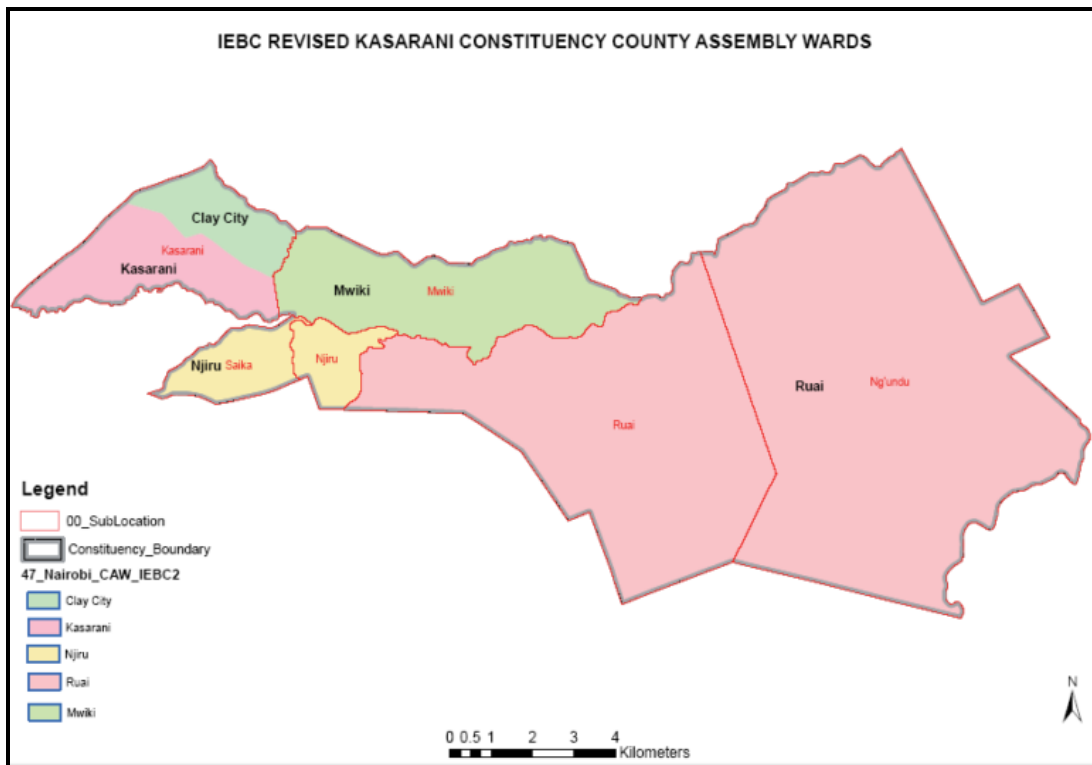


Figure 3.1: Map of Nairobi City County, Source: [www.kenyacountyguide.co.ke](http://www.kenyacountyguide.co.ke)



**Figure 3.2: Map of Kasarani Sub-County, Source: <https://informationcradle.com>**

### 3.3 Research Design

This study used a descriptive, cross-sectional research design. The design allowed analysis on perceptions of political leaders' utterances and how they affect inter-ethnic relations. The descriptive nature enabled the study to look at a detailed description on what perceptions people of Kasarani Sub-County have on utterances made by political leaders, how various aspects of inter-ethnic relations are affected and what patterns of inter-ethnic utterances emerge from the perception. The descriptive nature enabled the researcher to accurately describe the situation as was found in Kasarani Sub-County without any manipulation of the respondents taking part in the study.

### 3.4 Study Population and Unit of Analysis

The study population consisted of adult voters residing in Kasarani Sub-County. Voters residents were considered as study population to ensure people taking part in the study had good understanding of inter-ethnic relations in the area and understood



how the various aspects are affected by political leaders' utterances. These therefore meant they had deeper insights on social and economic status of the area and they had an understanding on how inter-ethnic interaction are. The unit of analysis was an individual voter aged 18 years and above residing in the study site.

### **3.5 Sample size and Sampling Procedure**

A total of 40 informants were purposively sampled in four Wards in Kasarani Sub-County. The sample size was viewed to be adequate since each respondent would give satisfactory and relevant data for the topic under research. Purposive sampling also ensured the researcher got information was diverse and rich with desired information for analysis. To select the four wards, the researcher cut out five pieces of paper and folded them representing the five wards, from which the four were picked. Ten informants were purposively selected in the four wards. Informants were selected based on their ethnic group, being a resident and registered voter and of Kasarani Sub-county. Focus group discussion participants were also purposively selected from the four wards, participants in FGD were different from those who had taken part in the in-depth interviews. Specific individuals within the area were targeted to be Key informants in the study in regards to the subject under research. Since the study is not statistical the sample does not affect the outcome.

### **3.6 Data Collection Methods**

#### **3.6.1 In-depth Interviews**

40 In- depth interviews were carried out in Kasarani with an aim of collecting data to capture people's perceptions on political leaders' utterances where and how they affect inter-ethnic relations. Additionally, 8 interviews were conducted as part of pre-testing, their data was transcribed and where changes were required they were made in the

tool to meet the objective of the study. This also gave a picture of what the researcher was to expect in the actual research. The 40 planned interviews were made in the second phase.

The method allowed the respondent give a detailed narration on how they perceived political leaders’ utterances they heard, how it affected the various spheres within their daily interactions especially by constant probing and it also allowed the researcher to visualize the patterns that were emerging in inter-ethnic relations. An in-depth interview guide was used (Appendix ii). The interview mode was face-to- face where the researcher used audio recording to capture data accompanied with note taking.

### 3.6.2 Focus Group Discussions

Characteristics of FGD Participants

**Table 3.1: Summary of FGD characteristics**

Gender	Age of bracket of Participants	Number of participants	Location of FGD
Male	18-34	9	Njiru
Male	35-65	8	Ruai
Female	35-65	9	Clay-City
Female	18-34	8	Mwiki

Focus group discussions were conducted to clarify immerging issues of divergence or concurrence on perceptions of political leaders' utterance and their effect on inter-ethnic relations. To dig deeper on how aspects of inter-ethnic relations are affected by political leaders’ utterance and to establish the patterns that emerged from the perceptions as revealed by participants. Four focus groups discussion were conducted with different participants from those who had taken part in the interviews. The participants in the discussion were purposively selected and since more respondents from Kikuyu ethnic group had taken part in the in-depth interview due to their

willingness the researcher ensured very few of them took part in the FGD to get more diverse views. The gender of FGD participants was considered important to shed light on issues of aspects of inter-ethnic relations affected by perceptions and the patterns of inter-ethnic relations. Male and female paid attention to different aspects based on their gender roles and daily exposure to diverse worldviews. Age of participants was also put into consideration to ensure they were comfortable in sharing their views respectfully. The focus group discussion also helped in address immerging issues without going back to similar respondents. A focus group discussion guide (Appendix iii) was used to guide discussions among various groups. The focus group had one moderator and a note taker.

### **3.6.3 Key Informant Interviews**

Four key informant interviews were conducted with community and administrative leaders. The interview aimed at gathering information on how political leaders' utterances affect inter-ethnic relations and how different aspects of inter-ethnic relations affected by political leaders' utterance. Key informant interview were conducted with chiefs, Community elders and an advocate and activist of the community who played a major role in overseeing and handling matters regarding inter-ethnic relations. They involved a face-to-face conversation with the selected participants. A key Informant guide was used to guide the interviews (Appendix iv).

Information from Focus group and in-depth interview was complimented by information gathered by key informant interviews.

### **3.6.4 Secondary Sources of Information**

In development of the study secondary sources of information was relied on in the entire study duration. The data was obtained from books, journals, internet,

unpublished materials and, maps to obtain information on the area of study. The information gathered helped in formulation of research questions, objectives and the theory that guided the study. It also provided the basis of literature review and the gaps that exist in the area of study. Secondary sources guided discussion emerging from the study findings, and previous studies, enabling easier drawing of conclusion.

### **3.7 Data processing and Analysis**

Analysis of quantitative data obtained from in-depth interviews on social demographic aspects were done through computing percentages and frequency which has been present in pie charts and bar graphs. Qualitative data from the in-depth interview, focus group discussion and key informant were recorded, transcribed and translated in English. Qualitative data transcribed was transferred into a qualitative data software Nvivo(12) and a codes developed based on themes emerging from the study objectives. The output was further analyzed qualitatively to establish trends and patterns from the data. Consistence and discrepancy from Key informant and focus group discussions were recorded. Emerging themes relating to the objectives were identified.

During analysis attention was paid on utterances that were recalled by participants from different ethnic groups by reading statements repetitively and grouping them into themes such as economic activities, social aspects, place of residence among others. Word frequency query were constantly run to establish frequently used words which helped in addressing the objective two one that dealt with perception of political leaders' utterances and emerging patterns of inter-ethnic relations.

In the course of analysis of data both framework analysis and grounded theory were employed where some codes were listed based on the objective and others emerged as

data was being read and coded. Data was read over and over to ensure no information was missed out and the codes were then regrouped into themes relevant to the study. Comparison diagrams were also drawn to explore convergence and divergence in the themes based on demographic characteristics such as age, gender, and marital status.

Data was presented using a verbatim approach where direct quotes carefully chosen from various respondents to be used in the discussion to add their voice ensuring their meaning and authenticity was not lost in interpretation by the researcher. Tables were also used to give a summary where the findings could be grouped such as channels that people used to receive political leaders' utterances.

Triangulation using different methods was used to reduce biases brought about by objectivity versus subjectivity thus increasing validity of the data collected and analyzed (Platon 1999).

### **3.8 Ethical Considerations**

It was important for the researcher to adhere to the essential ethical consideration in line with principles of research. Therefore, prior to field work the researcher obtained a research permit from the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (Ref: NACOSTI/P/19/97485/27584). The institute of Anthropology, gender and African studies approved the proposal before commencing fieldwork. Community gate keepers were informed of the researchers' presence in the area before undertaking the study as a way of community entry. Research assistants were adequately trained on data collection method and research ethics with emphasis on how to introduce the study, how to go about obtaining informed consents and how to create a good rapport with participants.

Participants of the study received clear explanation from the researcher on the nature and purpose of the research before seeking informed consent for the purpose of administering the tools. Free will to participate or refusal to take part in the study was respected. Participants were assured of confidentiality and privacy of the information they gave and it was adhered to in the study. Participants were also assured the information will be used purely for academic purpose. Where necessary pseudonyms will be used so that respondents remain anonymous during publication of research findings. Benefits and risks of taking part in the study were well explained. Copies of the thesis will be availed in the University of Nairobi Library after completing the study for academic purpose and future reference.

### **3.9 Field Challenges and their Solutions**

There were constant demands for incentives given that some research conducted before in the area especially by NGOs had monetary benefits as a way to compensate participants for their time. Participants needed to know why a significant study such as this would be undertaken without direct monetary benefits. The researcher explained to the participants that the study was purely for academic purposes and explained to them the value of research data which was to be given voluntarily.

Given the timing of the research some respondents from certain ethnic group were unwilling to take part in the study. This is because it touched on political utterances an issue they regarded sensitive at that time. Some feared that the outcome of this research would be used by their ethnic counterparts to get back at them. There were more kikuyu who volunteered to take part in in-depth interviews, this led to an equal distribution of participants across ethnic groups. The researcher took care of this by including more participants from other ethnic groups in FGD where most felt comfortable to air their views.

In some cases, respondents who were willing to take part in the study in expressed fear in being audio recorded, the researcher explained to them that the recording would be confidential and transcribed with no external party having access to it. In most cases they agreed to proceed with it but in instances where there were uncomfortable the researcher took notes. Getting women to take part in the study was a challenge, many women were not interested on political discussion and cited they had listened to very few utterances. The researcher however, explained to them that the research was not entirely based on politics but it touched on how their perception on political utterances affected how they related inter-ethnically, a number of them agreed to take part in the study.

Obtaining appointments with Key Informants was a challenge since most of them serve a large number of people and the interview needed adequate time with minimal interference given that issues being discussed dealt with residents of the area. This was solved by rescheduling meeting severally to get appropriate timing.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a comprehensive presentation of the research findings of the study. The first part of the chapter gives the basic demographic characteristics of people who took part in the study while the other parts presents the findings along the study objectives namely; perceptions of political leaders' utterances, aspects of inter-ethnic relations affected by the perception and how the perceptions influence patterns of interaction.

#### 4.2 Characteristic of Participants

A total of 40 respondents were interviewed for the in-depth interviews and a summary of the demographic is as follows in table 4.1.

**Table 4.1 Summary of Demographic Characteristics**

Characteristics		Number
Gender	Male	27
	Female	13
Age	18-25	6
	26-33	20
	34-41	8
	42-49	1
	50 and above	5
Marital status	Single	13
	Married	25
	Separated	2
Level of Education	Primary	4
	Secondary	15
	Tertiary	19
Occupation	Formal	5
	Informal	23
	Unemployed	12
Ethnic Affiliation	Kikuyu	20
	Kamba	7
	Luo	5
	Luhya	3
	Kisii	3
	Others: Meru &Taita	2



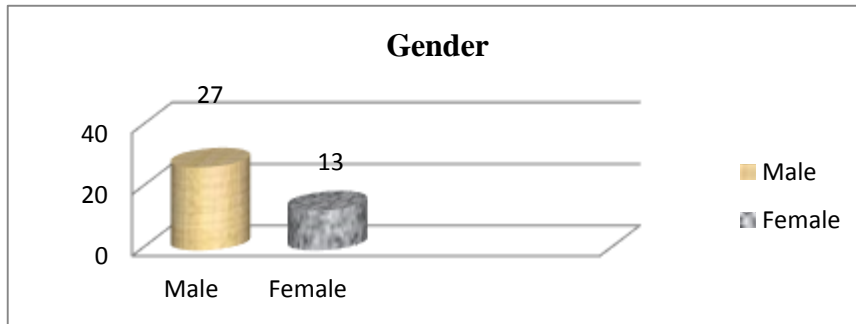
### 4.2.1 Gender

In terms of gender distribution 27 participants were men while 13 were women. The study findings reveal that the men had more interest in politics and on the topic being studied making them more willing participants in the study. Analysis of the findings indicate that socialization play a major role in regards to how the different gender perceive politics and how much of the utterances made they hear. The findings also show that men have time to listen and discuss utterances made by political leaders' given that where they meet in social settings such as bars and restaurants, they end up having someone to start a political discussion. Men also indicate interest in attending most political rallies compared to their female counterparts who mostly attend rallies that have a person they are campaigning for. An interview with a female participant confirmed their low tolerance to politics as shown in her statement.

*“Generally I hate politics so much..... I vote but you can't find me arguing about politics. We once argued with a certain guy until I hated politics”*  
**(Female IDI, Mwiki)**

Men and women are able to articulate how aspects of inter-ethnic relations and patterns of interaction affect the area differently. Women bring out issues of education, inter-marriage and place of residence more clearly compared to their men counter-parts. Men on the other hand have more insight in areas of employment and economic activities. The findings however, indicate that both gender were affected by perceptions of political leaders in one way or another.

*“Education is affected because if we especially mothers keep telling children negative things about other tribes as we hear in politics, your child will definitely take the same to school”*  
**(Female FGD participant, Clay-City)**



**Figure 4.1: Demographic by Gender, Source: Field data**

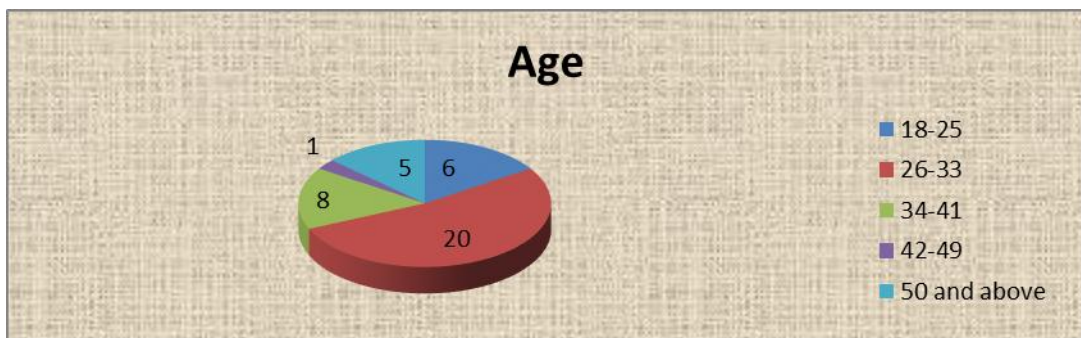
#### 4.2.2 Age

Age was considered an important factor in this study since it reveals the different aspects of inter-ethnic relations and how they affect each ages grouping meeting one of the research objective. On issues of employment for instance people between 26-33 were able to express better how it is affected by perception of political leaders' utterances. This can be attributed to the fact that most are done with formal schooling and are actively looking for new or better employment opportunities as revealed by the findings of the study. The age of an individual will also determine how long they have interacted with political leaders 'utterance thus their ability to notice patterns developed based on perceptions people have.

Most of the respondents were youth aged between 26-33 years making 20 participants. This can also be linked with their occupation where most were in informal employment and some were unemployed, this gave them adequate time to attend public rallies some of which they were hired. Most of the participants in the age brackets of 26-33 had completed tertiary and secondary education and were in the transition of life making them available when the study was being conducted. They also met frequently in social places where they ended up discussing political utterances and how it affected them among others things. Only one respondent was in 42-49. Participants of this age were rare to find and those found were not willing to

take part in the study owing to the fact that most of them were busy and could not find adequate time for participation in the interview.

The different age groups were able to articulate how various patterns inter-ethnic relations had occurred over time, for instance people who were old enough to see past post-election violence reveal that there is a shift on how much value they attach to what political leaders utter especially in regards to how they should interact inter-ethnically.



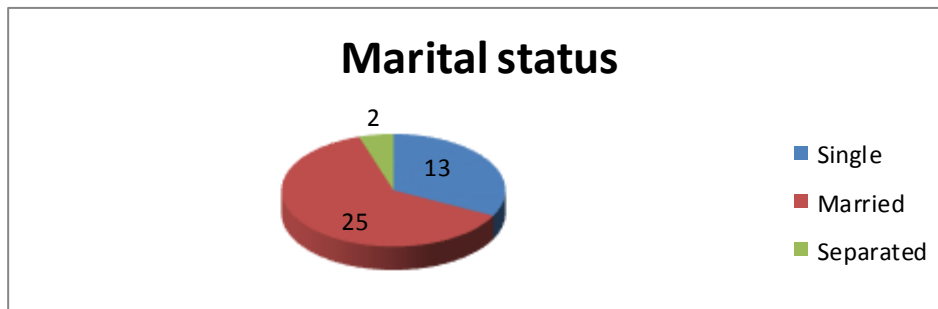
**Figure 4.2: Demographic by Age, Source: Field data**

#### 4.2.3 Marital Status

The findings of this study shows 25 of the respondents were married, 13 were single while 2 were separated. The findings show that married people are able to articulate how perceptions of political leaders' utterances affected family ties and eventually inter-ethnic relations. Inter-marriage is mentioned as one of aspects affected by perceptions of political leaders' utterance both by single and the married. Perceptions of political leaders' utterances based on the finding seem to weaken family ties especially where members of a household support different political leaders or party.

Married people have a deeper understanding of how perceptions of political leaders' utterances have affected patterns of interaction in the area compared to their single

counterparts. This can be attributed to presence of children within most households making daily interactions among different ethnic groups more.



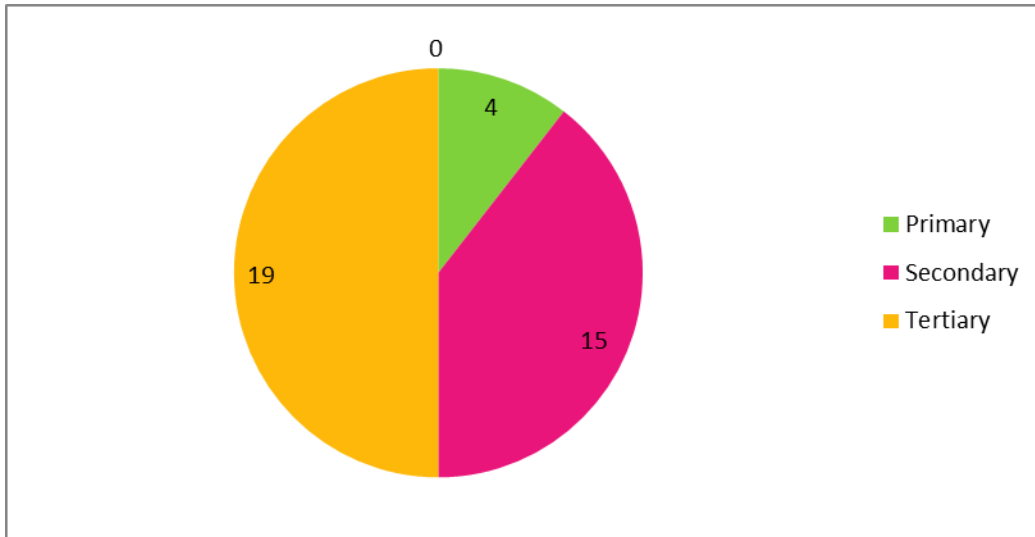
**Figure 4.3 Demography by marital status, Source: Field Data**

#### **4.2.4 Education level**

Education level was considered an important aspect in this study to be able to see if there was a difference in perceptions of political leaders' utterances based on their level of education. The findings reveal education among other factors such as socialization play a role on how individuals perceive political leaders' utterances made. Education level was also a crucial variable in identifying how the various aspects of inter-ethnic relations had been affected by perceptions on political leaders' utterances. For instance, people who have completed, primary and tertiary education both allude to employment as an aspects of inter-ethnic relations that affect their ability to get a job. However, there is a slight difference in their situation where less educated people who do casual works such as being house managers are more discriminated when it comes to getting jobs especially when utterances made by political leaders' are perceived to be favoring a certain ethnic group while discriminating other ethnic groups.

On education level the findings had 4 individuals whose highest level of education was primary, 15 had completed secondary and 19 had completed tertiary education. A number of respondents indicate capability to understand coded meaning of utterances

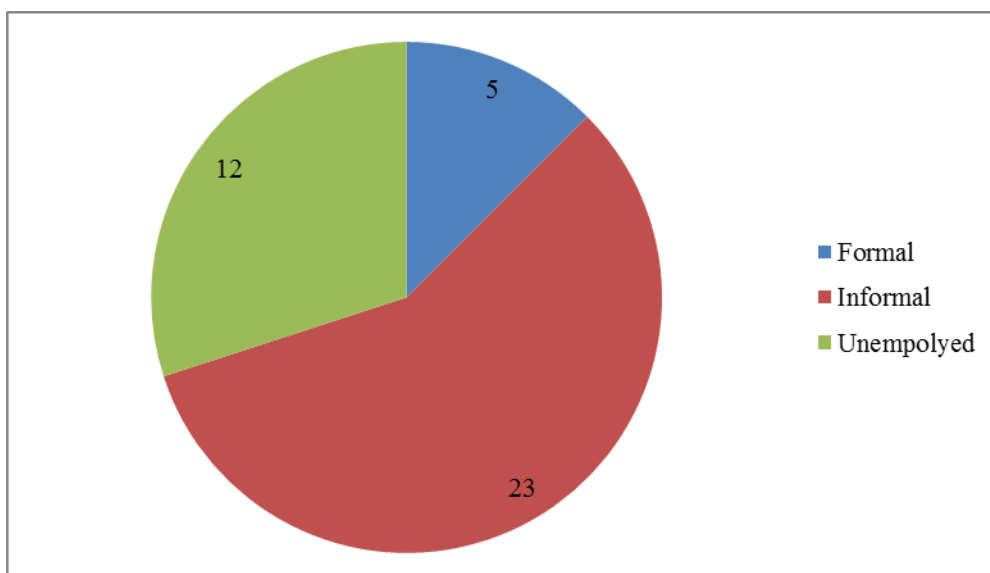
made by political leaders', citing some of the utterances made are meant for the learned. Based on the data analysis respondents with tertiary education had deeper understanding and interpretation of political leaders' utterances due to exposure to different world views.



**Figure 4.4 Demography by Level of Education, Source: Field data**

#### **4.2.5 Occupation**

Majority of the respondents who took part in the study were in informal jobs while 12 were unemployed. Occupation was an important aspect in this study and it brought out issues of economic relations across different ethnic and how they were affected by the perceptions of political utterances. Utterances made by political leaders targeting economic issues are especially a bond of contention.



**Figure 4.5 Demography by Occupation; Source: Field data**

#### **4.2.6 Ethnic Affiliation**

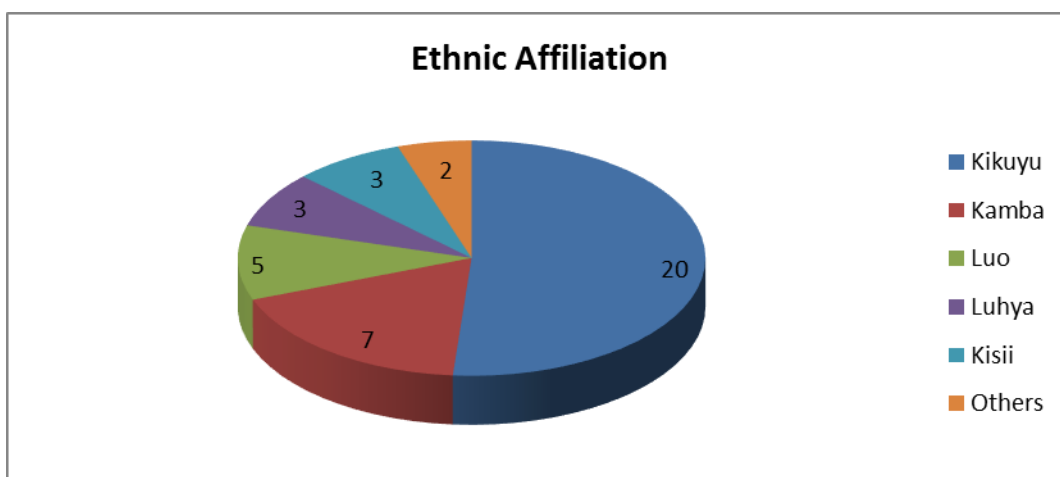
Owing to the fact that this study was looking at how perceptions of political leaders’ utterances had affected inter-ethnic relations it was important to include participants from different ethnic groups so that they could articulate the state of inter-ethnic relations in the area. This also allowed them to highlight the patterns that they had observed within the locality over time as a result of the perception they had formed. In some instances, as seen in the study, the aspects such as social relations and choice of place of residence are affected by individual perceptions or discussion with people of same ethnic group creating a lenses through which to view people from another ethnic group.

Data was collected from informants representing the major ethnic communities that are found in Kasarani Sub-County: Kikuyu, Kamba, Luo, Luhya and Kisii. The study findings further show, there were many interactions between different tribes residing in Kasarani as they go about their day to day activity. It was also noted the different ethnic groups reside with each other with no major areas demarcated for a certain

tribe except Keroka an area in Clay City ward. The area was mainly occupied by Kisii, as confirmed by one Key informant

*“The place we can say has people of same tribe is a place we call Keroka, that area is highly dominated by Kisii but there are other communities, that is why the area has a Kisii name” (Chief)*

The findings on ethnic affiliation are presented in Figure 4.6.



**Figure 4.6 Demography by Ethnic Affiliation, Source: Field data**

### 4.3 Media of access to the political utterances

The sources and channels of political utterances were established to ensure people taking part in the study were conversant with political leaders’ utterances. The study findings reveal that perceptions are built through individual interpretation, group view and at times media influence based on the channel used. Table 4.2 shows the summary of the sources and channels mentioned.

**Table 4.2 Summary of sources of political utterances and their channels**

Sources of Political leaders' utterances	Channels
Media stations	Television and Radio
Social media	Facebook, You-tube, Twitter and WhatsApp
Public address	Public rallies, Funerals, Church, door to door campaigns and Harambees
Second hand information	Discussion with other people,

Television and Radio are among the major channels through which people receive political utterances and form perceptions around. These channels are readily available to most respondents within their homes and work places. The findings reveal that most media stations air programs that discuss politics and they also bring political leaders on board for interviews and discussions. The way they report the political leaders' utterances made, at times make an utterance be perceived different or out of context as mentioned by some respondents.

*“Media houses on TV and radio also play a role, by reading news they incline to one side...how they interview these leaders will influence people especially on radio discussions where the host tend to guide people on the direction to take” (Female IDI in Mwiki)*

*“You know the aim of news writers is to report news that will excite people, so if a politician makes an utterance there are those they want to pick up. Like the Gatundu Member of parliament, they went to ask him questions when he was drunk so that they can see what he will say that will sell their news. So they just want a newspaper headline to sell yet there are more important things that can appear their” (Male IDI in Kasarani)*

Utterances made by political leaders via radio and television reach a wide number of people in a short while and from the study findings it is noted that these leaders have a lot of influence on the followers making them desire to act on the things they tell them. This was also confirmed by one of the key informants.

*“You know citizens are so used to listening to political leaders and some believe them so much. The moment a political leader opens the mouth citizens will receive the words from a politician without knowing is it the truth or not .....they then act on them and sometimes the outcome is so huge such that we have to call for Barazas to educate people on the need to stay at peace with one another” (Chief, Clay City)*

Facebook, YouTube, Twitter and WhatsApp are among the social media channels that young people cited as their major sources of political leaders' utterances. A number of young people stated that even though they rarely watch news on television they get to know what political leaders say by following trending topics on Twitter and Facebook. Videos shared on WhatsApp will be disseminating political leaders'



utterances at times. The findings reveal that social media act as a platform where opinion are shaped, and people's perceptions formed having an effect on inter-ethnic relations. Utterances by local leaders within Kasarani sub-county are at times shared and discussed on a Facebook group that exist to serve the respondent.

*“On Facebook we have a group called ‘Kasarani On The Look Out!!!’ that’s where I get most utterances made by the leaders especially in this area. Mostly the discussion is heated. Video recordings are also posted there of leaders addressing people” (Male IDI, Mwiki)*

*“We have a group on Facebook ‘Kasarani On The Look Out!!!’ that inform us on the various political happenings in the area and the country at large, we get to hear utterances made either by video posted or discussion of cited utterances by people in the group. Some discussions make one change opinions they have on certain leaders and how we perceive each other’s ethnic group” (Male participants in Male FGD, Ruai)*

Most youth indicate that information on political leaders’ utterances travel fast on social media compared to any other platforms. They pointed out that even when they have not attended a political rally someone would record some short clips that are shared on social media platform. Some videos on TV interviews are also shared and they react on them. Additional, the findings show that the down side of utterances shared on social media is that sometimes the context of the shared utterance is not well known. This is as cited by one of the participant and confirmed in a focus group discussion.

*“Mostly I know of the utterances by social media, that is where information travels fast. I always see them there fast and since am a barber when people come here discussion come up on them start taking place. The challenge is sometimes I develop perceptions and ideas around them without knowing the background of the words that were shared and who were the audience” (Male IDI, Ruai)*

*Sometimes you find when people attend public rallies they record clips and share with us on social media and that is the beauty. We are able to tell what was said even when we were absent. Sometimes you can see a video trending on YouTube and Twitter of what a politician said on TV .....we rely heavily on such to know what is happening on political arena” (Female FGD participant, Mwiki)*

Public rallies hosted by political leaders, funerals they attended, *Harambees* (public fundraising campaigns) and religious functions always present an opportunity for people to listen to political leaders who take advantage to make political utterances. Political leaders will capitalize on these platforms to ensure they express their views owing to the enormous audience. Fifteen of the forty participants who took part in the study cited no interest in attending political rallies with most viewing them as a waste of time and a channel for bribery.

*“What is the need of listening to the political leaders, in fact I find it annoying and idle for anyone attending their rallies .... those people should instead use that time to work” (Male IDI, Ruai).*

*“We are the people who entertain these leaders by attending their rallies and accepting tokens like lesos and t-shirts and eventually they forget we existed when they get to power. I cannot attend rallies called by them” (Female IDI, Mwiki)*

Majority of the participants who took part in the study reported that political leaders use any opportunities available to address people, to pass political messages. As the findings of the study indicate, utterances made in public spaces mostly lead to animosity and as a result end up affecting inter-ethnic relations in regards as to how people start viewing one another after certain utterances are made.

*“Almost all burials they attend become a political rally. What examples are they setting they would rather not come to the burials because to them every opportunity they see a big crowd they take advantage to pass political messages” (Female IDI, Mwiki)*

*“When politicians have a rally somewhere you go there and listen to them. Like me I sometimes go up to Kangundo whenever they host a rally there. I listen to what they are saying, what they think about us, what promises they are making and after we leave such a rally you find people change how they treat each other based on the words that were uttered their” (Male IDI, Ruai)*

Second hand information which include reporting and discussion with people around an individual in work places, at home or social places is also cited as one way that people obtain political leaders utterances. The study findings reveal that people who attend political rallies will ordinarily report what they heard to their colleagues

especially within their social groupings. Discussions around what political leaders say are common in social groupings, when people are just going about their day to day activities and in recreation places where people meet to have a drink or a meal.

Twelve of the respondents reported that they would mostly discuss ethnic utterances with people from their ethnic group or what are called ethnic associations. This is because they believe that they have common opinions and that they can critic their leaders' utterances without affecting their peace with their neighbours from other ethnic groupings.

*“Mostly it is the one on one discussion we hold with people from our ethnic tribe mostly friends, you just discuss something they may have heard that you didn't hear or you want to exchange views on the same without causing conflicts with other people who may not share in your opinion. Like if we are talking about how leaders have neglected us in Mt. Kenya region such a discussion I can only have with my fellow Kikuyu” (Female IDI, Clay City)*

*“people rarely want to engage in political discussion to avoid disputes coming up between them, even if you want to discuss you look for someone from your tribe...mostly you support same side” (Female IDI, Mwiki)*

The findings of the study also reveal that children who listen to their parents discussing political leaders' utterances at times go and engage other children in school with similar discussions leading to conflicts in some instances due to varying opinions shaped by each of their parents' perceptions instilled on the children. Adults also differ and have conflicts when discussions around political leaders' utterances emerge.

*“... you find children are very innocent and because of the utterances on T.V and their parents discussion at home this child starts perceiving another child as an enemy. You may hear them call for instance a Luo child ODM and due to such conflicts begin between their parents....” (Elder, Mwiki)*

*“In social places when we go to take a drink people always start discussing what political leaders say and at times discussions end up bringing fights among people” (Male IDI, Ruai)*

The outcome of this study point out that respondents have various channels from which they receive political information regarding leaders' utterances, based on the media they routine, their interpretation is in away affected.

#### **4.4 Perceptions of Political Leaders' Utterances**

The study sought to analyze the perceptions that residents of Kasarani sub-county have on political leaders' utterances. To avoid influencing people's perceptions by picking out specific utterances made by political leaders, respondents were left to rely on the memory about utterances they had listened to, that they remembered and formed perceptions on. The findings of the study reveal that people have heard political utterances and some have gone ahead to discuss them with other people. Men were more likely to remember what they had heard, with a number mentioning that politics is a major part of their life.

*“If we do not discuss politics what else would we be doing...politics and football makes a man's world” (Male IDI, Mwiki)*

To get a clear picture of the perceptions people of Kasarani Sub-County have on political leaders' utterances their thoughts and opinions on the utterances were sought. Attitudes towards what they heard alongside personal feelings were recorded, thus, giving a picture of their perceptions. Attention to details of words used to quantify reveal some details of how people feel and act towards the utterances. The ability to remember utterances made by political leaders both in the past and in the present has a role to play in revealing the perceptions formed in regards to how they have been perceived and how they affect their inter-ethnic relations.

The study outcomes reveal that twenty-five of the forty participants that took part in the study feel bad and agitated by political leaders' utterances. Some people feel they

are to blame for voting leaders whose utterances are filled with lies and discrimination as seen in the quote below.

*“They really annoy me, sometimes I can be watching some of their utterances and I change the channel out of anger, because some of the things they say are not doable they are just saying to confuse peoples mind while in actual sense what they are saying is not there. In Kikuyu we call that ‘Guthima andu ngoma’ I feel annoyed no wonder I hate politics, they make me regret voting them” (Male IDI, Clay City)*

The study findings also show that political leaders’ utterances are more during campaigns and they do more harm than good. Based on the value an individual attach to a political leader whether from their ethnic group or another ethnic group, their actions towards each other are highly influenced by what they feel and how they perceive it. Some respondents indicated that utterances made by political leaders affect them unknowingly and consequently their actions towards people from other ethnic groups as confirmed by one of the respondent.

*“I do not feel good because there are things you hear and you do not know they will affect your mind. Like when one of the political leader from my tribe said that our work people of Kiambu is to vote and the development is taken elsewhere it will definitely affect me to see the president is not helping the area. Yet I have not proved if those allegations are true. I also did not have such thoughts, they were fed in my mind and will definitely affect how I interact with others” (Male IDI, Mwiki)*

Along the same lines, twenty-two of the respondents indicated that people heed too much to what political leaders say and have a tendency to to act on the information whether positive or negative. They went ahead to reveal that some leaders have so much influence and what they say has a lot of following within their ethnic tribe and at times beyond it. These leaders are viewed as kingpins and a political force to reckon with, at times even without questioning. Individuals who speak against them were seen as traitors.

*“Kenyans we are like sheep if we are told to follow this direction we follow blindly, because we do not want to think for ourselves. We allow these leaders tell us what to do without questioning. We have no stand, we are like waves” (Male IDI, Clay City)*

*“The words of this political leaders are strong ...Because someone like the former prime minister is very strong, if he says to Luos Kikuyu are good they listen to him, equally our president is strong, if he says the former prime minister is bad his supporters agree with him. When they shake hands we all unite and stop hating on one another, so they are very influential.*  
**(Community Advocate and Activist)**

The study results conceal that the perceptions people have on political leaders are based on being political fanatics and puppets of some leaders. The study further, reveals that due to ethnic mobilization of votes that happen during each election and constant emphasis on ethnic numbers, some people have a perception that their views are represent only by their ethnic leader. Although a leader from one’s ethnic group could be inciting people to harm others their perceptions are blinded such that they obey as one of the respondent stated.

*“It is about us, we are fanatics, we are not supporters, Kenyans are fanatics, I will support you to bone do anything for you. If my leader tells me to go kill a Kikuyu tomorrow am buying pangas and machetes to go and slaughter people. When NASA supporters are told to go and demonstrate we are always on the streets. If that demonstration was called and no one went there would be no one to demonstrate, it is us who are giving this leaders power. Like if you remember the NYS saga some leaders said we should demolish everything NYS people had built. The next moment people in Kibera were demolishing toilets, they even went for a health center. Yet the toilets and the health center was built to help them. That political leader will never come to that toilet, they will tell you to destroy a health center and they will never take their children there. They tell you not to take your children to public school the government is not doing this or that yet their children are in international schools or studying abroad. It is us who suffer, it is us who give them the power and when we reduce this power they will have nothing to manipulate or control”*  
**(Female IDI, Mwiki)**

Twenty-three of the total respondents who took part in the study perceive political leaders’ utterances to be abusive, careless and at times inciting people. Some respondents indicated that such incitement is often used by political leaders so that they can deliberately bring division among people. The competition between political leaders and lack of respect for one another has a ripple effects to their supporters and on inter-ethnic relations among the people. The findings of this study also show that

political leaders in their utterances use a lot of parables and indirect speech which brings out more diverse interpretation among people.

*“Most of their utterances they incite a lot and in the process of incitement they talk ill of each other, abuse each other or at times lie about each other. The aim is for citizens to hate the opponents as the person saying that seeks to look good in the eyes of the people for him to be voted a leader or gain popularity. In the process the hatred trickles down to their follower” (Female IDI, Ruai)*

*“There is also a sense of hatred among themselves but it is hidden, it is until you analyze their utterances which are mostly in parables that you can tell this leader hates this and that, so they will say things in indirect way. They are those who do not name others by name they can just say ‘wale majamaa’ but if you are wise you can tell who they are referring to” (Male IDI, Mwiki)*

Political leaders’ utterances are also perceived to be focused on personal gains. On this score, some participants stated that whenever political leaders make utterances that are inclined towards uniting or dividing people their aim is to benefit politically by gaining more votes or popularity. Around fifteen of the participants agreed that division along ethnic lines fueled by political leaders has an end goal to benefit political leaders, yet some people follow what they hear without paying attention to consequences.

*“Kenyan politician focus on marketing themselves for individual benefits. It is like a business you market yourself to get followers.... Their utterances most of the times are not meant to unite for the sake of it, it is for selfish gains like a massing votes or ensuring they become popular for future gains” (Male IDI, Clay City)*

The study findings were able to establish what perceptions people form on political leaders’ utterances through the questions and numerous probes regarding descriptions, opinions and general statements made. The study outcomes show that perceptions were shaped in one way or another by socialization, ethnic affiliation, exposure to education, gender and economic status of participants.

#### **4.5 Aspects of Inter-ethnic relations affected by perceptions on political leaders' utterance**

The study sought to discuss aspects of inter-ethnic relations affected by perceptions of political leaders' utterances. The participants identified different aspects of inter-ethnic relations affected by their perceptions on political leaders' utterances, probes were used to bring out the discussion on how they were affected. During analysis of the data the aspects mentioned were regrouped based on the category they fit in as revealed in table 4.3.

**Table 4.3 Summary of Aspects of Inter-Ethnic Relations Identified**

Category created	Mentioned aspects	Brief explanation
Social aspect	Friendship, Neighborhood, social interactions	This involves daily interactions of people and ties they have built with each other
Economic activities	Business relations: Where to buy which commodities to avoid	Interaction made when trading commodities across ethnic groups.
Place of residence	Renting houses, Migration	Willingness of landlord to rent houses to tenants of different ethnic group and migration to places one feels safe.
Employment	Availability of Jobs Access to job opportunities	How easy it is to employ or get a job across ethnic groups.
Inter-marriage	Existing families in inter-marriage People planning to intermarry	Ease of people marrying across ethnic groups and families in inter-marriage holding together.
Education	Where children school, Transfer from some areas	Issues on where children go to school.

##### **4.5.1 The Social Aspects of Inter-Ethnic Relations**

Kenya is a multi-ethnic society and ethnicity is mainly determined culturally. The quality and quantity of interethnic relationships; on the other hand, can be regarded as crucial to its integration and cohesion and the other conflicts of interest between ethnic groups. In fact, the concept of social conflict is of vital importance for an understanding of social relations. In other words, social conflict increases rather than



decrease in the adaptation or adjustment of particular social relationships. Therefore, inter-group or inter-ethnic relationships pave the way for social inclusion or exclusion. It is upon this that study sought to find the effect of political utterances on social aspects of inter-ethnic relations. The study findings reveal that social aspects across ethnic groups are affected by perceptions of political leaders' utterances. People tend to limit their social inter-ethnic relations, end friendships, quarrel with neighbors and at times interact with people from their ethnic group only, as revealed by some study participants. The Chama (group) they create with members of diverse ethnic groups are affected in a way, where some people begin showing mistrust or are uncomfortable as revealed by the study findings.

Fifteen of the study participants indicated that friendship was affected in various instances such as when a leader with massive followers especially those in national politics make statements that seem to be favoring one ethnic group, those that seemed to demean another ethnic group or when they made utterances that were unifying. The perception of such an utterance will be diverse and the results will be either improved friendship or end of a friendship as noted from the findings. This is aptly captured by anecdotal quotes from some IDIs as shown:

*“Perceptions we form affects friendships, like before handshake people were not living freely but after handshake people can build the nation together and are so genuine. Mostly the problems are caused by leaders who want to retain power because there has never been a one-year president, and even those who lose elections cannot admit. They make us think that we must fight for our position yet they are the beneficiaries’ as our friendship suffer”* (Male IDI, Clay City)

*“Our perceptions affect friendship where we abuse each other based on tribe, like if I find a kikuyu I call them a thief, while in most cases such ethnic ideas have been passed over to us by this political leaders, where for instance they call out on Kikuyu saying they are thieves”* (Female IDI, Ruai)

These findings echo the findings from the FGDs as shown in the following quote:

*“Their utterances cause enmity among neighbors for example when a Kikuyu politician insult Luo’s people here start hating each other on tribe basis with the view that that leaders view represents the view of the entire tribe”*  
**(Female FGD participant, Mwiki)**

The findings reveal that social relations across ethnic groups has been greatly affected by perceptions of what political leaders utter. Ten participants in the study indicated that based on how exposed an individual was to different world view and level of one’s education, some people took political utterances so serious to an extent of hating on certain ethnic groups permanently. In some instances, such ideologies were passed over to the next generation. A verbatim quote from one of the respondent captures the situation above.

*“Sometimes it gets deep such that some people just hate you based on your ethnic group and you are not the one who wronged them. You can interact with people in a certain area and you do not want a person to know your tribe, especially people who are less educated and less exposed, they just hate you because of politics and sometimes its historical”* **(Male IDI, Njiru)**

In the same line learning of ethnic language of other people was noted as a coping mechanism in social interaction, ensuring that incase of ethnic conflict one could hear what others were planning for their ethnic group. Additionally, it was a way to camouflage in a way that an individual’s ethnicity would be a secret to shy away from the effects of the perceptions that would be formed. This can be backed up by the quote of a male IDI in Mwiki.

*“So you find during such a time one has to learn the local language of other people to camouflage. In fact, most Kenyans who have learnt other people language it is for political reasons and not social reasons. So that when they back bite me I can hear.”*  
**(Male IDI, Mwiki)**

The finding of the study indicate social relations is affected by perceptions of political leaders’ utterances, this can be attributed to the fact that human beings are social beings and tend to relate whenever an opportunity presents itself.

#### 4.5.2 Inter-ethnic Relations and Economic Activities

The study findings reveal that business relations are affected by perceptions of political leaders' utterances as stated by thirty of the total informants who took part in the study. This is indicated by the way people start paying attention on the ethnic group of the person selling a commodity to them. The study findings also reveal that there is favoritism experienced by purchasers where discounted prices are given to people of same ethnic group influenced by perceptions formed on political leaders' utterances. Some utterances by certain political leaders are said to have influenced choice of certain commodity over others based on how their follows perceive the seller. A quote picked from a community elder confirms what the informants reported.

*“For example when one of the national leaders told his followers to resist certain commodities, it was a very simple statement but it really affected especially residents of this area. Because there is a person sited somewhere what these leader says is the Bible, so if he says we are not taking Brookside he will never buy because Baba said so. Then he told his followers to resist Safaricom and go to Airtel and he led by having an Airtel line. What do you expect the person to do, especially the political die-hard of this leaders? Their perception on what these leaders say are kind of fixed based on their level of being political fanatics. Sometimes we must call for Barazas to lower political temperatures” (Community Elder, Mwiki)*

The study findings reveal that due to the various perceptions formed when people hear political leaders' utterances and how they act on them, some people incur losses or are disadvantaged economically while others benefit. In extreme instances the perceptions lead to destruction of properties. This can be seen from the quotes from participants cited below.

*“Mostly business is affected, generally a person cannot survive alone we heavily rely on each other, so you find when business is affected hunger sets in and the conditions are not favorable. You find based on the utterances that were made and how people interpreted them if I bring my staff to the market people do not buy” (Male IDI, Njiru)*

*“Sometimes these perceptions lead to looting of properties by ‘enemy tribe’ like you find like in the last elections some Luos rooted a Kikuyu owned shop around” (FGD participant, in Female FGD, Clay City)*

The study findings also reveal that due to influence and power that political leaders command through their utterances they at times create an economic crisis then they resolve it in order to remain relevant and seem helpful. The way political leaders' utterances are perceived makes some area suffer economically within a hostile atmosphere created for business as revealed in the study findings.

*“Economically there are places that are affected by perceptions of political leaders’ utterances for example food in Nairobi mostly comes from rural areas. If the fish we eat for instance comes from Kisumu, after our leaders make certain utterances the people in Kisumu may decide not to trade their fish with people here based on how an utterance was viewed by the fish trader. The result is that we suffer economically. The same applies with things like potatoes and maize, where people may refuse to trade with certain people based on what a leader’s utterance was and how they interpreted it” (Male IDI, Ruai)*

The outcomes also went to show that perceptions of certain political leaders' utterances led to people buying and obtaining services from people of their ethnic group as a way to tighten their ties and reduce empowering other tribes. The continuous use of 'our person' in political leader has shaped perceptions among some people who feel they have a responsibility to shop from their tribesmen. Some participants in the study revealed that though there were smooth inter-ethnic relations in the area, they would still prefer to get services from people of their tribe, where they believed they would equally get discounted prices.

*“Even if we are in good terms, I prefer buying things from our own people, after all those are the people who can help me in case there is tension around. Again we can't keep empowering the same tribe that has been ruling us forever we must see what to do to change the narrative of our tribe” (Female IDI, Njiru)*

*“You here one cannot buy from certain tribe, it will benefit them, they say we should promote your fellow tribesmen. Such things start creating enmity between people. Political leaders advise us not to buy from certain people yet they cannot help us in case we have a problem. If you lack something only your neighbor will help, if you are sick only your neighbor can offer help, some of us have seen some things are not necessary” (Female IDI, Mwiki)*

The findings of this study as seen above indicate that perceptions on political leaders' utterances held by people end up affecting their economic sphere be it their stability or economic empowerment.

#### **4.5.3 Places of Residence**

Apparently, the choice of the area of residence is influenced by the nature of inter-ethnic relations as defined by political utterances. The study finding reveal places of residence is another aspect that was affected by perceptions of political leaders' utterances. Residents, especially in Mwiki ward indicated that getting a house to rent was at times dependent on one's ethnic group. A number of landlords were reported to be very interested in knowing a tenants ethnic group before they offer them houses. The findings of this study reveal that such a decision has been arrived at by some individual due to the perceptions they have formed on some political utterances that were made previously by some leaders. These utterances were part of a rally speech where the leaders were said to have stated that if they won election, people would not have to pay rent, these utterances were seen to have brought multiple interpretation. The study findings also revealed that landlords whose perceptions were different did not consider such utterances as a threat to their business of renting houses. The perceptions people have formed over time are at times used to instill fear in others especially along ethnic lines. One IDI in Mwiki had this to say:

*"These perceptions affect where one chooses to reside, like when I relocated to Mwiki very many people warned me. I was told this is a bad place, people will kill me. I got too scared to the extent that I could not play Luo music, I would imagine that if some realizes they would come for me and realize that am Luo. But later I came to realize it was a perception people had, people here have no issue with anyone's ethnic group, I comfortably play my Luo songs and we live peaceful with people from various ethnic groups living here" (Female IDI, Mwiki)*

*"Where one resides because the landlord's perceptions on the tenants' tribe can affect, there is a perception that some tribe do not want to pay rent. There is a time one of the leaders said that if he becomes president their tribe will be*

*telling other to move their cars on the way the government is passing. Such a thing was a joke yet it affected people. Also in the last election some political leaders were telling people that if they win election people will not be paying rent. You see such a thing frighten people especially landlords even if no one has taken over their houses. Some perceive that such utterances mean if the leader becomes president their supporter mostly from their ethnic group will be the beneficiary of their sweat. So you find since then some landlords around will ask you your name or where you come from to determine if they will rent you a house or not” (Male IDI, Mwiki)*

The findings of this studies indicate that some people migrate or relocate to places they feel safer as a result of interpretation of political leaders’ utterances by them and of people around them. Fifteen informants indicated that it is mostly during political campaigns when people begin to move houses, not because of rent but due to the fear of initial or reprisal attacks. This arises out of the perception that one may be insecure in a given area due to their ethnic identity which is erroneously equated to political party affiliation.

*“It affects migration, you just read body language and listen what people are saying. When you also look at political alignment you can tell. Like in 2013 and 2017 election a Kalenjin would be very comfortable in Nyeri more than a Luo. A Luo would tell this is the alignment. Most Luo’s are voting here so in case of anything I will suffer. So they will opt to travel back to Nyanza after election and come back when political temperatures have cooled down. Kenyans mostly our perceptions are shaped by our tribe and party alignment. We are blind followers” (Male IDI, Njiru)*

*“Tell me if you have met any Kalenjin here in Kasarani? they moved. I was wondering where another Kalenjin who had built around went to, I realized during campaign time he sold his plot and house. Why? Because of this political utterances and what people were saying after hearing them. The mouths of this political leaders are strong if they want people to live in peace let them stop mentioning tribes especially when looking for votes” (Activist and Community Advocate, Njiru)*

The findings of the study reveal that one’s choice of where to reside is sometimes influenced by the perceptions on political leaders’ utterances especially in situation where the utterances were to demean an ethnic group or uplift another.

#### 4.5.4 Employment

The study findings reveal that employment is affected by perceptions people form on political leaders' utterances. Twenty-eight of the informants cited employment discrimination based on ethnic group especially shaped by interpretation of political leaders' utterances. Given the limited employment opportunities available people will easily get a excuse to employ their tribesmen and women and then validate it with what political leaders have spoken against them as noted in the study findings. Informal employment was cited in the study to be more affected than formal employment.

*“Employment is affected, leave a long office jobs mostly Jua Kali jobs. You find a construction site of laborers are Kisii, if you are from another tribe you can only be considered if there is a shortage of their tribesmen. So you find if a foreman of a construction site is Kisii, Luo or from any other tribe he wants to employ his tribesmen first. If its Kikuyu, the same applies. This begins from our political leaders and trickles down to us the people. They keep bringing up issues of regions, empowering your own and such thus separating people”*  
**(Male IDI, Mwiki)**

*“There is loads of tribalism when it comes to employment, you find even casual jobs such as masons and house helps people are categorical on tribe they do not want. Some are due to ethnic stereotypes which has constantly been fueled by political leaders in what they tell us”*  
**(Female FGD, Mwiki)**

The study findings reveal that variations that occur over time in terms of what political leaders say and how it is perceived always leads to an improvement or worsening of the situation when it comes to employment across ethnic groups. When political leaders' utterances are made to unify people and they receive them positively there is a general improvement in the employment state across ethnic groups. This is what one of the respondent had to say;

*“Before handshake someone would look at you or listen to your accent and you miss a job. But after handshake people are employing each other. Even house helps we feared employing other tribes especially when we hear people being incited by political leaders, you do not feel safe leaving an innocent child with someone whom you do not trust. You do not know if they have come to your house to revenge or they have good intentions. Even if you are leaving your child with someone from another tribe, you look for someone you trust.*

*With politics you cannot just assume you interpreted what these political leaders' utterances the same" (Famale IDI, Njiru)*

The findings on the flip side show that fifteen youth below 35yrs among the participants who took part in the study believed there were no jobs or employment opportunities and that had nothing to do with the perceptions people have on political leaders' utterances.

*"I think the only thing not affected by our perceptions political leaders' utterances is employment because it does not even exist in the first place. Most of us youths we are graduating and staying jobless, every door we knock is not opened for the youths yet we are on the forefront of campaigning, defending and fighting for this leaders, we need to reevaluate our priorities" (Male IDI, Ruai)*

#### **4.5.5 Inter-marriage**

Marriage is an important aspect of human society that forms a very robust foundation of human relations. Therefore, marriage is expected to be at the very centre of inter-ethnic relations as they are affected by the polarizing nature of political utterances in a country such as Kenya. The study findings reveal that inter-marriages are affected in two ways. First, some people who are already in inter-marriages are affected by perceptions they form on political leaders' utterances or those formed by their spouses leading to conflicts, separation, divorce and in worse cases violence. Secondly, there is fear instilled to the people who are planning to inter-marry. The fear drawn from these perceptions, their parents or guardians or from the society as indicated by the findings. About twenty-eight informants believe that perceptions of political leaders' utterances have minimal or no effects on inter-marriages, some went ahead to indicate that such decision is based on socialization and exposure to diverse worldviews.

*"Another notable thing is inter-marriage for instance I am a Kamba and I have been married to a Kikuyu and since like the last elections Kamba's and Luo's had united and they were campaigning together, you may find certain changes start occurring in our home. Like if I was married with a child you find when political utterances are made that do not incline on my spouse's side are made, the interpretations from him affects even the child where he even starts to associate him with me saying it is not his. Again during elections*



*if he thinks I will vote my tribesman and he wants me to vote his tribesman it brings conflicts, at times brought about from debating an utterance made by a political leader I support. Some couples even kill each other due to political disagreement” (Female IDI, Mwiki)*

*“Inter-marriage is affected among few people who I can say are stupid, if you see a citizen acting blindly based on what they are told by the leaders that is like worship them. Such thought of not inter-marrying is found in rural areas where people have no exposure and are raised been told the other tribe is bad. But in urban settings people just inter-marry if they love each other” (Male IDI, Clay City)*

The findings also reveal that there is a new array of perceptions that has been formed when it comes to issues of inter-marriage. Nonetheless, inter-marriage in urban areas has been widely acceptable due to exposure to diverse culture and change of world view of both youths and parents. Interference of ethnic unity by political leaders’ utterance has seen intermarriage become an issue of concern as noted in the study. The findings revealed an overall concern as to the ability of people to withstand political interference in their marriage given the ethnic nature of Kenyan politics. A quote from one of the informant portrays a clear picture.

*“Even elders are advising us not to inter-marry because during elections it may bring problems either between you or with the in-laws. Right now for instance if a young man love politics and he marries a Kalenjin lady from seeing the unity that has existed in the current government then in 2022 the Kalenjin and Kikuyu unity created by leaders is no more their marriage may suffer separation given that people take their perceptions beyond politics to home” (Male IDI, Mwiki)*

In the same line, the shift in political alignment of leaders when forming political party to vie for an election, is more focused on which ethnic group joins with which to be able to amass votes calling on ethnic divisive politics. Since the shifts occurs from one election to another as noted from the findings of this study, those who inter-marry as a result of strong bonds between tribes cemented by their leader sometimes suffer as a result of the split among the leaders later on. It becomes difficult therefore to enjoy harmony with the tribesmen of the in-laws since they are perceived in through the lenses of the political leaders. A participant in an FGD had this to say;

*“Sometimes you find there is good unity among tribes based on political unity, like now Kikuyu are friends with Kalenjin since the president and his deputy united and vied for the position in the last two elections. Considering there are people of the two tribes that have intermarried, what happens if 2022 election the president doesn’t support his deputy obviously the person married from the tribe will be seen in the lenses of her tribe and may not be accommodated especially where the spouse comes from, this thing has happened in the past election, just study the trend and see where it leaves the inter-marriages”*  
**(Male FGD participants, Njiru)**

The dimension of how intermarriage was affected by perceptions of political leaders’ utterances is as illustrated.

#### **4.5.6 Education**

The study findings indicate education and especially in relations to where children go to school is affected by perception of what political leaders utter. About ten informants revealed that the choice of where their child schooled was based on the politics of the nation. There believe is that what the political leaders tell their follower will have an effect on how their children will be treated in school by teachers, staff and their fellow students. The findings also reveal that there are minimal effects on local school, but where children have to travel to other counties parents become worried about the safety of their children.

*“On local schools’ perceptions on political leaders’ utterances have minimal effects since this area is cosmopolitan, but on long distances parents get worried if their child goes to a certain area and there are conflicts they may not reach them and they could be discriminated or even be harmed”*  
**(Male IDI, Ruai)**

School leadership is also said to be affected by perceptions people have formed over time. The study showed that there are problems at times that arise in the community once a school head is posted by TSC and is not from the majority tribe in the community, they resist the person and what him to go. This state can be well illustrated by a quote from a respondent in IDI.

*“Like around this area past my office, there are many Kikuyu and there is a public school, a Luo head teacher was posted there and there were murmuring saying ‘don’t Kikuyu have educated people’ such ideas have been cemented in us by what our leaders tell us every day” (Male IDI, Mwiki)*

According to the respondents, children are also influenced by the perception their parents have on political leaders’ utterances, debates and discussions. It was noted that the same would at times stir up conflicts among the children due to their varying opinions and at times it would reach the parents affecting inter-ethnic relations as revealed by the study findings. An interview with one of the community leaders revealed that those were some of the matters they handled in their offices to try resolve conflicts.

*“We handle so many issues, it even goes down to children, you find the children are very much innocent and because of the utterances in T.V, rallies and what their parents say this child will start perceiving another child as an enemy. If they see a Luo child they start saying this is ODM and due to such, conflicts begin between their parents and it ends up in our office so we have to arbitrate and bring peace between them and you make them understand that we are all one in that we are Kenyan” (Community Elder, Mwiki)*

#### **4.6 Patterns of inter-ethnic relations**

The study also sought to examine how the perceptions of political leaders’ utterances influenced the patterns of inter-ethnic relations. This was to try and identify if there were any notable change that had occurred in regards to how the community in Kasarani Sub-County was structured, how inter-ethnic relations had evolved over time as reported by participants in the study. The perceptions informants formed on political leaders’ utterances influenced how they perceive other people, their willingness to do business with them, ability to mingle freely, feel safe among other things as revealed by the findings.

The findings of the study reveal that participants believe that political intolerance experienced in most areas especially just before, during and just after elections is as a result of accumulated feelings that arise out of the perceptions people have formed

over time. The findings further reveal that political intolerance can lead to people having preconceived understanding about each other's ethnic group causing conversations that give rise to tensions, biases and ethnic stereotypes. These perceptions overall affect how they interact inter-ethnically. A quote by one of the participant reveal the same.

*“Political intolerance occurs because everyone is focused on who said what, from which tribe they come from and how they said it, this we then use as a measure of the entire tribe and we conclude certain people are bad without any solid reason. This make us very hostile to each other and easily irritated”*  
**(Male IDI, Mwiki)**

The perceptions were noted to be contributing to a new interactions pattern. The findings conceal that whenever there are no elections or campaigns people interact freely and trust each other without putting emphasis on one's ethnic group. The situation however, change during political campaigns times where the leaders make utterances that reminds people of the value of their ethnic groups. These perceptions make people to act as villains to other tribes unless their ethnic groups are in same political coalition that they believe represent their interest. This pattern was observed from the findings of this study.

*“For four years the utterances of political leaders do not affect us but on the fifth year that is when things get serious, during election period. I cannot even tell what happens to us, I think our problem is that we do not choose leaders on merit but based on tribe. Then we at times impose our choices on people for instance a kikuyu who has married a Luo, he will tell the wife to vote a Kikuyu leader forgetting the wife has a right to vote whoever she wants irrespective of the tribe. During elections times such things bring conflict*  
**(Female IDI, Njiru)**

*“Like myself even if I will talk in the plot, I won't talk where there are mixed tribes. Like even now I prefer living among people of my tribe in a plot, I don't know about others but that is what I personally do. If I get a place 70% are Luo and 30% are Kikuyu I cannot live there because I don't know what that person is thinking, and how much political leaders' utterances will influence them. Since I don't want to keep relocating during election period I look for a plot where as you go to vote you talk same language. But if it is normal day to day, I do not mind interacting with all tribes. Because I can't stay where am exposed to danger and am paying rent”*  
**(Female IDI, Mwiki)**

*“People mostly lose trust with each other due to the fear of the outcome, a tension of some sort is developed during election period. But Kenyans after elections we are cool with one another as if nothing happened. We have some sort of fear based on how things have been in the past elections” (Male IDI, Njiru)*

The findings reveal there are notable changes that have occurred in regards to how people view and treat each other as cited by participants. The ethnic violence and loss of property is said to have played a role in changing people’s perceptions of political leaders and hence their utterances. Twenty informants revealed that from their experience and knowledge they have gathered over time they would no longer create enmity with their neighbor given they stand to lose yet the politicians do not mind them. They further revealed that the leaders had proven to be full of selfish interest and can go to any extent just to obtain power. Some of the things they believed are as revealed;

*“For now we are wiser not like in the past where people had that stupidity. Now we realize even if I create enmity with my friend because of what political leaders tell us yet my friend is the one who helps me if I am in need. These leaders know each other. For instance, look at how people killed each other in the last election, yet the leaders they were fighting for are now together with handshake. So we people are the ones that look stupid for creating enmities” (Female IDI, Njiru)*

*“Like me even if you talk about the president and abuse him I will not react because I know he will not help me. My house is closed for lack of rent he won’t help, even if I got sick or got cancer, God forbid, it is my family that will sell their properties to see me treated. My neighbor from whatever tribe is the one I can seek help from, they will donate money to fund my hospital bill. If you notice the rich people do not even queue to vote it is the poor people who queue for hour to vote these leaders and they are the ones that have allowed the leaders to ruin their perceptions about each other” (Female IDI, Mwiki)*

Some of the respondents indicated that they generally avoid discussing political issues with people from other ethnic groups as noted in the findings of this study. Some participants revealed that in order to live peaceful and avoid disagreeing with people of different ethnic groups, they avoided giving their opinions and perceptions on political leaders’ utterances. A number of participants held the view that their

perceptions were closer with that of people from their ethnic group, hence they would discuss their opinions freely with them. A few participants believe that they had different perceptions even within an ethnic group. The quotes below reveal some views given.

*“people rarely want to engage in political discussions to avoid disputes coming up between them, even if you were to discuss you look for someone of your tribe .... mostly you will find you support same side” (Female IDI, Ruai)*

*“there is a bunge where people freely go and discuss politics, they give their opinion, critic political leaders and argue about what they hear. The bunge is mostly a place for men women rarely come there” (Male FGD participants, Njiru)*

The study findings reveal that social interaction pattern across ethnic groups is affected, Key informants confirmed that there was an observable behavior on how inter-ethnic relations is affected by perceptions on political leaders’ utterances.

*“Social life is affected because people start fearing each other. If we are used to maybe having fun with each other we cannot because I will start feeling insecure. I am not sure what you are capable of doing to me so it affects my social life. You find these utterances make people start clustering into ethnic groups, though they were staying with a person of a certain ethnic tribe they start seeing that person as an enemy forgetting you have been there for them as a brother, sister and friend. Now perceptions changes because of political leaders’ utterances or incitements” (Community Elder, Mwikli)*

*Conflicts arise from chama for instance you hear people say do not bring a Luo, they have not built around, they will relocate to their rural homes with our money, where will we find them in Bondo. We do not want Kisii nowadays they have become witchcrafts, Kikuyus are thieves. So you find every ethnic group form their Chama; Luo, Kikuyu, Kisii. That has really affected the community here in Kasarani” (Activist Advocate for Community)*

The fear of ethnic conflicts arising during and after election has led to people migrating especially their family to rural areas for fear that they may suffer consequence of what the leaders will say after the winner is announced as noted from the finding. There seems to be unsaid pattern that occur over and over based on current political utterances or perceptions of previously stated utterances that come alive during election period. This is as narrated in one IDI;

*“It has almost become a routine that we vote and then travel to rural areas wait for election result there, sometimes you don’t know what these leaders will tell their followers especially those who follow everything they are told, and even if you don’t suspect any neighbor may harm you, you just go to keep your family safe until you are sure the things are ok, Kenya you can’t be sure what will happen” (Male IDI, ClayCity)*

The study results reveal that perceptions of political leaders’ utterances affect patterns of inter-ethnic interactions in weakening and strengthening ties in social spheres, economic sphere among other areas of life.

The findings of the study presented in this chapter show the diversity within the population coupled with elements of convergence of their views.

**CHAPTER FIVE**  
**DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS, SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND**  
**RECOMMENDATION**

**5.1 Introduction**

The findings of the study presented in the previous chapter revealed that there are perceptions that people have developed after hearing political leaders' utterances which are based on their independent thoughts, shared ideas with others, life experiences among other factors.

This chapter is divided in four major areas. The first discusses the findings of the study in a thematic order based on research questions and study objectives drawing from other studies. It also in cooperates the assumptions of the study and the theories that guided the study. The chapter goes further to give a summary of the findings, conclusion and recommendation.

**5.2 Perceptions of Political Leaders Utterances**

Residents of Kasarani Sub County are in urban setting and they highly depend on different mass communication channels to receive political leaders' utterances which on interpretation they are able to make choices on their daily lives.

The media dependency theory which is among the theory that guided this study brings forth that media impacts on attitude formation since people depend on it to obtain information and make conclusions. The result is that people form attitudes and perceptions towards utterances made and the subject of discussion. The findings of the study recognize that mass communication plays a major role in relaying political leaders' utterances and creating different feeling among individuals. In addition to creating feelings, their thoughts manifest in actions where they decide who to relate with and how to relate, that trickles down to a difference in inter-ethnic relation.



People have several channels of receiving political leaders' utterances and this leads to political utterances reaching a lot of people with or without interest in politics. This is in agreement with the media dependency theory that states that people depend on mass media to receive information from various channels that meet their needs. Additionally, people spend a number of hours listening to political leaders' utterances due to the numerous discussions that emerge daily on the various sources and channels, this they believe has much influence on their day to day choices and they shape how they view others. Therefore, the findings are in line with Hazenbroek (2012) who in his study noted that expressions and utterances of political leaders have an effect of reaching and touching a large group of people within society due to the massive influence most of the political leaders have which may be dangerous depending on how it is perceived.

The findings of this study further reveal that media stations especially TV and radio bring several shows that have a lot of political discussions, they also host many political leaders as guest in their shows and news giving them an opportunity to make utterances with a huge audience. Perceptions are as a result shaped in a way by media knowing or unknowingly depending on the guest they bring on board and the utterances made by political leaders that they chose to pick out for their audience to hear. Discussion that people have on political leaders' utterances shaped by their ethnic affiliation, education and other social variables also played a role on how they interpreted and perceived an utterance. The media assist in attitude formation and sets agenda for people to discuss and embrace as seen in the findings of this study which goes to explain the suitability of media dependency theory.

Reactions of Kenyans on social media especially Facebook and Twitter capture perception of people. Some people felt that some utterances are aimed at attacking

certain ethnic group while to others it is a way of showing commitment to their ethnic group. Young people below 30 years heavily rely on social media to receive political utterance and at times give opinion on them. The comments they gave on social media played a part in how they perceive one another hence inter-ethnic relations.

From the perspective of the relevance theory it helps explain individuals reason about what other people imply when they utter words. According to the theory, therefore, humans are able to interpret an utterance or text if it is worth their effort to understand it, this is to mean that some utterances may escape their attention if they do not consider them important. The outcome of the study conceal that participants remembered utterances that had triggered their mind, and that they had tried to comprehend what the political leader intended to mean. The explicatures which are conclusion from what they heard and their worldviews determined the perception each individual formed.

Interpretation of political utterance differ from one individual to another and perceptions formed are based on socialization and social exposure, gender, level of education, age and ethnic affiliation as revealed by the findings of this study. Men seemed to be more interested in political related discussion compared to their female counterparts as a result of socialization and gender roles that assumes that political rallies and political discussion are mostly meant for men, and that women are too soft for that. This finding concurs with the findings of a study done in Nigeria by Nnuda and Ezeifika (2017:48) social variable such as ethnicity education status, gender and culture shape the way a person reacts to issues and discourse linguistically. They further concluded that no two people can react and interpret information a similar manner.

The study notes that political leaders' utterances fuel conflicts and create division inter-ethnically in many instances as opposed to uniting people. From the findings we find that participants indicated that there is an inter-ethnic division or tension that occurs based on the different interpretation people give on political leaders' utterances. The use of hidden language by political leaders leads to multiple interpretation of the same utterances by different people with different worldviews. Political leaders' utterances can thus be said to divide or unite people along ethnic lines with intentions that favor them or for selfish gains. These findings are in agreement with Chandra (2011) who notes that political parties claim to speak for concern of a particular ethnic group while it can be totally out of selfish gain.

From this point, it is possible to bring in Brubaker (2006), who found that political leaders intentionally induce ethnic conflicts which work in their favor. The findings of this study found that some participants were aware of this strategy used by political leaders and perceived them as selfish. On the contrary other individual perceived the utterances as fighting for their ethnic group resulting to a feeling of superiority and disagreement inter-ethnically.

What's more is this study indicate that the utterances made by political leaders creates different perceptions that eventually influence their decision on day to day interaction. In this way the finding is in line with those of Michira (2013) who argues in his study that language is a powerful tool used by political leaders not only to communicate their policies and ideological positions but to also create certain perceptions in influencing votes.

Along the same lines, Adedimiji (Adedemiji ,2014:18) suggests that words can be a cause of war or peace, can bring unity or division create, form constitution or destroy

them, share brilliant ideas or inferior ideas, justify terrible actions done by people or express high standards views (Adedemiji ,2014:18 cited by Nnuta & Ezeifika 2017:48). The findings of this study although agrees with this study where political leaders' utterances would bring about peace or conflicts, they go further to find the role the hearers of this utterances play in creating unity or disunity.

The study has also established that some leaders are viewed as Kingpins and a voice to reckon with in certain ethnic groups and beyond. Therefore, people perceive and act on their utterances without questioning in many instances. Those who oppose utterances of such leaders are perceived to be traitors of the ethnic group, and they would be viewed as heroes by people from other ethnic groups for having overcome ethnic limits.

It is worth noting that an utterance, from this study point of view, can be interpreted differently and there is no clear measure to classify an utterance. An utterance for instance could be regarded as hate speech by an individual and it is seen by another as a heroic utterances fighting for the interest of the majority. These finding differs in a way with Hezebroek (2012) who focused on hate speech in political setting viewing it from one point of view, yet hate speech can be perceived in different lenses as seen from the findings of this study. The point of convergence is that utterances are expressed publicly are have a wide reach.

The study therefore implies that perception of political leaders' utterances is core in that they shape the lenses within which people view each other inter-ethnically. They also affect growth of the economy given that people pay more attention to what political leaders say.

### **5.3 Aspects of Inter-ethnic Relations Affected by Perceptions on Political Leaders' Utterances**

The study found out that the constant interaction among residents of Kasarani Sub County had yielded strong ties which would be affected in one way or another whenever political leaders made utterances and they were consumed and interpreted by people. The area was found to have no demarcated zones based on ethnic grouping, just as Kanyinga (2013) who in his study found that there is enormous interaction among people of different ethnic groups due to the fact that they live in neighborhood with no marked ethnic boundaries. The frequent interactions allow them to develop ties, friendship, trade among others which we call inter-ethnic relations.

Nnuta and Ezeifika (2017) reveal that the state of ethnicity in Nigeria is such that Nigerians consider themselves firstly as a member of a particular ethnic group, secondly as indigenous of local government or state and thirdly as Nigerian in descending order of loyalties. The findings of this study portrayed similarities where most participants consider themselves as members of a certain ethnic group, followed by the region they represent such as Rift valley, Western and such and finally as Kenyans. These views play a role on how they interpreted political leaders' utterances and how they related with people from other ethnic groups and regions.

There is however, a growing number of participants who have purposively decided to downplay their ethnic group and describe their tribe as Kenya. Most of them are young people who have valued diversity especially as a result of their schooling exposure. This view concurs with (Rizka 2009 cited in Ibrahim 2012:96) who states that some individuals especially within urban areas have been able to relate smoothly with people from other ethnic groups since they have removed the barrier of viewing

others as outsiders and themselves as insiders. Looking at the notion of context as one of the principles of relevance theory, to comprehend an utterance one is guided by their mind and whatever assumptions they have about the world, due to exposure to different worldviews we are able to understand the behavior in this finding.

The study established that different aspects of inter-ethnic relations are affected by perceptions on political leaders' utterances. The effect tends to be more during campaigns and election periods due to over emphasis on one's ethnic group by political leaders. This agrees with Huber (2012) who states that there is a correlation between voting, political behavior and ethnicity. In the same line there is a higher dependency on media to know what is happening in society at such times helping people make sense of what is happening and arrive at certain choices just as in the argument of media dependency theory.

The aspects that are affected by political leaders' utterances included; social aspects, economic activities, place of residence, employment, inter-marriage, and education. On social relations we find that human beings being social beings have a tendency of creating interactions as a way of adapting to any place they live. They thus create friendship, good neighborhood and other social ties like Chama within and beyond their ethnic groups. Over time you find they trust and become comfortable with each other. Whenever there are political leaders' utterances they hear, they process them and depending on their perception as individuals or ethnic group they end up interfering on the social ties and fabric. The findings revealed that when utterances made were perceived to be hateful, insensitive and discriminatory people would begin to lose trust, friendship would turn to enmity and at times there would be minimized interactions. The more the loyalty to a political leader the more the influence.

In urban setting there are so many economic activities that occur inter-ethnically especially in business where people buy and sell things to each other. the exchange of ideas and smooth trade leads to growth of an economy. When people shift their attention to paying attention to peoples ethnic group, the perception interferes with where one buys goods or seeks a service. The findings also revealed that there is a bias that comes upon some instances on pricing based on who is seeking a service.

In anthropology the study of social movement is important especially while dealing with ethnic movement in a multi-ethnic society. The study notes on matters to do with places of residence where it involves tenant and landlord relationship the effect is more in instances that involve people of different ethnic groups. The perceptions of one's ethnic group shaped by political leaders' utterances would determine if one would be rent for a house or they would be discriminated. In cases where ethnic stereotypes come to play people from certain ethnic groups are denied houses by tenants who do not belong to their ethnic group especially in Mwiki Sub County. This leads to individual looking for an alternative place to reside due to identity politics where dominant groups limit presence of minority groups by making their view become the center of contention leading to movement (Salman and Assies, 2017). This results can be tied to comprehension procedure of relevance theory where more relevance is achieved if the person making an utterance is compactible to the listeners' preference, in this case the utterance made is in line with ethnic stereotypes already existing in the audience mind.

Part of the agenda used during political campaigns by political leaders attract several interpretations with some interpretations affecting inter-ethnic relations. Political utterances, by some leaders, for instance, which are meant to say if they win elections people will not pay rent attract very diverse ideas with some people interpreting that

their houses will be taken from them. These kinds of perceptions affect how people relate and they make distribution to access to houses unfair to some of the residents. Therefore, in some people prefer relocating to places they feel safer especially in cases where utterances that are unfavorable to them are made. Depending on which ethnic group have united to form a political party one can tell if they are safe in certain regions or not. The kind of inter-ethnic interaction that happens during such times is filled with a lot of fear and anxiety. In some instances, people instill fear on each other based on previous experience with other people.

During campaign and election periods there is a lot of discrimination with regards to employment due to increased political utterances of division with some implying to people that one ethnic group has had its share and it is time for the others to have as reveled in this study. Based on what the leaders tell their followers and how they interpret and give meaning to it, it influences if one will be employed or denied the opportunity. The argument here is that the more the political leaders remind us of our ethnic groups the more we place value to them and start viewing others as different from us.

Inter-marriage is affected by perceptions people have on political leaders' utterances especially when one imposes their political view on a spouse. The situation can be worse when parties involved are political die hard.

Ethnic alignment of parties that occur in Kenya around election period has becomes a constant source of fear especially among young people who would have inter-married. Parents and relatives also instill fear of inter-marriage to their children based on their previous encounters. Unity speech held at community level has at times encouraged



closeness and strong ties among residents of certain places eventually leading to inter-marriage.

Looking at education it is important to note that institution of learning consist of individual or children from diverse ethnic groups. The instructors and worker also come from different ethnic groups. The perception of whatever political leaders say day today has been seen to create an effect on them. In some instances, the children would project perceptions as observed from their parents while in other instances they would act based on their perceptions.

On issues of inter-ethnic relations perceptions of political leaders' utterances influenced diverse spheres from economic social, geographic and education. This is because people get a lot of information on media about the utterances made and they use their interpretation on them to decide how they will relate with others across ethnic groups. The relevance is thus achieved since people are able to use whatever information they have in the background to make conclusions such as who to trade with and what social ties to keep. The two theories meet in this context and adequately address the question on how the different aspects of inter-ethnic relations are affected.

#### **5.4 Influence of Perceptions on Patterns of Inter-Ethnic Relations**

Political leaders' utterances go beyond affecting perceptions people form to influencing the actions and behavior formed. There are notable trends that occur in how people have inter-ethnic relations, this can be attributed to human behavior which can be said to be adaptive.

The argument of media dependency theory as seen in this study is that utterances shared on the various sources channels of communication sets the agenda because of

high dependency of media by people. Therefore, it encourages them to start conversation on what they hear when they listen to political leaders' utterance, the outcome of such discussion is change in behavior in relations to how they view one another. As seen in the findings, there is habit of people discussing what they hear with people within their cycle and the resultant is a shift in regards to how they perceive one another across ethnic group.

Ethnic identity does not have meaning to an individual in urban setting, it is what others associate the person with that is valued and they must find ways to defend it. (Hall 1996:344 cited in Yieke 2010) notes that peoples' identity is not because of something deep inside them but because of how they are recognized by others. Putting the first principle of relevance which is explicatures into consideration we find that individual who had stored previous information of what they hear people say about them create multiple meaning and are able to act differently in relations across ethnicity.

The study found that perceptions of political leaders' utterances have made people have preconceived understanding of each other and bias in conversation whenever they relate with a person of another ethnic group. There is thus a lot of ethnocentrism among people with each individual viewing their ethnic group as superior to another. This view has been constantly perpetuated by political leaders by their constant emphasis on our ethnic differences. The findings are in line with Nisser (2017) who established that politicians appeal to ethnicity and importance of ethnic identity among those hearing their messages making people more aware of it and constantly making use of it. There is a new facet from this study indicating there is a shift slowly happening where people have become more aware that their actions harm them more

while the political leaders enjoy protection and shift loyalties whenever they stand to benefit.

There is also unity and smooth ethnic interaction whenever there are no campaigns and election as noted in the study. The situation however, changes whenever elections are near, this pattern seem to repeat itself with every new election period. Even though most participants were aware of this pattern they revealed it does not make them act any better since most act in the heat of political incitements. Wilkson (2014) states that division created by leaders cause ethnic riots that go beyond political voting and cause people who were peaceful to be hostile, this study found that in Kasarani Sub-County the ethnic differences are noted during election period and reoccur only when there is election.

Some participants cited displeasure with political leaders as some expected them to unite people rather than divide them along ethnic lines. There are people who have made deliberate efforts to consider themselves as Kenyans first and their ethnic group comes lastly. This is after they realized most political leaders utter words that benefit them and pay little effort on people's concerns. This can be related to how people understand an utterances based on relevance theory where they use their worldview and experiences to know how to act on information they receive from the speaker who in this case is a political leader.

There is great interference in business environment hindering growth of economy. The study found that there is a huge relationship between economic stability and perception of political leader utterances. This is in agreement to Flesken (2014) that mobilization by political leaders based on ethnicity can ruin not only social structure but also economic structures like they did in the Rwanda genocide. The genocide in

Rwanda led to ethnic wars such that people had to flee and be refugees thus a total breakdown in economic fabric.

There is also fear of intermarriage that occurs given that political parties are formed based on ethnic blocks powers. The mobilization of votes along ethnic lines threaten parties involved in an inter-marriage given that perceptions from individual, family and friends trickle down to affecting the parties involved. The constant ethnic tension created leading to migration to peoples native homes stirring fear on whether an individual will be accepted in the said home or rejected based on their ethnic background. th

The study findings are grounded on relevance theory propounded by Sperber and Wilson (1986, 1994 and 2004). Utterances by political leaders relies greatly on presumption, once it is received the context in which and the person who makes it interact with the audience to enable them give it meaning. The utterances trigger people to analyze the intentions of the speaker, consider their assumptions and based on their experiences look at the most relevant interpretation to it. This interpretation therefore manifest itself as a perception and it differs from an individual to another.

For maximum relevance to be attained the assumption is the utterance is relevant enough and worth the effort and the person saying it is valued. This study agrees with this in that the higher the position of a political leader in the ethnic group and in the nation the more what they said was valued and affected people. Words spoken by an MCA had less impact on people compared to words spoken by the president or former Prime Minister. People also ignored utterances by certain leaders whom they felt were not worth their time or those they considered reckless.

Interpretation or perceptions of political leaders' utterances may spill over and disrupt other structures within society and thus patterns of inter-ethnic relations. Interpretation of political leaders' utterances depends on explicit which is the surface meaning and implicit meaning where the background, assumptions, context, and implied conclusion are put to consideration.

### **5.5 Summary**

The study pays attention to perceptions of political leaders' utterances and their influence on inter-ethnic relations in Kasarani Sub-County in Nairobi city county, Kenya. It looks at perceptions that people have on political leaders' utterances, it identifies and discusses aspects of inter-ethnic relations affected by the perceptions and examines how the perceptions influence patterns of inter-ethnic relations. The study uses a descriptive and cross-sectional research design and a qualitative method to collect and analyze data.

Generally, interpretation of political leaders' utterances is affected by gender, level of educations, ethnic affiliation, and socialization among other factors. This helps create relevance and come up with perceptions of political leaders' utterances. Political leaders' utterances are perceived to be instrumental due to the popularity of this leaders' and the fact that they are opinion is highly regarded. Several mediums are used to receive political leaders' utterances where some medium play part to shape perceptions, this include media stations on television and radio. The media is highly relied on for people to receive utterances made by political leaders and make sense of them as in media dependency theory applied.

Political leaders' utterances may fuel conflicts and at times bring cohesion based on their intentions and the interpretation. The perceptions are expressed by people in

values, belief and roles they play with regard to politics. Based on the first objective political leaders' utterances are perceived to be at times meaningful given the huge number of following they have and the ability they have to build or destroy the nation.

Residents of Kasarani Sub-County point out that perceptions of political leaders' utterances affect inter-ethnic relations in the area. Peoples view keep changing about another ethnic group whenever a political leader speaks, the more influential a political leader is the more their utterances spread and affected people. Some people act on the information given to them by political leaders' without doing a cost benefit analysis, they thus respond by judging others, discriminating them and in return they create a hostile environment.

Political leaders emphasize on ethnic group in their utterances they are able to use the analogy of "us" against "them" which is a tactic they have found to be working in their favor especially when seeking votes. This acts as a barrier to smooth inter-ethnic interactions both in Kasarani and other parts of Kenya. Inter-ethnic tensions also emerge from political leaders' utterances and how people view and interpret them.

The study findings revealed that there were aspects on inter-ethnic relations affected by perception which included; social relations, economic relations, intermarriage among others that people were able to identify and discuss. The findings additionally revealed that these perceptions affect how people interact across ethnic groups and there were notable patterns that were identified by study participants.

Mainly perceptions of political leaders' utterances have a visible effect on social interactions of people, economic spheres, marriage and family, choice of place of residence and employment. Political leaders' ought to be careful with utterances they make with deep understanding that although they may not mean harm different

interpretation given to them may lead to tearing down not only an area but also the entire nation.

All the objectives of the study were achieved from the findings and discussion.

## **5.6 Conclusion**

This study concludes that studying perceptions that people form on political leaders' utterances gives an important dimension in addressing issues of inter-ethnic relation. It helps to not only shift the blame to the individual who utter this words but also have personal reflection on the role each individual play especially in situation where we have politically motivated ethnic based conflicts.

Analysis and reflections of the finding of this study leads to a conclusion that perceptions of political leaders' utterances affect inter-ethnic relations both in Kasarani and the country at large. Kenya being a multi-ethnic state is privileged to have people of different tribes living and interacting with one another. Their upbringing, gender and tribe contributes to how they view one another. The situation is however enhanced or made worse when political leaders' make utterances that are meant to divide people or when they keep emphasizing on ethnic stereotypes. The voice of political leader in the Kenyan context has so much influence since they are in many instances referred to as the voice of their ethnic group.

The value that people attach to these utterances and how willing they are to follow what is said with little or no questioning impacts not only the individual but the entire society. This scenario is what has led to Kenyans having tribal clashes or conflicts during and after elections. The effects of this is felt in not only social sphere but also economic spheres not forgetting access to services and employment. Important to

note is that political leaders' utterances have also been used to bring unity in situations where ethnic groups differ and cannot see each other eye to eye.

Like other studies this study agrees that what political leaders utter in public spheres ends up affecting inter-ethnic relations whether negatively or positively. Having conducted this study, it is important to appreciate that although political leaders' utterances affect inter-ethnic relations it is the role that people play in interpreting those utterances and giving them priority over their values that ends up affecting others. If people disregard the ethnic incitements by political leaders' and instead demand for more mature utterances that unite people, then the economy will grow and people will love each other without caring much about ones' ethnicity.

The effects of this utterances can be controlled by having leaders' who are conscious of what they say in public spheres knowing that they may have no control over the effects it causes and that they are highly regarded by their followers. Civic education is also important to do away with the mind set of "our people" which makes people use emotions to judge situations rather than rationality.

The study established, place of residence, social relations, economic relations, employment and inter-marriage as among the main aspects affected. This is important to note so that we are aware that our actions impact not only to our social relations within our circles but the effects trickles down to family and economy.

### **5.7 Recommendation**

- ✓ Given the influence that political leaders' have and how wide their utterances go within a short time it is important for them to pay attention to what they say, their tone and avoid inciting people and dividing them along ethnic lines.



Even if they need votes from people they should get a new strategy of soliciting for votes rather than use tribe and ethnicity.

- ✓ The National Cohesion and Integration Commission should do sensitization and trainings in society to reduce inter-ethnic conflicts. The training can be on demystifying the stereotypes that have been there over time shaping personal views as revealed by the findings of this study.
- ✓ The findings indicate the media also plays a role in shaping people's perceptions by the news items they sell and the airtime they give political leaders' even those whose utterances are shameful. It is recommended that the media council of Kenya should ensure there is compliance to standards set where journalist and media practitioners are responsible and professional not to bring news that fuel inter-ethnic division.
- ✓ Future research should be done on the role the media plays in shaping how political leaders' utterances are perceived and how they also influence inter-ethnic relations.
- ✓ People also need to develop strong ties across ethnic groups such that they are not easily swayed by the ethnic stereotypes publicized to them. If there is much emphasis on people viewing themselves as Kenyans and coming up with projects that encourage that unity, then inter-ethnic relations will be great.

## REFERENCES

- Biegon, J. (2018). Politicization of Ethnic Identity in Kenya: Historical Evolution, Major Manifestation and Enduring Implications. *Kenya Human Rights Commission*, 8-52.
- Brubaker, R. (2006). *Ethnicity Without Groups*. Harvard, Harvard University Press.
- Canary, D.J., and Stafford, L. (1992). Relational Maintenance Strategies and Equity in Marriage. *Communication Monographs*, 59: 243-267.
- Chandra, K. (2011). What is an Ethnic Party? *Party Politics*, 17(2)151-180.
- Coates, J. (1996). *Women talk: Conversation between Women Friends*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Djik, V. (1997). *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*, 2 vol. London: Sage.
- Eagleton, T. (2000). *The Idea of Culture, Vol.19*. Oxford: Blackwell Manifestos.
- Erikson, T. H. (1991). *Cultural Contexts of Ethnic Differences*. Available at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2803478>. Retrieved on. May, 2018. Tuesday.
- Erikson, T. H. (1991). *Cultural Contexts of Ethnic Differences*. Retrieved May Tuesday, 2018, from Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2803478>
- Fearon, James D. and David D. Laitin (2000). "Violence and Social Construction of Ethnic Identity. *International Organization* 54(4):845-877.
- Fiske, S. T. and Taylor, S. E. (1991). *Social cognition*, 2nd ed., International ed. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Flesken, A. (2014) On the Link Between Ethnic Politics and Identification: Lessons From Bolivia. *Ethno politics* 13(2)159-180.
- Grice, H. P. (1975). *Logic and Conversation*. New York: Academic Press.

- Hayes, S. C and Wilson, K.G. (1994). *Acceptance and Commitment Therapy*. Attering the Verbal Support for Experiential Avoidance. *The Behaviour Analyst*, 17, 280-303.
- Hazenbroek, Sylvia (2012). *Politician and Hate Speech: A legal Comparison -South Africa and the Netherlands*. Tillburg the Netherlands: Tillburg University, School of Humanities.
- Herz, M.E. and Molnar, P. (2012). *The Content and Context of Hate Speech: Rethinking Regulations and Responses*. Cambridge, Cambridge University press.
- Huber, John D. (2012). "Measuring Ethnic Voting: Do Proportional Electoral Laws politicize Ethnicity?" *American Journal of Political Science* 56(4) 986-1001.
- Ibrahim, MS. (2005). *Problematica komunikasi Antabudaya*. Pontinak: STAIN press
- Kaggikah, D. (2017). Nairobi county-047. Retrieved from <https://www.kenyacountyguide.co.ke/nairobi-county-047/> accessed on 12/11/2019.
- Kanyinga, K. (2013). Pluralism, Ethnicity and Governance in Kenya in Ghai, YP. and Corttrell J.(Eds.). *Ethnicity Nationhood and Pluralism: Kenyan Perspectives*, pp66-72. Ottawa: Global Centre for Pluralism
- Kenski, Kate and Kathleen Hall Jamieson (Eds.) (2017). *The Oxford handbook of political communication*. London: Oxford.
- Kornienko, O. Santos, C.E. , Martin, C.L. and Grannger, K.L.(2016). Peer Influence on Gender Identity Development in Adolescent. *Developmental Psychology*,52(10) 1578-1592.
- Lippa,R.A.(2002). *Gender, Nature and Nurture*. Mahwah, NJ,US: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.
- Michira, J. N. (2014). Language and Politics. A CDA Analysis of the 2013 Kenyan Political Campaign. *International Journal of Education and Research*, vol.2.No 1,:1-18.

- Nisser, Annerose (2017). *Cross-Ethnic Interactions and the Influence of Politics: Evidence from online Spaces and a Field Experiment in Bosnia and Herzegovina*. Konstanz: Universitat Konstanz.
- Nnuta, Chinenye M. and Ezeifeke, Chinwe (2017). Verbal Hygiene and ethnic politics in Nigeria: A Study of Selected Newspaper Print and online Publications. *Ogirisi: A New Journal of African Studies* vol.13:46-69.
- Pinecrest,. J. (2019): Kasarani constituency. Retrieved from <https://informationcradle.com/kenya/kasarani-constituency/> Accessed on **12/11/2019**.
- Posner, Daniel N. (2004). "The Political Saliency of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas Are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi." *American Political Science Review* 98(4):529-545.
- Potts,C. (2005). *The logic of Conventional Implicatures*. Oxford. University Press UK.
- Robb, Willer. 2004. The Effects of Government-Issued Terror Warning On Presidential Approval Ratings. *Current Research in Social Psychology*. 10(1): 1-12.
- Salman T., Assies W. (2017) Anthropology and the Study of Social Movements. In: Roggeband C., Klandermans B. (eds) *Handbook of Social Movements Across Disciplines*. Handbooks of Sociology and Social Research. Springer, Cham. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-57648-0\\_4](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-57648-0_4)
- Schopflin, George. (1996). Language and Ethnicity in Central and Eastern Europe: Some Theoretical Aspects. *Politicka Misao, vol xxxiii, (5): 99-107*.
- Sperber, D, and Wilson, D. (1986). *Relevance. Communication and cognition*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Sperber, D. and Wilson, D.(1995). *to the second Edition of Relevance Communication and Cognition*. Oxford, Blackwell.

- Wangatiah ,I.R. Makata(2016). Role of Context Interpretation of Political Utterances on Hate Speech in Kenya. *Multilingual Academic Journal of Education and Social Sciences*, vol.4(2)52-65
- Wangechi, N.L. Njoroge and E.(2014).Causes of Armed Ethnic Conflicts and the Implication for Peace Education in Nakuru County, Kenya. *Journal of Special needs and Disabilities Studies*,vol 1(3)1-14.
- Wikson, Steven I. (2004). *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition And Ethnic Riots in India*. Cambridge: Cambridge university press.
- Wilson, D . and Sperber, D. (2004). Relevance Theory. In L.R. Horn and G. Ward (Eds.). *The Handbook of Pragmatics*,pp607-632. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Yieke, Felicia A. (2010). Ethnicity and Development In Kenya: Lessons from 2007 General Elections. *Kenya studies Review*, vol 3(3):5-16.

## **APPENDICES**

### **APPENDIX 1: INFORMED CONSENT STATEMENT FOR THE STUDY PERCEPTIONS OF POLITICAL LEADERS' UTTERANCES AND THERE INFLUENCE ON INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS IN KASARANI SUBCOUNTY IN NAIROBI COUNTY, KENYA**

Good morning, Sir/Madam,

My name is Serah Njoroge, a master's student at the University of Nairobi, Institute of Anthropology, Gender and African studies. I am carrying out research on perception of political utterances and their influence on inter-ethnic relations in Kasarani Sub-County.

As a resident of this area you have been selected to participate in this study on voluntary basis. The information that you will provide will be strictly confidential and will be used only for the purposes of these study. Your name or any other information that may identify you will not appear in the findings or any other report of this study unless with your expressed permission.

We do anticipate any problems but in case of any question you can contact the Institute of Anthropology, Gender and African Studies, University of Nairobi on Tel.No.(02) 381262/5 Ext.28158 or Serah Wairimu cell:0729828591.

Your participation in these study will be highly appreciated.

## **APPENDIX II: IN DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE**

### **SECTION 1: BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS**

1. What is your sex? Male ( ) Female ( ).
2. What is your age?
3. 18-25( ) 26-33( ) 34-41( ) 42-49( ) 50-57( ) above 57( ).
4. What is your highest level of education?
  - i. Primary ( )
  - ii. Secondary ( )
  - iii. Tertiary ( )
  - iv. Other(Specify)
5. What is your ethnic affiliation?
  - i. Kamba ( )
  - ii. Luo ( )
  - iii. Kikuyu ( )
  - iv. Kalenjin ( )
  - v. Luhya ( )
  - vi. Kisii ( )
  - vii. Other (Specify)
6. What is your religious affiliation?
  - i. Christian ( )
  - ii. Muslim ( )
  - iii. Other (Specify)

7. What is your marital status? Single ( ) Married ( ) Divorced( ) Separated ( ) Widowed ( )
8. What is your current occupation? Formal ( ) Informal ( ) Unemployed ( ).

### **SECTION 2: PERCEPTION OF POLITICAL LEADERS' UTTERANCES**

9. What do you think about utterances made by political leaders'?
10. What are the sources of utterances you hear made by political leaders'?
11. How would you describe political leaders' utterances?

### **SECTION 3: ASPECTS OF INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS AFFECTED BY POLITICAL LEADERS' UTTERANCES**

12. What aspects of inter-ethnic relations are affected by political utterances?
13. How do political leaders' utterances affect economic activities?
14. How do political leaders' utterances affect participation in social activities?
15. To what extent do political leaders' utterances affect cultural activities?

### **SECTION 3: INFLUENCE OF PERCEPTION OF POLITICAL UTTERANCES ON PATTERNS OF IINTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS**

16. In your opinion do what political leaders' say affect inter-ethnic relations in this area?
17. What are some of the issues on inter-ethnic relations you here in political leaders' utterances?
18. To what extent can you attribute inter-ethnic tensions to political leaders' utterance.
19. Do what political leaders' utter affect trading and employment activities.



### **APPENDIX III: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE**

1. Thoughts on utterances made by political leaders'.
2. Nature of political utterances leaders' utterances.
3. Description of political leader utterances
4. Sources of these utterances made by political leaders'.
5. Influence of political utterance on inter-ethnic relations.
6. Discussions among community members on political utterances and they influence inter-ethnic relations.
7. Major aspects of inter-ethnic relations that are affected by political utterances?
8. How intermarriages are affected by utterances made by political leaders'.
9. How participation in community social activities is influenced by political leaders' utterances.
10. How trading activities and employment is affected by utterances.

## **APPENDIX IV: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE**

### **Occupation:**

1. What role do you play in Kasarani Sub-County in regards to your occupation?
2. How would you describe inter-ethnic relations in these area?
3. How do people perceive political leaders' utterances?
4. In your opinion how do perception of political leaders' utterance affect inter-ethnic relations in Kasarani?
5. Do you think inter-ethnic relations are affected in anyway by political utterances especially during campaign period?
6. What aspects of inter-ethnic relations are mainly affected by perceptions of political utterances?
7. In which ways do you intervene in situations where inter-ethnic relations are affected by political leaders' utterances.


## APPENDIX V: NACOSTI PERMIT


**THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:**  
**MISS. SERAH WAIRIMU NJOROGE**  
**of UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI, 0-20116**  
**Gilgil, has been permitted to conduct**  
**research in Nairobi County**


**Permit No. : NACOSTI/P/19/97485/27584**  
**Date Of Issue : 14th March, 2019**  
**Fee Received : Ksh 1000**

**on the topic: PERCEPTION OF POLITICAL**  
**LEADERS UTTERANCES AND THEIR**  
**INFLUENCE ON INTER-ETHNIC**  
**RELATIONS IN KASARANI SUB-COUNTY**  
**IN NAIROBI CITY COUNTY, KENYA.**

**for the period ending:**  
**12th March, 2020**

  
**Applicant's Signature**

  
**Director General**  
**National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation**




**THE SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION ACT, 2013**

**The Grant of Research Licenses is guided by the Science, Technology and Innovation (Research Licensing) Regulations, 2014.**

**CONDITIONS**

- 1. The License is valid for the proposed research, location and specified period.**
- 2. The License and any rights thereunder are non-transferable.**
- 3. The Licensee shall inform the County Governor before commencement of the research.**
- 4. Excavation, filming and collection of specimens are subject to further necessary clearance from relevant Government Agencies.**
- 5. The License does not give authority to transfer research materials.**
- 6. NACOSTI may monitor and evaluate the licensed research project.**
- 7. The Licensee shall submit one hard copy and upload a soft copy of their final report within one year of completion of the research.**
- 8. NACOSTI reserves the right to modify the conditions of the License including cancellation without prior notice.**

**National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation**  
**P.O. Box 30623 - 00100, Nairobi, Kenya**  
**TEL: 020 400 7000, 0713 788787, 0735 404245**  
**Email: dg@nacosti.go.ke, registry@nacosti.go.ke**  
**Website: www.nacosti.go.ke**



**REPUBLIC OF KENYA**  
**National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation**  
**RESEARCH LICENSE**  
**Serial No.A 23634**  
**CONDITIONS: see back page**

PERCEPTIONS OF POLITICAL LEADERS' TTERANCES AND THEIR  
INFLUENCE ON INTER-ETHNIC RELATIONS IN KASARANI SUB-COUNTY  
NAIROBI CITY COUNTY, KENYA

**ORIGINALITY REPORT**

**Supervisors:**

Dr. Khamati Shilabukha  Dr.

Dr. Gideon Marete 

9% SIMILARITY INDEX	8% INTERNET SOURCES PUBLICATIONS	1%	4% STUDENT PAPERS
<b>PRIMARY SOURCES</b>			
	hrm ars.com <b>1</b> Internet Source		1%
	e <b>2</b> erepository.uonbi.ac.k Internet Source		1%
	<b>3</b> pdfs.semanticscholar.org Internet Source		1%
	<b>4</b> Submitted to Kenyatta University Student Paper		<1%
	www.academicjournals.org <b>5</b> Internet Source		<1%
	d.com <b>6</b> pt.scrib Internet Source		<1%