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**COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION
AND MANAGEMENT: A CASE STUDY OF URBAN SLUM
DWELLERS WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO KIBERA SLUM OF
NAIROBI, KENYA.**

BY

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**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
EAST AFRICANA COLLECTION**

RESEARCH STUDY SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN
COMMUNICATION STUDIES AT THE SCHOOL OF
JOURNALISM
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DECLARATION

I, LYDIA ANYONJE do hereby declare that this project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

LYDIA ANYONJE



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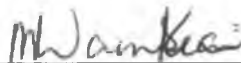
The project has been submitted for examination with my approval as University Supervisor

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Date: 5/3/05

DEDICATION

This project is dedicated to my husband Eddie Wawire, daughter Tamara Okiya, my father Methuselah Makonjio and mother Roselidah Makonjio

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to my supervisor, Ms Wambui Kiai and other lecturers for their continuous guidance during all the phases of preparing this project. I would like to extend my appreciation to all the staff of the School of Journalism at the University of Nairobi for their concern and encouragement.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ARP	Alternative Rite of Passage
CBO	Community-Based Organization
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
COVAW	Coalition on Violence Against Women
FBO	Faith-Based Organization
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
FIDA	Federation of Women Lawyers
HTP	Harmful Traditional Practices
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
KICOSHEP	Kibera Community Self Help Project
NCCK	National Council of Churches of Kenya
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
TOT	Trainer of Trainers
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNIFEM	United Nations Women Fund
USA	United States of America

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DEFINITIONS OF KEY TERMS

Security

Universal aspiration to live in the expectation that life and physical integrity will not be threatened by another person, group or society.

Militarism

The policy of giving exceptional emphasis to military preparedness, exalting military virtues and relying on force in international relations.

Ethnic group

A collectivity of people who share some patterns of normative behaviour and form part of a large population, interacting with people from other collectivities within the framework of a social group.

Armed conflict

A conflict arises when parties disagree about distribution of material or symbolic resources.

Attributes

Characteristics or qualities that describe an object or a person e.g. female conservative, dishonest, intelligent.

Variables

Logical groupings of attributes, e.g. male and female are attributes while sex or gender are the variables composed of those two attributes.

Research

A critical examination or inquiry to discover facts.

Theory

A system of explaining phenomena by stating constructs and the laws that interrelate these constructs to each other.

Construct

A concept, abstraction or idea drawn from the specific.

Population

Refers to an entire group of individuals, events or objects having a common observable characteristic.

Population validity

A way of establishing that accessible population is in itself representative of the target population e.g. all cancer patients undergoing chemotherapy in Nairobi hospital.

Sample

A small group obtained from the accessible population.

Sampling

The process of selecting a number of individuals for a study in such a way that the individual selected represent the large group from which they were drawn.

OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

Resolution

In this study, resolution will be taken to mean solving, getting to the bottom of something and finding answers to problems.

Limitations

This will be any aspect of the research that may influence the results negatively but over which the researcher has no control.

Strategies

This will refer to ways or methods. It will also mean tactics.

Advocacy

In the conflict resolution context, advocacy will be closely related to community organizing and empowerment. Linked to efforts made to bring about social change and remedy injustice by identifying problems, interests and goals, it will refer to involvement of the strategies and tactics necessary to achieve these goals.

Conflict

This will refer to any situation in which two or more parties have incompatible goals about something. The indicators of conflict are violent confrontations, fighting, burning of houses, destruction of property and even blood baths.

Conflict**Prevention**

In this study, this will refer to activities designed to keep conflict from developing. Such activities include predicting and eliminating the causes of violence with or between and within nations and states by the use of the military police or civilians.

Peace Building

In this study, peace building will refer to re-establishing or developing normal peaceful relations between people.

ABSTRACT

A purposeful study was conducted to find out communication strategies or interventions used in conflict management and resolution. The focus was on communities residing in Kibera slums, Nairobi. The results of the study revealed that interventions that are communicative in nature have not been effectively used to stem conflict in Kibera.

Even after various strategies have been employed in the past the study reveals that violence is still on the increase and cuts across the genders. Almost all those who were interviewed said they have witnessed violence/ conflict occur (94.5%) and witnessed (85%) crime take place.

Other underlying social problems such as unemployment and poverty are so acute that they can be said to be directly causing as well as triggering conflict along with other triggers such as politics. A staggering 87.5% of the residents in Kibera do not own houses. Only 12.5% claim house ownership. Most residents live from hand to mouth and many (62.9%) engage in unlicensed businesses to make ends meet.

The study unearthed the employment status of people who live in slums such as Kibera; many of them live below the poverty line and are not engaged in any form of gainful employment. Of the unemployed section of the population, 60.6% are males and 34% are females. This shows that due to scarcity of resources and deprivation of basic needs these people are very likely to engage in violence/conflict in their struggle to survive.

In conclusion the study pointed out the associations between poverty, unemployment, psychosocial/ emotional well-being family life, ethnicity and politics with conflict/ violence among communities residing in Kibera slums of Nairobi. The findings suggest that community centred communication approaches be targeted at these people in order to help them understand how to propel themselves out of the ravages of violence/conflict by effectively communicating peace and economically empowering themselves to counter the root causes of conflict.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

It is disturbing that Kenya has witnessed several tribal clashes and skirmishes engineered by politicians who use the ethnic factor to psychologically indoctrinate one tribe against another for purposes of economic gain. Militarization of some sections of the society was going on up to 2001 and could still be going on. According to Human Rights Watch (May 2002 p.2)

“People have acquired guns to defend themselves and carry out revenge attacks to protect their property especially livestock and to assert control over scarce natural resources.”¹

Increased presence of modern weapons facilitates the political opportunities to instigate armed violence. There has been violence and conflict in different parts of the country. Likoni, Molo, Dandora, Tana River, Kariobangi North and slum areas such as Kibera and Mathare have all been visited with conflict.

In the Likoni one, local raiders, Human Rights Watch reveals, attacked and killed non-locals belonging to Luhya, Kamba and Kikuyu communities. This is tribal or politically motivated conflict. The impact? 104 people killed, 133 injured, property damaged and the tourism sector affected. In a method akin to what went on in Rwanda, traditional oathing was used to organize political violence. Leaflets were also used.

¹ Human rights watch

In December 2001 at Kibera slum, during a dispute over rent, the then president incited violence using comments favouring tenants who then rose up against their landlords. This was some time after the 'Njonjo Commission' had collected views of Kenyans on land reforms at provincial and district levels. He stated that no one owned the land in Kibera as it was government state land and that landlords were fleecing tenants. This in a few days, accelerated by underlying factors such as poverty, unemployment and frustration, degenerated into one of the bloodiest conflict in Kenya's biggest and oldest slums.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Kibera like other urban slums in Kenya has repeatedly and increasingly witnessed violent conflict in the past and during the period leading to the last general elections. Despite the international focus by civil society, donors, media and by international organizations on international conflict and terrorism, there seems to be a glaring lack of coordination and procedure for prevention and resolution of violent conflicts within countries. Yet these internal conflicts, which are often protracted, pose a serious threat to the security of a country and have been known to spill to across borders leaving a trail of misery and suffering in their wake.

When conflicts erupt as has happened in the past, there is a tendency for organizations to rush in very fast and assist the victims materially as well as resettle them in case of displacement. Violent conflicts within the country have been solved using legal, political, ethical and military approaches. The resultant effect is that the conflicts keep recurring and their consequences become more disturbing. In order to effectively deal with the issue of conflict within communities, an approach that is rooted in the understanding of relationships

and communication has to be employed. The psychological healing that must of necessity go with conflict resolution and community reconstruction can only take root through participatory interactive communication². This is what is able to penetrate the consciousness of the residents of violence prone slums such as Kibera.

Information regarding conflict resolution interventions is either lacking or not tailored to specifically deal with particular situations. There is need to reassess, update and document this information for future consumption.

1.3 Justification of the study

While it is true that there are skills and data about conflict resolution, it is hardly adequate and though several approaches have been applied in trying to resolve conflict, violence has not been uprooted from society. Urban slums such as Kibera continue to be a cesspool of violence, destruction and human suffering borne of the absence of communication approaches as a tool of addressing this issue.

Presently, very little is done to meet the particular communication needs of the communities that are frequently strewn in violence, or to recognize their unique capacities and contribution. This includes understanding the perceptions that encourage people to engage in conflict. Interventions often ignore the unique contribution and role of the media both in escalating already existing conflict (Zaring DT, 1994) and in effectively accelerating the end of a conflict.

² Anyonje Lydia, 2003

Though agencies have spent significant resources in developing and improving best practice protocols for emergency conflict interventions for communities in conflict, it is widely recognized that significant gaps exist in knowledge, skills and capacity of the humanitarian agencies to respond to the underlying intricate psychosocial needs of people affected and suffering conflict.

Communication services in Kenya have not been tailored to the needs of the initiators and victims of conflict due to lack of data on the needs demands and problems of this section of our society.

1.4 Objectives

Specific objectives were:

1. To investigate perceptions which encourage people in Kibera to engage in conflict.
2. To explore how media contributes to resolving conflict in Kibera.
3. To examine the communication strategies used to resolve conflict in Kibera.
4. To find out the understanding of conflict in Kibera and develop skills for transforming it peacefully and constructively through communication.

1.5 Hypotheses

1. Perceptions encourage people to engage in conflict.
2. For peace to be sustainable, effective means of managing conflict non-violently using communication strategies must be rooted in the social structure of Kibera.
3. Media have a contribution to make towards resolving conflict in Kibera.

1.6 Expected benefit of the study

The findings will help improve the social life and general welfare of not only the Kibera residents, but also all communities undergoing conflict elsewhere in the world today. More importantly, it will encourage the humanitarian agencies and relevant institutions to respond more effectively to early warning indicators as well as communication signals that point to emergency situations and take up the tasks of providing adequate Information Education and Communication on the same. Data recorded in this study will be a resource for future research in this area.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

A conflict is a clash or struggle between opposing forces. In Kenya as in the case of other countries in Africa, the 'clash' has resulted in bloodbaths, political upheaval, famine, displacement, and loss of identities and disintegration of families. Mwangi (2000)³ views conflict as arising as a result of two or more parties having incompatible goals about something. The effect of conflict according to Mwangi (2000) is to dislocate valued relationships and to cause stress on the structure on which relationships are made.

It is almost impossible for one to think of Africa, without thinking of incessant violence and death. Numerous human rights abuses that result from conflict are the hallmark of Africa's past and present times. The effects of conflict have been so dramatic and life threatening in Africa, that they have attracted the attention of scholars, intellectuals and the international community. Mali, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Uganda, Liberia, Sierra Leone and other African nations have all suffered conflict. These conflicts mostly occur within, rather than between states. According to the IPA report⁴, the conflicts result from a host of factors, particularly from the nature of the distribution of power and resources within a society. International conflicts vary along ethnic, religious and racial lines but the core of the divisions among African states points to power and resources.'⁵

³ Mwangi Makumi
Conflict: Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management
Nairobi: Watermark Publications, 2000

⁴ Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Report from Maputo Conference, 28th – 29th June 2001

⁵ Ibid

There is need for Africa to seriously engage in the re-examination and re-evaluation of approaches to conflict management, that foster growth and development. In recognition of this analysis, many regional organizations, some of which Kenya is a member of, have been formed to put Africa back on the path of peace. These organizations include the Security Council, 'Inter alia', the G 8, the African Union, the Non – Aligned Movement and most importantly the Inter – Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD).

Conflict does not always have to be harmful. It is true that conflict can be beneficial especially if it is managed properly and in a timely way. Mwangi (2000) points out that conflict is endemic in society and that it will always be there in the world as long as there are human beings. He goes on to explain that conflict is part of life and

“... cannot be eradicated in the same way for example that we can eradicate a disease such as smallpox or malaria. Indeed a society without conflict would be both stale and sterile.”

The challenge is not to eradicate conflict but to manage it properly and to learn from it. Identification of conflicts is the first step towards this management. In the same school of thought is William Zartman who is quoted by Slater Schutz and Dorr (1993). Zartman says,

“Conflict it should be understood is inherent in any politics as is cooperation. Conflict is often functional and even enjoyable and

⁴ Mwangi Makumi
Conflict: Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management
Nairobi: Watermark Publications, 2000

cooperation is often conflict-driven. Political structures regulate its conduct and also determine many of its ingredients. To expect that any structures will exorcise conflict and install cooperation is illusory; the best that can be sought is that rules, relations and procedures will be established to render that conflict as productive and constructive as possible. The condition however is that it remain political. The rules, relations and procedures should permit conflict to reach a satisfactory conclusion without resort to violence.”⁷

For the case of Kibera slums, people have suffered and lives have been lost but the media highlights of the goings on in the region have put it in the spot light. The Kenyan government’s efforts to deal with root causes of violence and conflict have began with Kibera. According to Daily Nation, Thursday August 7, 2003, the government has initiated a slum-upgrading programme and Kibera is the first to benefit. The nation reports,

“The Kenyan Slum Upgrading Programme (KENSUP) is a joint initiative of the Government of Kenya and UN- HABITAT...The principle objective of the programmes to improve the livelihoods of people living and working in slums and informal settlements in the urban areas of Kenya through promoting, facilitating and where necessary providing security of tenure, housing improvement, income generation, physical and social infrastructure...”⁸

⁷ Slater Robert O, Schutz Barry M and Dorr Steven R
Global Transformation and the Third World
London: Lynne Rienner Publishers Boulder Adamantine Pres, 1993, Pg 325

⁸ Daily Nation, Thursday, August 7, 2003

However, the root causes of conflict in Kibera have to be studied in order to prevent recurrence of the same in Kibera or elsewhere in the country. There is need for a distinction between proximate or immediate causes of conflict such as those events that may trigger violence and underlying causes. The underlying causes are the more fundamental and long-term causes, which create conditions in which immediate triggers of conflict occur. This is the only way of understanding conflict thereby seeking its resolution.

The approaches used to sort out issues in Kibera have to be examined critically to find out whether they are working or if they could be improved. The Resource Pack for conflict transformation suggests,

“There are different ways of approaching conflict resolution. Any approach that concentrates simply on bringing the violent conflict to an end tends not to work in the long- term. Conflicts that are suppressed often escalate again. Settlements which do not address the underlying issues from which the conflict arose or are unjust to any of the parties may well prove unsustainable.”⁹

2.2 Roots of conflict

Every conflict situation has its own history and its own actors. However protracted social conflicts involve questions of identity, symbolic meaning, control over resources and a sense of meaningful security. The roots of Kibera conflict are ethnic in nature although other factors such as poverty and politics contribute. It is said that ethnic minorities affect

⁹ Resource Pack for Conflict Transformation, International Alert

every state in the world. Kibera is no exception especially since all the 42 tribes in Kenya inhabit it. Such are the situations or conditions from which stem the reasons why conflict erupts.¹⁰

2.2.1 Poverty and Structural Violence or Conflict

Due to poverty there is competition for scarce resources in terms of jobs, property rights and development allocations. Dominant groups enjoy resources at the expense of the rest. This then leads to huge disparities between the deprived and the 'haves' and therefore conflict is born. Mwangi (2000) is of the view that the very way society is structured produces conflict. The inequalities created are manipulated and exploited by bringing in other angles such as ethnicity. Conflict becomes imminent in such a case. Mwangi points out: -

“Structural violence and structural conflict are all about structures that generate or cause conflict in society. These structures are economic, social and psychological. They also include religious and legal structures. The effect of these structures is to create inequalities in various categories and sectors, including health, education, income, life expectancy, employment and such like.”¹¹

Coulombi and Wolfe (1986) concur with this view. They say poverty and poor living conditions especially in towns causes people to feel hopeless and despair and when they do,

London: International Alert, 1996 Pg 1

¹⁰ Lamba Davida, “The forgotten half: Environmental health in Nairobi poverty areas in Environment and Urbanization Volume 6, No. 1

¹¹ Ibid Pg.32

they are vulnerable to any kind of manipulation by politicians, crime cartels and ethnic puritans. According to the two scholars,

“...Urbanisation coupled with unemployment and the creation of the sprawling slums in both the heart and the periphery of large cities is a road to restlessness and despair. It is probably easier to accept poverty in a rural than in an urban environment.”¹²

It is poverty that makes the not so rich landlord of Kibera raise the rents. The same poverty prevents tenants from affording the hiked rents. The end result is conflict of a violent nature.

2.2.2 Politics

One of the first demands of ethnic groups such as those in Kibera is access to the political process. If one cannot address or accommodate the diverse political demands of the minority groups, the whole thing escalates into open violence. Politicians can also pit one group against the other for the purpose of political gain. Indeed politics is a trigger for conflicts. Black C E (1996) reveals.

“.... Even in societies with a strong tradition of local rights such as Switzerland and the United States, the trend over the years has been for the Central authorities to increase their power at the expense of the local.”¹³

¹² Couloumbi Theodore A And Wolfe James H.
Introduction to International Relations: Power and Justice 3rd Edition
New Delhi: Printice Hall of India, 1986

¹³ Black C.E
The Dynamics of Modernisation; A study in Comparative History
New York, Harper & Row Publishers, 1966

When there is too much power only among a few, those who feel short-changed are bound to rebel. Related to politics is the issue of state weakness. In cases where the state cannot be relied on for protection or fails to arbitrate the concern of the groups involved heightens and conflict occurs.

2.2.3 Need for recognition and cultural identity

Conflict will occur where a section of the community feels that the larger community does not satisfy issues of language myth of descent, and collective name association¹⁴.

2.2.4 Denial of basic human needs

When need for communal or cultural identity need for participation in national affairs and need for distributing justice is denied over a long period of time, conflict occurs¹⁵.

2.2.5 Rapid population growth

Too many people mean that there is not enough to go round. There are bound to be conflicts since everyone will want a share of what is available¹⁶.

2.2.6 Security

When groups fear for their physical safety or when they are discriminated against on the basis of ethnicity they mobilize each other and seek redress¹⁷.

¹⁴ Burgess and Burgess, Encyclopedia of conflict resolution USA 1997.

¹⁵ Ibid

¹⁶ Ibid

¹⁷ Ibid

2.2.7 Media

Many times conflicts have been created and ongoing ones escalated by the effect of media. Media is a very powerful influence in peoples' mind. The dual nature of media is such that it can either create chaos or foster peace. Merrill John (1983) decries media role in creation of conflict. He says of the press

"...Anxieties are created, magnified and perpetuated; religion is set against religion, social class against social class, race against race and nationality against nationality."¹⁸

2.2.8 Religion

Religion too can be a cause of conflict especially if religious leaders stretch issues to fanatical heights. If this fanaticism is directed towards other groups in the community such as Muslims versus Christians, then conflict becomes inevitable¹⁹.

2.3 Types of internal conflicts

Elise Boulding (1992) recognizes five types of conflicts:

2.3.1 Ideological conflicts

These are between the state and insurgent movements in which social inequality between classes is dominant.

¹⁸ Merrill, John C
Global Journalism
New York: Longman Inc. 1983

¹⁹ Ibid

2.3.2 Governance and authority conflicts

They concern distribution of power and authority in society. Demands from the opposition is normally for regime changes and control over resources.

2.3.3 Racial conflicts

Those to do the colour of skin for instance, discrimination against blacks in South Africa, Namibia, U.S.A and Europe.

2.3.4 Environmental conflicts

These are resource-based conflicts over land, water, control of rivers and protection of forests. Boulding (1992) points out that there are two categories of environmental conflicts; environmental conflict between man and nature and conflicts between states and population groups caused or exacerbated by environmental problems. Resolving them requires different approaches.

2.3.5 Identity conflicts

Ethnic conflicts, religious, tribal or linguistic conflicts are all included here. They can further be subdivided into territorial conflicts, ethnic

According to the Peace Tree Network proposal for Regional TOT in conflict transformation (July 2003) research indicates that interactive participatory training methods are most effective in building group cohesion, reducing biases between group members, improving understanding of complex concepts and developing problem-solving skills. Communication

therefore is key in the process of resolving conflicts successfully. It is further revealed in this proposal

“Learning to resolve conflicts peacefully involves more than acquiring information. It also requires changing attitudes and behaviours and learning interpersonal skills.”²⁰

This means that strategies involving communication are the ones bound to succeed. Without communication there is no way the other party can know how to respond to the other and costly assumptions can be made when it would have been easily sorted out through communication.

2.4 Focus on Kenyan conflict over time

2.4.1 Pre independence

Kenya, like many other African states has not been spared the ravages of conflict. Kenya is a multicultural nation. According to Macharia Munene (1997), there is no specific Kenyan culture or religion. “Rather there are multi – faceted collections and groupings of cultures. Some of these groupings are co-operative or akin to each other, while others are antagonistic. Needless to say, such diversity provides for or is a component of conflict.”²¹

²⁰ Peace Tree Network
Proposal for Regional TOT in Conflict Transformation
July 2003 (unpublished)

²¹ Munene M., ‘Culture and Religion in Conflict Management’ in Africa Media Review Vol II No. 3 pp28, 29, 1997

The genesis of cultural chauvinism from which conflict often germinates, was brought about by and can be traced to colonialism in Kenya. This colonial experience, just like that of other African countries as Munene (1997) puts it, "was in itself antagonistic and not necessarily in the interest of the Africans". The British colonialists created tribal enmity. Through geographical categorization and the use of boundaries supposedly for administrative purposes, Kenyans were divided through the promotion of cultural identities. This is a factor that features prominently in Kenya's civil strife and conflict before, during and even today long after independence.

In early colonial Kenya, missionaries believed Africans to be savages, who were to be tamed into becoming efficient labourers. In the process of taming them, however, by imposing a western version of religion, the same missionary groups quarrelled among each other, while they trampled on the cultural sensibilities of Africans.

This made the indigenous Kenyans discontented. Subsequently riots broke out such as the 'Thuku riots' of 1922. The most serious of the riots or conflicts was the 'Mau Mau' uprising of 1960 to 1963. The Mau Mau struggle eventually precipitated independence from British Colonial rule for the indigenes of Kenya.

Mau Mau activities included: the smuggling of arms and food, the training of militia, and the passage of coded information to counter the white colonial settlers. It was not only men who were involved in these dangerous activities. Many women smuggled guns and took food to their male compatriots in camps in the forest. Others acted as informers for the Mau Mau, while those who remained at home took charge of heading the households where men

were absent. Women on the frontline during the Mau Mau struggle were often forced into sexual relations with their compatriots in the camps.²²

The colonial state tackled the Mau Mau uprising by implanting suspicions among the indigenous Kenyan Africans as a fighting strategy. They also used the Church to suppress the Mau Mau movement and accommodated selected Africans to whom they gave wealth, authority and responsibilities. This special class of Kenyans called the “Nyapara” rose up against the leadership of the tribes such as Luo and Kikuyu who were largely indigenous in areas where the whites and colonial masters had settled. This, explained, Wilfred Havelock, a colonial official, was a regional system intended to protect smaller tribes from domination and exploitation. Paradoxically, the colonial masters suddenly transformed the large Luhya and Kalenjin communities into small tribes. The settlers, however, after carving Kenya into ethnic enclaves, eventually had to leave. They left in their wake a legacy of larger versus smaller tribes, which live on in Kenya today.

2.4.2 Post independence

Just before independence, two political parties, KANU and KADU were prominent on Kenya’s political landscape. KADU later dissolved to join KANU. When Kenya attained independence in 1963, Jomo Kenyatta of KANU became the First President of Kenya. In 1966, disagreements over failed promises by the government to the Kenyan people, disputes over land ownership, and the implementation of discriminative ethnic-centered policies

²² Ibid

resulted in the formation of Kenya People's Union (KPU) led by the deceased Vice President Jaramogi Oginga Odinga²³

KPU party was active until 1969, when Kenyatta and Oginga publicly and violently disagreed at a rally in the lakeside town of Kisumu. As a result, Odinga's political activity was quickly throttled. Kenya reverted to a one party state in which ethnic strife and animosity abounded.²⁴

The hallmark of being a one party state was the centralization of power. The provincial administration took over all community-based operations and even supported 'preferred' candidates during national elections. The Kenyatta era saw the administration of an oath by Kikuyu elders that was referred to as "Chai" or "buying land in Gatundu" for a mere ten shillings. As a result of this oath, numerous 'matatus', buses and lorries were seen ferrying people to unknown destinations around the country to settle on farms and land belonging to other communities. This state of affairs created anxiety in the rest of Kenyans. The anxiety was translated into tribal clashes that were most severe in the Rift Valley. Even today clashes over land in the Rift valley continue to fan animosity in Kenya long after Kenyatta's death.²⁵

With Kenyatta's death in 1978 and the ascension of Daniel Arap Moi to the Presidency, there was an air of optimism, politically. However the aura of "Nyayoism", Peace, Love and Unity was tested when Moi's authority was rattled in 1982 following an attempted coup.

²³ UNDP, Participatory Governance for Human Development: The Third Kenyan Human Development Report 2004

²⁴ Ibid

²⁵ Ibid

Consolidation of power then became a paramount objective for the Moi administration. Around this time, Kenya's current President Mwai Kibaki and others vehemently opposed parliamentary debate that would have seen Kenya's constitution changed to allow for multipartism. This situation remained so until 1991 when a section of the constitution was repealed to allow for the registration and operation of opposition parties (Multipartism).²⁶

The repeal of the relevant section of the constitution that transformed Kenya's political system from one party to multi-party allowed the creation of FORD (the Forum for Restoration of Democracy). FORD later disintegrated but 55 other parties were registered by end of 2002. 'Multipartism' gave rise to rapid growth of the number and activities of NGOs and CBOs. However, discontent with repressive activities of the government on civil society participation reigned.²⁷

In the early 1990's there was a call to 'Majimboism' by leaders who felt that their communities had been "short changed" during the Kenyatta era. They demanded to return to their land, their indigenous ownership right. With these demands the tribal clashes were borne in Western, Coast and Rift Valley provinces.

Meanwhile on the backdrop of the tribal clashes in 1992, KANU won the first multiparty election in Kenya with 36% of the total votes cast. Between 1993 and 1997, the ruling party had control over other parties and many opposition groups were induced to switch support back to the ruling party. However, continued pressure for reforms came from the civil

²⁶ Ibid
²⁷ Ibid

society before the 1997 elections. Bending to this pressure from the civil society, parliamentary political parties, KANU and the other parties formed the Inter Party Parliamentary Group (IPPG).

In spite of the IPPG, KANU won the 1997 elections with 41% of the total votes and later merged with the NDP (National Democratic Party), one of the main parliamentary parties to form the New KANU. In the face of impending National elections there were tensions and disagreements in the party over the choice of a Vice chairman to take over the party leadership after the Chairman's retirement. This conflict led to the collapse of the merger.

At the forum that saw the collapse of the merger, the opposition agreed to unite and field Mwai Kibaki as a single presidential candidate. The warring parties formed the National Alliance Party of Kenya (NAK) and later the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) consisting of the fallout from KANU. Opposition unity ushered in the defeat of KANU after 40 years of rule. This was a second transition, a new phase of institutional renewal. However, the challenges of the second-generation transition remain to be seen. By definition, today, the initial 18-month time period following the change of leadership characterising a transition has expired²⁸.

A question asked by Kenyans today is whether the political climate has really changed or whether the change was limited to the euphoria of 2002. 'Is this the Kenya we want?' People ask today? 'Is there peace at last in Kenya's political climate'? Prevention and resolution of conflict has a lot to do with political governance, political maturity and

²⁸ Ibid

sensitivity to the needs of the vulnerable people of the country in question. An ability to manage conflict well is the mark of mature leadership. However, the ruling coalition is straddled with discontent and an inability to deliver on national policy. Women's participation in politics in Kenya has certainly increased since independence but more needs to be done. There are still too few women in political and policy positions compared to men²⁹.

2.5 Incidences of conflict in Kenya

Like other countries in Africa, Kenya has had its share of the painful effects of conflict. Kenyans have experienced political violence in the recent past. The consequences of this violence, though initially sub-national or regional, have pervaded the national agenda causing stress and tension. Particular sections or administrative divisions of the country have borne the weight of conflict more than others. Rift Valley Province, Western Province and the Coastal region have suffered a disproportional share of conflict or violence in the recent past. Today, leaflets warning of renewed ethnic conflict in Kenya are being distributed in major towns³⁰.

At the community level in Kenya, violent conflict is not uncommon. Various Kenyan communities have their own distinct shared interests, attitudes, practices, beliefs and coping mechanisms. For instance, conflict is exemplified in the violence that rocked Kibera, Tana River, Dandora, Kariobangi, Likoni and Mount Elgon. These incidences were sparked off by, assassinations, disputes over land ownership, obstruction from carrying on a meeting,

²⁹ Nzomo Maria (Ed), *Perspective on Gender Discourse: Women in Politics; Challenges of democratic transition in Kenya*, Nairobi, Heinrich Boll Foundation, 2003.

³⁰ *Ethnic Clashes, Events and Trend Monitoring report*, Vol. 1, No. 10, Nairobi, 2001.

rally or fundraising gathering. Border towns such as Gucha and Transmara are said to experience conflict stemming from cattle rustling. However, leaders across both divides cannot pinpoint the actual cause of the violence between Maasai and Kisii communities living there. Some leaders believe that the violence is generated by political factors³¹.

2.6 Case studies of violent conflict in Kenya

Violent conflict in Kenya is largely political or as a result of cattle rustling, land ownership or religious disputes. Compared to other African countries within the region, such as the DRC Congo, Sierra Leone, Mozambique, Angola, Somalia and Sudan, Kenya is relatively peaceful. However, there have been some incidences of violent conflict experienced in Kenya.

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2.6.1 Conflict in Northern Kenya

North Eastern province is regarded as an epicenter of violent conflict in Kenya. The province has experienced tremendous and continuous economic, political, social and religious upheaval that predates Kenya's independence.

So great is the alienation of the residents of Northern Kenya, that many residents of northern districts speak of Kenya as 'another country'. In the opinion of residents of Northern Kenya, they are routinely subjected to discriminatory treatment. The causes of conflict in Northern Kenya can be attributed to State brutality through security agents - the Kenya army and the policy. This is exemplified by the burning of Garissa town in 1980, and the massacres that

³¹ Ibid

occurred in Bura Irgu in July 1967, Bura Kartasi in 1980, Maalkam Ari in Mandera in 1982 and in Bagala in 1998³².

These massacres can be traced in part to conflict amongst 2 major warring clans; the Ogaden and the Degodia. Further conflict can be traced back to the October – November 1967 peace agreement between Kenya and Somalia. In this agreement a large part of Southern Somalia was hived out of Somalia and put into the administrative jurisdiction of Kenya, by the outgoing British Government. The ‘annexed’ community say they have suffered marginalization by the Kenya government in the allocation of national resources for development; infrastructure, education and market development among other issues.

The residents of Wajir and Garissa recall the rape and forced impregnation of their women and girls, as well as the abduction of their girls by military personnel. They recall the confiscation of their property – notably livestock by security personnel, the imposition of oppressive laws including the Closed District act, the indemnity act during the ‘emergency’ period of 1964 – 1967. During this period of Kenyan history and even more recently the operations in northern Kenya were referred to as ‘the shifta or bandit flushing operations’³³.

The community in Northern Kenya is largely Islamic. They complain of religious discrimination by the larger community of Kenyans who are predominantly Christian. The community of Northern Kenya is “Somali” in origin. They complain, even currently, of discrimination in the issuance of national identity cards and passports. This discrimination

³² Workshop on conflict, HIV/AIDS and Gender, Hosted by Solutions for Health and Development, July 2004.

³³ Ibid

based on racial difference is extended to the Somali community in the suburbs of Nairobi and even in districts of Eastern province such as Mwingi in Meru district.

The residents of Northern Kenya complain that due to the dumping of toxic wastes by the Kenyan government in their province, they suffer an increased incidence of cancer of the oesophagus. They complain that their water sources have been poisoned as their livestock die after drinking water at particular sites. Further they recount the translocation of a rare species of wildlife called 'Hirola' from the province to Laikipia district³⁴.

2.6.2 Refugees and the internally displaced versus host communities

It is acknowledged that animosity exists between host communities and surrounding refugee or displaced persons settlements. In Northern Kenya due to serial waves of conflict and drought in neighbouring Somalia, there have been several phases of settlement of displaced persons from Somalia. These displaced Somali commonly settle in refugee camps or on the outskirts of towns such as Garissa and Wajir³⁵.

On the outskirts of these towns, the displaced have access to wells for water and other basic amenities. Outside Wajir there are concentric rings of displaced persons. Those who were displaced from Somalia and settled outside the town many years ago form the inner ring of settlers. While, those who were displaced more recently form the outer ring of settlers.

³⁴ Ibid

³⁵ Report of the task force on the Establishment of a truth, justice and reconciliation commission, Nairobi, 26 August 2003.

The conditions of displaced populations are commonly poorer than that of the host community. This is because government and relief agencies rarely target the IDP particularly as their locations are often non-specific.

Even after having resided within or on the outskirts of townships such as Wajir in Northern Kenya and Molo in Rift Valley province or even slums such as Kibera, the IDPs are rarely accorded the right to participate in social development by the host community.

The situation of refugee populations is different. Several UN, NGO and government agencies easily target and provide basic services to refugees while they are in campsites. These refugee camps are well protected and due to the relief assistance and the provision of basic services, the refugees are much better off than the surrounding host communities. As a result the refugees become targets of attack and retaliation by the host community who feel they have been neglected.

The Wagalla massacre took place at Wagalla airstrip in Wajir district between the 10th and 15th February 1984. It is estimated that over 5,000 men were rounded up and taken to Wagalla airstrip where all, but 2 persons, were either burnt or shot to death, by Kenyan army personnel. The cause of the massacre is said to be linked to inter clan conflict between the Degodia and the Ogaden. The Ogaden clan are said to have been represented in senior positions in the army where they used their influence to 'silence' the Degodia. Most of the victims of the massacre were buried at the nearby catholic mission graveyard in mass graves³⁶.

³⁶ Ibid

Looting, banditry and cattle rustling were reported in Molo of Rift Valley Province as recently as between the 2nd February and the 4th February 4, 2002. The issues at hand were claims of land ownership between the Kikuyu and Kalenjin. In a few cases, the Kikuyu and Meru who also live in Rift Valley were involved in the violence.

Political thuggery in Kenya has existed since time immemorial. This thuggery was the cause of contention in Gitari, Marigu of Dandora Division in Nairobi province, when the 'Mungiki' sect (an outlawed sect) rose up against the Luo Community residing in the area. It was reported that politicians were manipulating the Mungiki to achieve their own political mileage in anticipation of the 2002 elections. (The 'Mungiki' is a group of young, unemployed, unkempt Kikuyu males). Chanting 'Thaai' or God, the Mungiki hacked more than 10 people to death and engaged in hooliganism and vandalism during this incident.³⁷

In Kariobangi North, a similar wave of murder by the 'Mungiki' sect was reported. During this incident, the Mungiki brutally murdered 23 people supposedly to avenge the death of two of their members at the hands of a rival vigilante group, "the Taliban".

Tana River district was one of the areas in Kenya, rocked by violence from November 2001 through to January and February 2003. According to the Central Depository Unit report, political violence in Tana River was also experienced during the early transition to multi-partism.

³⁷ Ibid

Banditry has been employed as an age-old political tool in the struggle for civic, parliamentary and presidential votes in Kenya. The conflict in the northern parts of Kenya has been aggravated by the influx of illegal firearms from neighboring war-torn Somalia into Tana River district.

Peter Mwangi (2002) points out that in Tana River, violence occurred within the wider canvas of a prolonged dry spell in the 2000-2001 periods. Other intervening variables at the time were: the growing youth unemployment, inter-ethnic competition for land, pastures and water. The areas affected most were Garsen and Kipini divisions.

Violence and conflict were also accelerated by the increasing real poverty linked to the government's failure to deal effectively with forces of globalization. The arid areas of Kenya particularly where the Somali reside have not received fair Government attention since independence. This can be directly linked to a British treaty signed in the 1967 just after independence was granted to Kenya that hived off Southern Somalia and gave this region to Northern Kenya; the Northern Frontier.³⁸

On the whole, an estimated 100 people were killed in the violence in Tana River in 2001. Hundreds were maimed and property destroyed during the violence. Displacement also occurred as many people fled their homes especially the Orma Waedei and Pokomo.

The Coastal region, Kenya's tourism hub, has not been spared the ravages of conflict. Politicians of both KANU and the then opposition manipulated the natives of the Coast

using the 'Majimbo' (regionalism) factor to ignite local anger against people from other parts of Kenya who had settled at the Coast in the run up to elections in 2002.

Young men were recruited to join coastal raiders to reclaim ancestral land, property and jobs from settlers from upcountry. This conflict caused the attacks on and killing of settlers living in the Coast namely the Luhya, Kamba, Luo and Kikuyu communities. About 104 people were killed, 133 were injured, property was damaged and the tourism sector suffered heavy losses, which have kept tourists away from the region to date.³⁹

2.7 Focus on Kibera conflict

Kibera Slums, home to almost one million poor Kenyans, have also been a focus for cyclic violent conflict. The worst cycle of violence was experienced in the 2002 period just before the general elections.

Violence in Kibera has largely resulted from rent disputes and property or land ownership, which when compounded with ethnic mistrust has over time made the slum the most violence prone slum in Nairobi, and in Kenya. Out of the 22,000 landlords in Kibera, 5,000 are Luo. The rest are of 'Nubi' origin. The 'Nubi' are of a direct Sudanese heritage. There are a few Kikuyu and Kamba communities in the slum. Though the Kibera community comprises the 42 tribes of Kenya, most tenants are Luo, a factor that was manipulated by politicians in the run up to the 2002 elections. The mostly 'Nubian' landlords clashed with Luo tenants who had declined to pay increasing rental charges in the face of escalating

³⁴ Report of the Task Force on the Establishment of a Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission, 26th August 2003 pp94

³⁹ Human Rights Watch, *Playing With Fire: Weapons Proliferation, Political Violence and Human Rights in Kenya 2002*

poverty. The Luo were egged on to violence by the populist stance taken by their area member of parliament.⁴⁰

Shortly thereafter, what started, as the assault of a landlord became a bloody battle with violence spreading in the whole area. The Provincial Police Chief and the Provincial Commissioner were pelted with stones, 45 women were sexually harassed and people, including a primary school pupil were killed. Violence intensified when a predominantly Luo militia group called the 'Taliban' entered the fray, escalating acts of looting, robbery and rape of women. Other vigilante groups from Mathare, Kawangware and Majengo aided this militia. They circulated leaflets warning tenants not to pay rents and vowed to flush out and unleash terror on any resident willing to pay the unrevised rental charges. To counter the militias, some of Kibera's landlords burned kiosks belonging to tenants and allegedly hired youth militia who attacked tenants, cutting them down with pangas and machetes in a manner reminiscent of the 'Interahamwe' of Rwanda in 1994.⁴¹

2.8 Domestic violence: Another dimension of conflict

The most common form of conflict in Kenya is that which occurs on the home front, in the household and in fact within the family. Apart from armed conflict, this is the second most serious violent affliction causing pain and the disintegration of family units in Kenya and elsewhere.

Contrary to popular belief, domestic violence is not meted out on women alone. Men, children and the elderly are all potential victims of domestic violence. Wives and relatives

⁴⁰ Ibid

⁴¹ Ibid pp32

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⁴⁰ *ibid*

⁴¹ *ibid* pp32

have been known to batter their male spouses and relatives into psychological and physical submission.

Unknown to many people, the abuse of the elderly in the family setting does occur and has become a public health and criminal justice concern. The elderly may be deliberately denied food and shelter. Some are beaten by their own children for reasons as flimsy as refusing to give them money. Others have been raped. Violence against the elderly is commonly due misunderstandings over resources, and property and the consequences might even result in death.

Patriarchal attitudes prevent battered men from reporting the abuse. However, the number of battered men cannot compare with that of women. In addition, says Jonston.T (2003), the violence meted out on men (particularly if physical) is more likely to have come from a stranger, colleague, friend or relative than from the wife. In most cases, men are the perpetrators of violent conflict.⁴²

Children battered in the home are either victims of violence and in some cases are perpetrators. The home is no longer the safe haven it was once thought to be. Children (of both genders) are raped and physically abused by relatives, parents, house helps and watchmen in their homes. The risks of children being exposed to violence depend on the nature of the community in which they reside. Peer influence, misplaced spousal discord, hereditary factors, the presence of gangs and guns, drugs and income inequalities all work

⁴² Johnston T., "Kenyan Men: Violence and Abuse": Population Communication Africa May 2003

together to produce violent children and young adults. Unemployed youth are more prone to violence than those occupying gainful employment.

Families also influence their children into becoming violent. Children of parents who do not regulate the behaviour of their children usually engage in violent activities. Violence from children and among children can result in injuries, psychological trauma and even death.

Coupled with the above, the breakdown of the traditional family and support system, harmful cultural influences, inherited norms and values that support violence as a means of conflict resolution have created a culture of violence in the home. The media, especially television has reinforced the practice of violence by continually showing violent scenes on the screens watched by the youth, whose values are easily amenable to negative influence.⁴³

2.8.1 Intimate partner violence

Intimate partner violence occurs in all countries irrespective of social, economic, religious and cultural group. Violence between intimate partners such as husbands and wives, boy and girl friends is the most serious and yet one of the most common incidents within the family setting.

In these settings, a wife or husband inflicts physical, psychological or sexual harm to the spouse and to those in the relationship. Physical aggression may be in the form of slapping,

⁴³ World Vision International Global Feature: Ending violence against children USA, WVI, 2001.

hitting, kicking and beating, intimidation, constant belittling and humiliating and forced intercourse.⁴⁴

Unlike men who are mostly attacked by strangers or acquaintances, women are commonly attacked by someone close and familiar such as a husband, father or brother. More women are victims of this type of violence than men.

Research suggests that that the consequences of partner violence differ between men and women. The motivation for violence also differs among the genders. In traditional Kenyan societies it is a man's right or prerogative to inflict physical punishment on his wife. Examples of countries in the developing world where there are cultural justifications of violence abound. They include: Nigeria, Tanzania, Pakistan, Cambodia, Kenya and Zimbabwe. Denying a man his "conjugal right" is the most commonly cited reason for physical abuse and rape within marriages.⁴⁵

The health consequences of intimate partner violence are serious. These may be fatal and include AIDS related mortality, suicide, homicide, maternal mortality, and alcohol and drug abuse.

Psychologically and behaviourally, the effect of partner violence is immense. The victim may succumb to drug abuse, depression, phobias and disorders. He or she might also engage in unsafe sexual behaviour.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ HelpAge International, Community Based responses to HIV/AIDS: Challenges facing older women and men in Kenya

⁴⁵ Ibid

⁴⁶ Ibid

The attacked partner may suffer abdominal, central nervous and thoracic injuries. If the victim is a woman, her sexual and reproductive system and mental health could be destroyed and this often results in gynaecological disorders, sexual dysfunction, miscarriage and even AIDS.⁴⁷

Domestic violence involving intimate partners takes a painful turn when women who are HIV positive are subjected to discriminatory treatment, abandoned and shunned by their families and communities lose custody of their children, are dismissed from employment, assaulted and even killed.

2.9 Communication and early warning in conflict prevention

Where there is a conflict, two or more parties are in opposition in terms of their goals. Their interests are not compatible. Normally the indicators of violent conflict would be; verbal confrontations, fighting, maiming, burning of houses, destruction of property, rape and even blood baths resulting in deaths. Not all conflict is detrimental to social development. However violent conflict should be averted.

Notably, conflict occurs in three phases; early warning before the actual conflicts, the conflict itself and what happens as long as it lasts, and post conflict (the interventions occurring after the conflict).

⁴⁷ UNIFEM, Turning The Tide: CEDAW and the Gender Dimensions of the HIV/AIDS Pandemic 2001 pp9

2.9.1 Early warning

Long before the conflict strikes, certain information will be available to those in positions where they can avert the conflict, through the media, or to and from other sources. Peculiar events will occur and activities will be carried out as a foreshadow of what is to come. These events constitute the early warning phase.

Quoting the OSCE High Commissioner for National minorities, Felicity Hill (2003) defines early warning as

*“... Any information from any source about escalating developments, be they slow and gradual or quick and sudden, far enough in advance in order for a national government organization to react timely and effectively, if possible still leaving them time to employ preventive diplomacy and other non-coercive and non-military preventive measures”.*⁴⁸

Early warning is characterized by breakdown of law and order. In the run up to war or violence, people start breaking the law with impunity. Crime rates shoot up, small arms proliferate, and the militarization of society takes root. People acquire guns to protect themselves or use them against any would be attackers.

In Kenya, militarization was known to have been going on in the violence prone areas such as Likoni, Molo, Laikipia, Rift Valley and urban slums such as Kibera long before conflict broke out. Today, there are numerous reports in the media of an upsurge in violent crime,

⁴⁸ Felicity Hill 2003

rape and unrest in the Kenya's urban settings. These reports in the past and today indicate imminent conflict.

Migration to safer areas especially by women and children are early indications of eminent violence and that the community is undertaking precautions to ensure the safety of its vulnerable members.⁴⁹

Another early warning indicator is the reform of legal tools and provisions. Many times this is done as a defense in the face an attack from perceived opponents. Informal trade thrives just before war or conflict.

In a special issue on women, peace and security, a publication by Accord in 2003, it is stated that early warning of conflict may be exhibited through increased cross border trade and hoarding. Shopkeepers hide essential goods in anticipation that the prices will shoot up during the crisis. Inflation occurs both as an indicator of impending conflict and as a consequence of conflict.

The media also plays a role in early warning. The media offers or avails an analysis of events which when critically examined provides signals of what is about to take place. Increasing prostitution is also another indicator of looming conflict. This prostitution is practised for monetary gain to help women/men to meet the challenge of anticipated relocation or transition.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Human Rights Watch, *Playing with Fire: Weapons Proliferation, Political Violence and Human Rights in Kenya 2002*

⁵⁰ Ibid

Early warning signs or indicators can be easily detected, picked up and used to elicit an appropriate response to avert conflict. Signs of instability or tension at a grassroots level are antecedent to conflict.

The behaviour of the genders is also a pointer to conflict. Intellectuals, researchers and pundits of conflict studies have often overlooked the behaviour of the genders as an early warning indicator and yet just before a conflict; men will congregate in the bars, around shop centres and along roads/paths to discuss issues with other men and their opinion leaders. Women also meet at the women groups, in the church groups, in markets or at the hairdressing salons where it is possible to learn, analyse and discuss unfolding events with others. Such intensified discussions point towards crisis, danger, conflict or war. Thus the gender dimensions in early warning activities are important for conflict prevention.

2.10 The gender dimension: The real 'face' of conflict

Conflict has eaten into the fabric of society in all parts of the world. There is hardly any village, country or continent that can be said to be conflict-free. Indeed as Makumi Mwagiru (2000) points out, conflict is endemic in society and will always be there as long as there are human beings. The effect of conflict in Africa and in Kenya has been to dislocate valued relationships and to cause stress on the structures on which relationships exist. The conflict has in turn translated into bloodbaths, political upheaval, famine, insecurity, displacement and loss of identity, and the disintegration of families.⁵¹

⁵¹ Mwagiru, Conflict Theory and Processes and Institutions of Management 2000

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⁵¹ Mwagiru, Conflict Theory and Processes and Institutions of Management 2000

Although conflict affects all sexes across the board, women and children are the most vulnerable victims. Violence against women in conflict, as aptly put by Elizabeth Rehn and Ellen J Sirleaf, is “one of history’s great silences” yet what goes on in communities affected and undergoing conflict is shocking, to say the least. Rehn and Sirleaf report that 17 per cent of displaced households surveyed in Sierra Leone had a history of sexual assault including rape, torture and sexual slavery. In addition, 250,000 or up to as many as 500,000 women had been sexually violated. In his publication on Conflict; Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management, Mwagiru Mwakumi says that 2000 women were raped during the 1994 genocide in Rwanda.

Conflict is embodied in the reports of sexual violence in the ongoing hostilities in Algeria, Myanmar, Southern Sudan and Uganda. Rehn and Sirley point out the dramatic increase in domestic violence in war zones, and the growing numbers of women trafficked out of war zones to become forced labourers and forced sex workers.⁵²

The vivid, chilling descriptions of what women experienced in the massacre in Rwanda, reveals that women are central victims of war and conflict and bear the brunt of the worst horrors perpetuated on mankind. Therefore interventions cannot afford to ignore the gender dimensions that envelope the whole issue of conflict. Of women in the conflict in Rwanda, survivors said

⁵² Rehn and Sirley, Women, War, Peace: Progress of the World’s Women, USA; UNIFEM, 2002

“... Wombs were punctured with guns. Women raped and tortured in front of their husbands and children. Rifles forced into vaginas. Pregnant women beaten to induce miscarriages. Foetuses ripped from wombs...”⁵³

Another tragedy that befalls people during conflict is displacement. In a publication entitled, “Women, War, Peace; Progress of the World’s Women” USA; UNIFEM, 2002, Rehn, Elizabeth and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf state that

“Women, whose property rights are usually already in question, even during ‘normal’ or ‘peace times’ immediately become internally displaced persons (IDP’s) when war or conflict strikes. However, if they flee their homes because of armed conflicts and human rights violations and cross an international border, they are considered refugees.”⁵⁴

Displacement has taken place in areas such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, Colombia, The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), East Timor, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Somalia and in the occupied Palestinian territories. In Kenya, internal displacement has occurred in Rift Valley, Western, and North Eastern and Coast provinces, in phases, over time since independence.

Rehn and Sirleaf (2002) assert that both the experience of conflict and the impact of conflict on access to health-care determine the physical health and the psychological well being of

⁵³ UNIFEM, “Women, War, Peace; Progress of the world’s women” USA 2002

⁵⁴ Ibid

women and girls in very particular ways. The two independent expert assessors bring to light the fact that during conflict

“Women contract venereal diseases, injuries from walking, burns, miscarriages and mental illness. This is especially so for women in the refugee camps.”⁵⁵

During conflict, food security becomes elusive. It becomes almost impossible to get food, let alone a balanced diet. Malnutrition is then inevitable. In the Democratic Republic of Congo, in those provinces where fighting took place, of the 2.5 million deaths estimated by the International Rescue Committee between 1998 and April 2001, only 350,000 were directly caused by violence. The majority stemmed from disease and malnutrition.

On a gender dimension level, men face the bullets and machetes head-on. They end up with broken legs and arms, paralysis, and many who are involved in the fighting are killed or severely maimed. Women equally suffer during conflict. Apart from sometimes being required to fight like men and so incur injuries, they also have the extra burden of caring for others: the wounded, the children, the aged, the diseased and those psychologically traumatized. Women suffer the mental anguish of their personal trauma in silence but will readily socialize the trauma of their spouses, children and families.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Ibid

⁶⁰ Ibid

2.11 Orphaned and vulnerable children

The phenomenon of the child soldier is very common during conflict. This has happened in Somalia, Angola, Uganda, Liberia and Mozambique. Children have been used as instruments of the conflict. They are trained as soldiers and used as killer machines. Girl children in situations of conflict are often trafficked to other countries or forced into sexual slavery.⁶¹

Families are destroyed and the number of orphans increases during conflict. As a result of the violence that is characteristic of conflict, there is the destruction of the economic infrastructure, of life and all sanctity leading to humanitarian crises including the killing and massacre of civilian populations. These violations are referred to as war crimes.⁶²

Looting takes place in conflict areas. The aggressors are known to storm into shops, farms and houses of those they are opposed to and carry away property of great value. Destruction of property is also one of the evil activities that go with conflict. Houses are torched, animals cut down with machetes and farms vandalized. Schools, hospitals, factories and religious sanctuaries are destroyed.⁶³

Other global indicators of both early warning of conflict and ongoing conflict include: population explosions, depletion and degradation of water resources, ecological disasters and creation of massive slums.

⁶¹ Ibid

⁶² Child Soldier's newsletter, London. International Secretariat Issue 4/June 2002

⁶³ Ibid

Kenya is a signatory to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNHCR). The Children's Act 2001, Cap 586, which was enacted on December 2001, domesticates the UNCRC in Kenya. Eight million children in Kenya live below the poverty line with three million of these classified as 'Children in need of care and protection'.

Cases of sexual physical and emotional abuse including exploitative practices such as child labour, child commercial sex work and rape are on the increase in Kenya. However, many cases go unreported. Both male and female children are abused and neglected.

Vulnerable children who fall victim to abuse include those in homes and institutions, those engaged in child labour, street children and children who fall within the Juvenile justice system. The children's act and the criminal law amendment act provide for stiff sentences to be meted out to perpetrators.⁶⁴

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In Uganda when the National Resistance Movement got started, orphaned children with no societal affiliation were recruited into the armies to become hard merciless soldiers. Children have been coerced or lured into armed conflicts in more than 30 countries in the world in recent years. While fighting in the armies and living in the NRM camps, these children were exposed to sodomy, homosexuality, and other forms of sexual exploitation. They are in danger of contracting HIV/AIDS.

⁶⁴ Ibid

Most minors are defiled by family members, guardians and friends/spouses of their parents. The defilement of minors, which is increasing in frequency in Kenya, is often linked to unresolved conflict within families and particularly amongst spouses.

It is well established that rape and/or defilement caused minor tears in the reproductive tract of the girl child. These tears are passages for HIV into the blood and organ system of the girl child. Thus defilement easily condemns a young girl to mental and physical suffering and early death.⁶⁵

2.12 Post conflict interventions

Following intense conflict, government and civil society as well as other members of the community usually come together in a humanitarian spirit to alleviate the suffering of the affected communities and to spur the reconstruction of their lives.

Good leadership provides an environment that is conducive for the operations of the civil society and for the good of all. When civil society thrives, the results for the genders are easy to harness. The not so publicized case of Sierra Leone is an example of successful transition from military to democratic rule spurred onwards by civil society.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Ibid

⁶⁶ Rehn & Shirley: Women, War, & Peace USA: UNIFEM 2002

After conflict, humanitarian support as well as provision of essential services may be taken up by NGO's and CBOs. These agencies may also undertake to facilitate and mediate peace processes in order to unite warring communities.

Development concerns such as resettlement, promoting equitable access to and distribution of resources are of necessity, prioritized, after conflict. In Kenya, the NGO's and FBO's are actively resettling communities in the Northern Rift Valley even today. These Non Governmental agencies include: the United Nations High Commission of Refugees (UNHCR), the Red Cross, the IRC (International Rescue Committee) and World Vision, The Catholic Secretariat, the National Council of Churches of Kenya and World Food Program.

In the post Conflict period, the involvement of the genders becomes crucial in transformation and reconstruction. Both men and women can and should participate in the negotiations and reconstruction activities. Women are good at empathizing with the disadvantaged. This is unique to women and can be harnessed for negotiation and arbitration.

The Intellectual Community is crucial to the success of post conflict activities. The academia that is well versed in specific areas such as development planning, economics and social sciences should help in policy making and research. Researchers and scholars can also network across opposing opinions to achieve peace. The intellectual community can in this way play an advisory role to prevent the future recurrence of conflict.

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After the conflict, countries and communities can embark on a mission of 'managing diversity'. In order to transform leadership to satisfy diverse groups, it is advisable to establish institutions of conflict management for power-sharing. The creation of all-inclusive identities for African states is also a step towards this direction. African states can develop armies reflective of the diverse local communities in order to counter divisions within local ranks that emanate from ethnic interests. India has tried this with success. Africa too can follow suite.⁶⁷

Regional and National Partnerships are useful both during and after conflict. In Africa, and for Kenya, these partnerships can create regional and national values and standards for regulation and control of factors that precipitate, aggravate and occur before, during and after conflicts.⁶⁸

Media interventions continue throughout conflict. After the phase of conflict, the media can direct society to where things went wrong and create healthy accommodating attitudes in the minds of opposing parties so that peace can be attained. The media can achieve breaking down the barriers of differing camps and reflecting the correct picture of what is happening on the ground. The media needs to be adequately prepared to capture images on the frontline of conflict.⁶⁹

Sometimes after conflict, it becomes imperative to pursue litigation as a way of restitution, and where needed retribution. A good example of this is Rwanda's International tribunal,

⁶⁷ Anyonje Lydia, Commentary

⁶⁸ Mshindi, Tom. East African Standard May 4th 2004 p 5

⁶⁹ Ibid

which is carrying out trials of the perpetrators of atrocities and war crimes.⁷⁰ However, the question is: for there to be peace and reconstruction, shouldn't there be forgiveness? Amnesty? Justice and forgiveness- which one comes first?

Healing and reconciliation both at the individual and communal level are delicate operations. The returnees who have been fighting against their own people become a marked lot so that they are regarded as tainted, 'contaminated' and in need of judicial, traditional or religious cleansing. Many times they are viewed with suspicion and hostility. This is so especially if the "raiders" or returnees." had been inducted into militia or warring factions already. Child soldiers are victims of the lack of confidence of their communities to them on their return. Former soldiers need to be integrated back into their community and to be forgiven of their deeds. Many times society members shun child soldiers. In order for the individual soldiers' psychological healing to take place, their communities must accept and reconcile with them.

Wife inheritance, also among the Luhya and the Luo communities still continues even today. Many wives whose husbands died of AIDS pass it on to their new husbands who in turn infect their own wives and other sexual partners. The cycle is viciously continuous!

When a husband dies, his kin take over ownership of all his property, land, his wife and children. The justification is that women widowed as a result of AIDS may stray to other men and take the deceased mans property away to other homes.

⁷⁰ Rehn & Shirley: Women, War, & Peace USA: UNIFEM 2002

2.12.1 Culturalization and communalization of conflict

It is important to infuse behaviour change communication with strategies that are not necessarily science oriented but address societal and community perceptions. One approach would be to continually demystify the HIV/AIDS message. There is no need to construct a very professional and capable health care service without people understanding why it is needed. There is need to decriminalize commercial sex work but this will require national policy budgets for preventive health services and curative care for commercial sex workers.⁷¹

2.12.2 Rape and gender violence in Kenya

Rape, which is one of the cruelest forms of violence inflicted in women, is now becoming widespread in Kenya. Cases involving rape and sexual violence directed at little girls, women and elderly grandmothers are reported daily. Despite ad-hoc high-level advocacy for stiffer penalties for confirmed rapists, not much has been done to alleviate the suffering of victims and to eliminate community practices and socialization that predispose to sexual or gender based violence. Rapists are universally known to be high risk for HIV/AIDS.⁷²

Continued advocacy for the criminalization of domestic violence is necessary. Most sexual offences occur in the domestic base. The reason given by the respondents for the adhoc measures to crack down on rape include fear of reprisals, shame, lack of social support, fear of stigma, fear of a bad reputation, lack of confidence in the law enforcement officers and the vulnerability of the victims. Data collected in Kenyan studies on rape shows that over

⁷¹ Workshop on conflict, Gender and HIV/AIDS hosted by Solutions for Health and Development Nairobi, 2004

⁷² Ibid

90% of rape victims are female and are aged between 10 – 30 years. However more recently reports of gender violence meted out at men are coming to the surface. Service providers are now faced with the challenge of the 'battered man'.

Rape occurs more frequently in peri urban slums in particular than in rural settings. There have been reports of Kenyan women raped by foreign army service men who set up camp in Kenyan bases. To date, litigation in these cases has not awarded Kenyan women with reprieves. The Division of Reproductive Health is currently developing operational guidelines on the management of Rape. These guidelines include protocols for the administration of post exposure prophylaxis to HIV. Until rape and its sequelae are addressed, HIV transmission will continue to rise in Kenya.⁷³

2.13 Communication strategies

2.13.1 Arbitration

The parties themselves decide whom to involve as the third party to solve the conflict. Here communication is at play and the two parties bind themselves to accept the verdict of the arbitrator (third party). Arbitration has legal implications since parties involved are bound to accept the verdict. However, it has an element of coercion and can leave one party dissatisfied. This method is popular in commercial disputes between states.⁷⁴

⁷³ Ibid

⁷⁴ Burgess and Burgess, Encyclopedia of conflict resolutions

2.13.2 Conciliation

The warring parties are brought together to talk to each other on how to end the conflict.

The conciliator can come up with proposals to aid the reconciliation.⁷⁵

2.13.3 Negotiation

This is the most widely used method. Parties sit down to discuss a conflict with a view of reaching an agreement. Sometimes it can be an elaborate process because they have to agree on venue, context for negotiation and who will lead the negotiations. The problem with negotiation is that it is conducted under a framework of power and the more powerful party gets more out of the negotiation. This means the outcome is not always durable as the loser becomes dissatisfied. However, where it hits an impasse, it goes to the next stage of mediation.

2.13.4 Mediation

Mediation means involving a third party to assist two parties to agree. It seeks to resolve an impasse resulting from negotiation. The mediator can be an individual, state or organization.

Mediation is popular because it is voluntary and parties have power to control the outcome.

Although many scholars have concluded that mediation is the best method to manage conflict, it is not easy to measure the success or failure of mediation; only time can tell.

Mediators are often motivated by self-interest. In fact parties are not bound to accept the outcome of mediation process.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Ibid

⁷⁶ Ibid

2.13.5 Problem Solving Workshops

Scholars such as John Burton popularized these kind of workshops. According to the Resource Pack for Conflicts Transformation,

“Problem solving workshops bring conflict parties together in a non-confrontational atmosphere where they can meet with facilitators. The later help guide the participants in an explicit process of problem-solving, identifying issues, interests, differences and common approaches to help prepare eventual negotiations which may result in more positive outcomes.”⁷⁷

Such workshops need a serene environment without external interference.

2.13.6 Media interventions (radio, newspaper and television)

It is often argued that communication about certain kinds of issues can actually create or intensify conflict. On the other hand by supplying information about conflict issues to a wide audience, the press and television constitute an essential part of a ‘court public opinion’ and thereby help to contain social conflict by assisting in the solution of underlying community problems. According to Skornia and Kitson (1968)

⁷⁷ Resource Pack for Conflict Transformations: The international Alert

“ Mass media can reinforce positive social values, patterns of behaviour actions leading to problem solving, deepening of understanding and empathy in children as well as adults.”⁷⁸

Thus like a searchlight, media show society where they have gone wrong and create the right attitude in the minds of opposing parties so that peace can be attained. Media breaks down the barrier of differing camps. This they achieve by reflecting the correct truthful picture of what is happening on the ground—mirror role.

Owens –Ibie (1994) points out that mass media are expected

“... to present wide-ranging accurate information on the political, educative items adjudged to be in the interest of their audiences and mirror, as accurately as they can, the society of which they are part.”⁷⁹

Good media interventions attempt to shape issues and events touching the conflict in question through balanced credible editorials and opinion articles. News media are also third party to a conflict. They cannot afford to be removed from other sectors of society. They are meshed into intricate independent relationships with their members of the society. That is why they must never take sides or else they cease to function in that conflict. Owens – Ibie (1994) says...

⁷⁸ Skornia H. J & Kitson J W
Problems and Controversies in Television and Radio
U.S.A; Pacific Books Publishers, 1968, pg. 281

⁷⁹ Owens – Ibie, Noma

'Press Responsibility and Public Opinion in Political Transition' in Africa Media Review, Vol. 18, No. 1
Nairobi: ACCE, 1994 Pg 72

“ Media should be reporting on and promoting discussions of ideas, opinions and truth towards the end of social refinement acting as a nation’s ‘bulletin board’ for information...”⁸⁰

Media function as go-between in a triangular relationship between politicians, the public and themselves. They are the unifying factor, the creator of shared feeling, and the bringer of peace.

Zaring (1994) reveals

“ Indeed Kenyan journalists appear to be optimistic about the resolution of ethnic conflicts and their role in that resolution, they believe that newspapers can and should unite a country, and overwhelmingly, that the newspapers they work for do not suffer from ethnic conflict or discrimination.”⁸¹

The media give or offer early warning as soon as conveniently possible and avail analysis of the conflicts. These have to be timely. Another way media can intervene in conflict is by championing freedom of expression and encouraging tolerance even as this freedom is enjoyed.

⁸⁰ Ibid p. 71

⁸¹ Zaring DT ‘Journalists Responses to Ethnic Tensions: A Study of the Press in Kenya’ in *Africa Media Review* Vol. 8, No.1
Nairobi: ACCE, 1994, p. 67

This is because it is lack of tolerance and abuse of freedom that causes conflict. More investigative journalism should be practiced in order to adequately address the causes of conflict and give people facts that they can verify

Cultural ambassador is a role media has had to act by advocating norms, values and standards. This has been known to be in many instances a unifying force in the community since it creates a sense of togetherness.

As they juggle these roles, the media have a dilemma; under what circumstances is communication about a conflict useful and under which is it likely to be counter productive? Sometimes they end up being blamed, whichever way they release information.

Those in power on whom most stories are based suppress information and use their authority to manipulate the seekers of news. The media would be well advised not to deal with such untrustworthy leaders; it would be equally foolish to ignore them and their activities, as this is what constitutes news.

2.13.7 Advocacy

Advocacy is for good leadership, democracy and security and good government policies.

Advocacy lobbying and networking are crucial in the fight against conflict and violence.

Slater, Schutz and Dorr 1993 feel democracy is a crucial element in the peace process. They are of the view that democracy can reduce the chances of violent conflict and can be instrumental in its successful resolution. Democracy ensures collective responsibility and silences any issues that would occasion serious protests since people feel they are part of the

decision-making process. These three scholars state that representation for various opinions are provided through 'multiparty competition which they say converts violent conflict to politics, and gives minorities and their causes and officially recognized 'voice'. It's all about communicating democracy.

Elise Boulding, commenting on the intricacies involved in modernization, point out that in fact, development means presence of security and cultural diversity. He asserts

“ . . . peaceful development is oriented toward conflict resolution and its starting point is a pluralistic world where ethnic, social, economic and ecological differences combines in a complex and interdependent relationship, but without exploitation, hegemony or paternalism.”⁸²

Thus where people are working together towards achieving common goals, there is peaceful development which is an ingredient required for conflict resolution.

Advocacy has two different meanings in the conflict resolution context according to some scholars. It is closely related to community organizing and empowerment

Heidi Burgess and Guy Burgess (1997) link advocacy to efforts to bring about social change and remedy acts of injustice. This can be done through identifying problems interests and goals and communicating them appropriately. Advocacy also involves implementation of the strategy and tactics necessary for achieving those goals.

⁸² Boulding, Elise
New Agendas for Peace Research: Conflict and Security Re-examined.

These according to the COVAW Annual Report (2001 – 2002), can include Public talks, lobbying, documenting cases of violence or conflict in the community, hotline updates on the goings on in the society and having outreach activities such as posters and essay writing competition on conflict based themes.

2.13.8 Local or community communication initiatives

Communities can make use of interpersonal communication to influence members and create a tradition of peace. Let people talk to one another. Some scholars, (<http://www.state.oh.us/cdr/>), use the example of what happened in Lebanon. Community mediation centers were established and differing parties were encouraged to use them. It worked.

Community media if introduced could be an outlet for tensions and insecurities. Members of the community can contribute articles and newsletters written in easy to understand English. Burgess & Burgess (1997) refer to this as The Alternative Newsletter. Apart from the newsletter, community radio and television can bring people together and further the diverse community interests. Cultural activities such as drama, musical fetes, folklore and poetry are unique ways of communicating to one another and act as a uniting force that ensures peace rather than discord.

2.13.9 Integrating the gender perspective in communicating peace

Peace can go a long way in changing society and influencing people and behaviour towards positive ends. Women have, according to the International Alert, an important and particular

contribution to make and have been underrepresented in discussions of conflict and its constructive transformation.

The International Alert helps to organize women only workshops but more work is needed on the complex relationship of gender, communication and conflict. Indeed the gender perspective in conflict resolution is a missing ingredient in the whole restructuring process.

Understanding how men and women were interacting can strengthen the responses after the conflict to ensure that the vulnerabilities of both are catered for in post conflict response. Elise Boulding (1992) asserts;

*“ Only the integration of women and ethnic social and religious minorities into the total life of a society as spelled out in eco-feminism can open the way for a democratic and pluralistic world.... and participation without paternalism ”*³³

Just like men, women need to be given a ‘voice’ since they can use their social networks and unique approaches to communication, negotiation and mediation. Such an approach would provide a better understanding of unequal hierarchies, inequality and oppression, which are some of the underlying causes of conflict. Preventive activities and early warning can be effectively done by women since they are positioned to understand social dynamics and can use their special communication skills and intuition.

³³ Ibid Pg 125

2.13.10 Religious approaches

After conflict has occurred there is need for healing and building of relationships. This is where religion plays a major role. Even during the conflicts, religious leaders can be used to appeal to the parties involved to resolve the conflict. Where possible the leaders of the church or Imam (in case of Muslims), can prevail upon their followers to adhere to certain behaviour or attitude in order to achieve peace. They can also aid the victims materially.

Makumi Mwangiri (1998) reveals

“...Religious organizations such as the churches most notably the Catholic church, Anglican church of Kenya and the Presbyterian Church, have to a large extent met the basic needs of internally displaced persons...however these efforts; commendable as they are, leave much to be desired.”⁸⁴

Religious institutions could also offer psychological support by providing one-on-one counseling to those affected by the conflicts. Support groups to nurture the affected back to spiritual and psychological health can be established.

2.13.11 Efforts by Non-Governmental organizations (NGOs)

Efforts by NGOs to assist internally displaced people and others affected by conflict are also taking root. Mwangiri and Karuru (1998) commend responses by emergency assistance organizations such as UNHCR and the International Committee of the Red Cross.

⁸⁴ Mwangiri Makumi & Karuru Njeru

Women's Land and Property Rights in Conflict Situations

Nairobi: Centre for Conflict Research and Women and Law in East Africa, Kenya, 1998, pg 73

One of the NGOs currently employing communication methods to assist victims of conflict and to help manage conflict in Kibera is Saferworld. Working together with local organizations such as Peace-net, Kicoshep, KYPPEDDE and other participating agencies, 'Saferworld' is working on Community Based Policy Programme. The goal is to prevent crime, increase safety and reduce proliferation of small arms by building trust between the police and the Kibera community through communication.

Through outreach activities, public awareness raising, information exchange and networking, community members are encouraged to talk to one another and to police in a united effort to achieve security and peace. This is being done in conjunction with the office of the President, Kenya Police and Administration Police.

2.13.12 Anger and anger management

The Oxford Advanced Learner's dictionary defines 'anger' as a 'strong feeling of displeasure and hostility.' Burgess & Burgess (1997) are of the view that anger is a natural human reaction that is an automatic (hence unavoidable) response in some situations. If constructively managed, it can be beneficial since it will open lines of communication and alert the angry person and others that there is a problem to be solved. Thus an opportunity is created for reconciliation and development of mutually beneficial win-win solutions.

When anger is not effectively managed, it can be expressed in destructive ways resulting in escalating anger and conflict, harmed or destroyed relationships, mounting social, psychological suffering and even costs.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Several schools of thought have been put across to explain conflict. Scholars of the contingency school have it that violence is situational and can be avoided. Thus, it is possible to manipulate a situation so that there is either conflict or no conflict. Another school involving Charles Darwin and Sigmund Freud believe in inherence (Biological theory of war). They propose that man is naturally aggressive and has to be restrained by laws and socialization otherwise, conflict, even violent conflict becomes inevitable.

On the contrary, those who belong to the social school are of the view that man is different from animals; that he can reason, feel and make choices. Hitler for instance, used this theory to justify propagation of racist practices and ethnicity. Eventually a bloody violent conflict famously known as the Holocaust (extermination of Jews or people not of the Aryan race) took place. This thinking has shortcomings since it is not possible to generalize for animals. It does not explain why it can be thought that aggressiveness is natural.

Two psychological theories have been used to explain social conflict. These are frustration-aggression theory and relative deprivation theory. These theories are said to be necessary but not sufficient conditions to explain social conflict.

Frustration – Aggression theory – has two propositions; that all aggression is the result of frustration and all frustration is aggression. However, this theory does not fully explain the idea of aggression and consequently conflict. It is not automatic for aggression to lead to frustration since it depends on who is being frustrated. For instance, we react differently when our freedom is constrained by the state and by say Mungiki or some other tribe or

grouping. In addition, there exist socially realized aggression and other types of aggression that aren't necessarily attributed to frustration. A good example is a group of soldiers who are trained to be aggressive (instrumental aggression).

The theory of relative deprivation has it that there is a discrepancy between value expectation and value achievements. It is about what people believe they are rightly entitled to versus what they are capable of getting and retaining. The reference group is that group one compares oneself to, according to this theory. The reference group conditions one's perceptions and expectations. It is not possible to verify this theory, which is an unsatisfactory basis from which to explain social conflict. There are many causes of conflict; no one particular reason.

Other theories relevant to conflict are Agenda Setting and Gate Keeping. In spite of the fact that conflicts do occur even without being instigated, sometimes the agenda is set long before the conflict erupts and gate keeping is done in such a way that only certain information is given out to people. This is in order to make people think and act the way the press, politicians and certain influential individuals want them to. This means it is not by chance that the conflicts occur; it is many times by design.

In order to describe the power of the press and other entities to shape issues, McCombs and Shaw (1972) coined the term 'agenda setting.' Concurring with these proponents, McQuail says,

“The hypothesis presupposes a process of influence from the priorities of political or other interest groups to the news priorities of media, in which news values and

*audience interests play a strong part, and from there to the opinions of the public*⁸⁵

This means the press sets the agenda and although media does not directly tell people what to do, they do tell them what to think about, thereby influencing their actions and total response to issues and events. It is also the politicians and other leaders who set the public agenda because what they say is what is carried in the newspapers, broadcast on radio and viewed on televisions. That is why media has a major role to play in conflict resolution. Leaders, politicians and other influential people can also be instrumental in resolving conflict. Of course if not handled right, these two groups of people can cause chaos and total disintegration of societies.

According to proponents of Gate Keeping Theory, the press or media determine what people should hear or know about. It is therefore crucial that in trying to bring peace to an area such as Kibera, the media should be used to channel out only information that geared towards peace, togetherness and brotherhood. Anything the press gives priority will definitely get to the masses and their response will depend on how volatile or pacifying the message is. Some issues might need to be delayed or told in piece-meal in order to avoid escalating already violent situations.

Another communication theory that can be used to eliminate light on issues of conflict is the two-step flow or personal influence theory. According to Lowery and Defleur (1995), the formal statement of the two-step flow hypothesis is

⁸⁵ Mcquail Dennis, Mass Communication Theory: An Introduction 2nd, ed, London: SAGE Publications, 1987, Pg 276

“...Ideas often flow from radio and print, to the opinion leaders and from them, to the less active sections of the population”⁸⁶

The proponents of this theory were Elihu Katz and Paul Lazarsfeld. They state that personal influence plays a major role in the diffusion of information and eventual conception of messages. Katz and Lazarsfeld were of the opinion that it is not just the press that is a major source of information for the masses. Many people get their information from others (leaders, opinions, leaders, friends and relatives).

Commenting on the two- step flow, Lowery and Defleur (1995) says

“The two step flow hypothesis in other words opened up a new theoretical vista. Social relationship between people had definitely not been thought to be significant in the process of mass communication... Mass society theory, and its mass communication derivative, the magic bullet conceptualisation had stressed a lack of social ties between people. Yet here were research findings from a large scale study showing that ties between people were one of the most important parts of the mass communication process.”⁸⁷

Mcquail (1987) concurs. He states

“Personal influence has been invoked to explain the paucity of evidence of direct media effect and to counter the view advanced first by mass society theorists and later by proponents of ideological determinism, that media are powerful and rather inescapable shapers of knowledge, opinion and belief in

⁸⁶ Ibid Pg 89

⁸⁷ Ibid Pg 91

modern societies... Individuals are protected by the strength of personal ties and by the group structure within which they acquire knowledge and form judgments...”⁸⁸

This theory is important in understanding conflict because it maps out the interpersonal channels followed in two- steps flow from media to the masses and helps to identify what kind of people influence others in the process. It is possible to use the same people who influence others into conflict, to use their influence for peace, for resolving issues.

Understanding and effectively responding to parties involved in a conflict can be actualised through the immense potential in the Knowledge Gap Theory. Proponents of this theory have it that in society, there are those who know (are knowledgeable), and those who are absolutely ignorant about what goes on around them. Mcquail (1987) says

“The proposition is that growth of knowledge is relatively greater among the higher status...”⁸⁹

In responding to people such as those of Kibera, it might be useful to bear in mind the knowledge gap in this community and then adjust to the different groups accordingly.

⁸⁸ Ibid Pg 272

⁸⁹ Ibid Pg 276

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Site selection and description

Over fifty-five percent of Nairobi's population (Over one million people) is estimated to be currently living in informal settlements popularly known as slums. These slums are situated on land that is state owned, and whose leasehold is quasi-legal and temporary. Kibera is one such settlement.

In Kibera, compounds consist of barrack like structures with rooms of 10 square metres each under a common roof. According to the report given in *The Quest for Human Dignity: - Kibera Violence*, the rooms are often back to back and the distance between one row within one compound may be as much as one meter. On average as many as 5 people can inhabit one single room. Environmental health risks in terms of refuse and poor drainage systems are things people in such areas have to content with. In fact sanitation facilities are insufficient and waste disposal services do not exist.

Selection of Kibera as the case study was done on the basis that it is one of Kenya's biggest and oldest slums. It is also one of the slums that politicians and other beneficiaries have manipulated over time into becoming a conflict zone and violence prone area. The geographical setting is also representative of Kenya's ethnic communities and reflects one of the major reasons for internal conflict and ethnic conflict in Kenya's urban slums. The Quest for Human Dignity: Kibera Violence reports

"Each community occupies particular ethnic and almost exclusive villages. These include Silanga, Laini Saba, Lindi, Mashimoni, Kisumu

Ndongo, katwekera, Kianda, Makina, Ayany, Karanja, Raila, Kichinjio, Soweto, Kware and some smaller others."⁹⁰

As the names suggest, most villages identify with specific ethnic communities. For instance Kisumu Ndogo (Luos), Silanga (Kamba), Makina (Nubians). Such ethnic compositions are fertile grounds for eruption of violence, especially that which is ethnic related. There is latent violence that can be triggered off into full-blown conflict by anything including issues of rent, tribal inclination, religious animosity and politics. Kibera is thus the best place to study urban slums' violence and conflict and how these are resolved.

4.2 Study design

The study was purposive in nature. Its major aim was to explore the communication strategies in conflict resolution and management with specific reference to urban slum dwellers who reside in Kibera slum of Nairobi. A questionnaire was used to collect the data. Trained enumerators administered the questionnaire. The males and females aged 18 – 60 residing in Kibera totalling 100 were the targeted respondents.

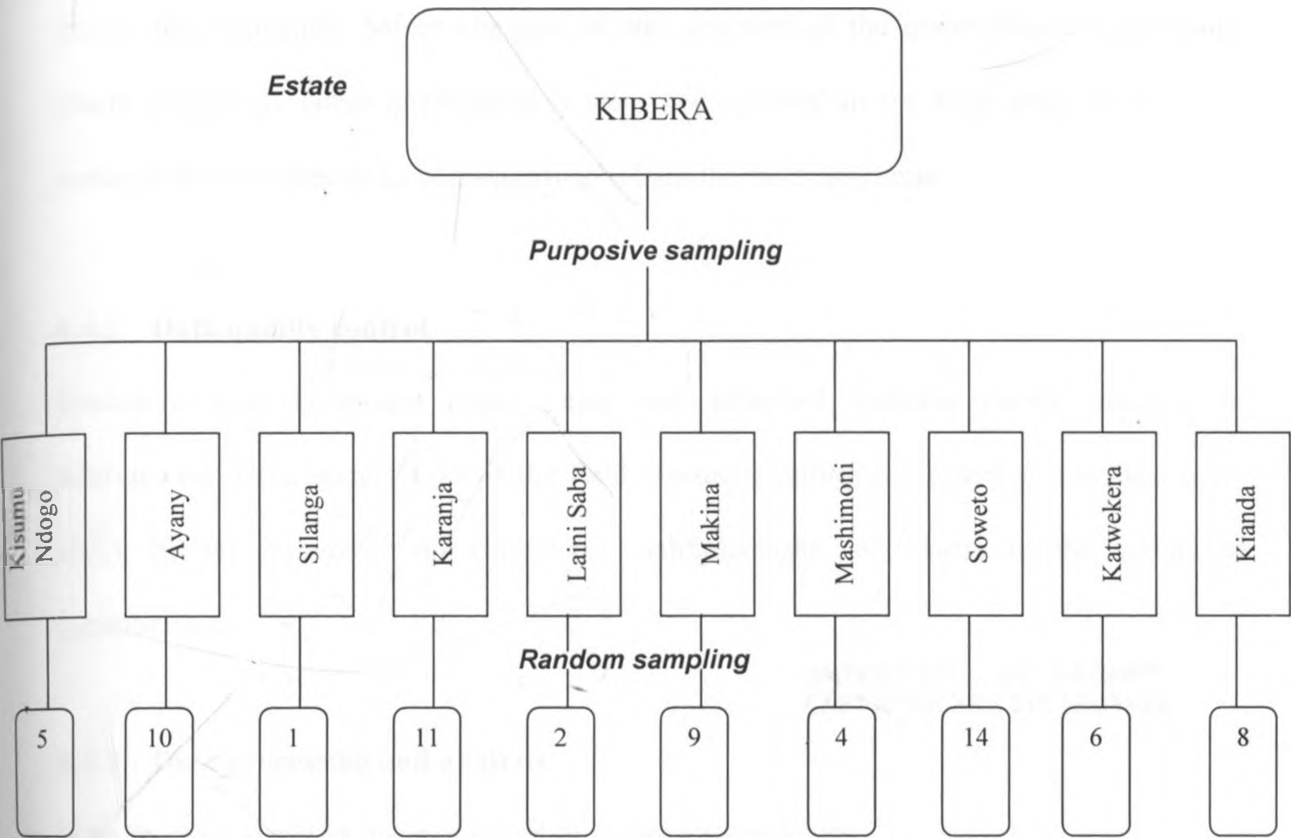
4.3 Method of sampling

4.1.1 Sampling procedure

The sampling procedure used in selecting study samples is shown in **Figure 1**. The study population was purposively selected from 10 villages in Kibera slum, Nairobi.

⁹⁰ Peace Net Kenya: Quest for Human Dignity: Kibera Violence, 2002

Figure 1: Flow chart showing the sampling procedure



4.4 Implementation of Research Activities

4.4.1 Training of field assistants and pre-testing of questionnaires

Four enumerators were recruited and trained. All of them had secondary school education and had knowledge of the study community language.

The researcher trained the assistants for four days. The training covered the study objectives, the survey instruments and interviewing techniques. Training was done on how to address and approach subjects in a culturally acceptable manner.

Pre-testing was done in 15 households in which data was collected and analysed before the major data collection. Minor changes on the structure of the questionnaire were made, where necessary. These questionnaires were not included in the final analysis. The pre-testing was also taken as an opportunity to retrain the field assistants.

4.4.2 Data quality control

Procedure used to ensure quality data was collected included careful training of interviewers, close supervision of the field assistants during the actual survey, and daily check by the researcher for consistency, completeness and clarity of the completed questionnaire.

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4.4.3 Data processing and analysis

Data processing and analysis involved the following packages:

The statistical package for social scientists (SPSS, version 11.5) was mainly used for data analysis. Graphs were plotted using SPSS program and Excel.

4.5 Problems/constraints/limitations

There were subjective responses or blatant lies from some respondents who have personally been hurt as a result of the conflicts in Kibera. Additionally, the research team experienced some hostility from certain people residing in the area who thought the study had a political implication meant to 'nail' them. Further, financial constraints were a hindrance to smooth collection and analysis of the data. Due to the high level of poverty and unhygienic

conditions in the slum settlement, it was difficult to move around since there trenches of sewage refuse, human waste, rubbish and flies.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESULTS

5.1 Social demographic characteristics of the study population

5.1.1 Population composition, age and gender

The study population consisted of 100 males and females of above 18 years, who reside in Kibera villages. Of the population interviewed 63% were males while 37% were females. Among those below 20 years of age, 7% were males while 2% were females. Age 20- 30 took up 36%. In this age group 24% were males while 12% were females. The biggest percentage of respondents (42%) were 30 years and above. In this age category, males were significantly more (27%) as compared to females who were 15%.

Table 1: Distribution of respondents by age and sex

<i>Age</i>	<i>Sex</i>		<i>Female</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Male</i>					
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Below 20	7	7.0	2	2.0	9	9.0
20-30	24	24.0	12	12.0	36	36.0
30-Above	27	27.0	15	15.0	42	42.0
No response	5	5.0	8	8.0	13	13.0
Total	63	63.0	37	37.0	100	100.0

5.1.2 Socio-economic Factors

A significantly bigger percentage of the population for both males (60.6%) and females (34.0%) in Kibera are not employed (Figure 2). In the male population, only 3.2% of the respondents have jobs while 2.1% of the females have jobs. Of the total population that includes both males and females, only 5.3% of the respondents said they were employed. A whopping 94.6% have no jobs.

Figure 2: Distribution of respondents by sex and employment status

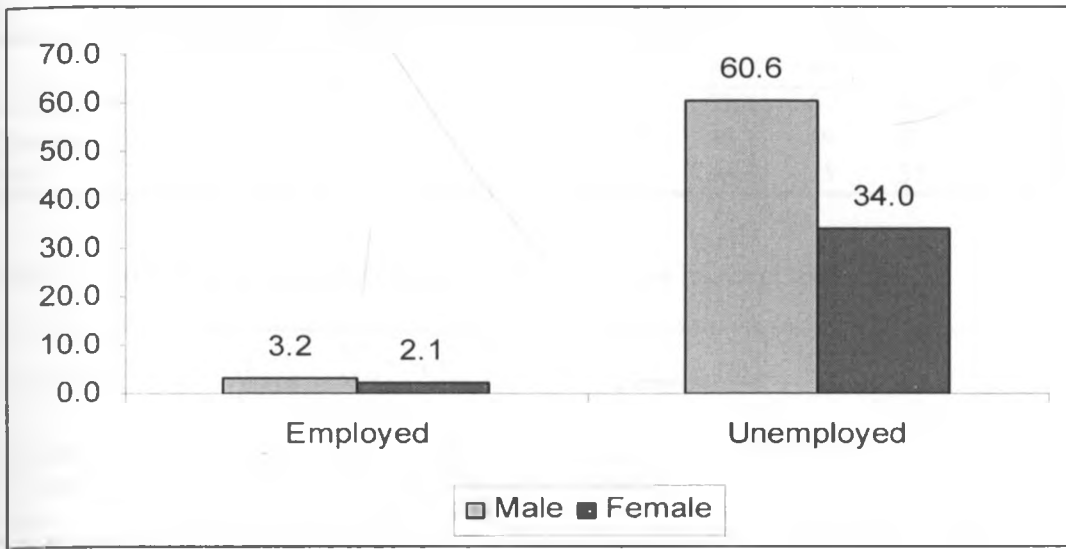


Table 2: Distribution of respondents by sex and engagement in income generating activity

<i>Engaged in income generating activity</i>	<i>Sex</i>				<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>		<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Yes	45	45.0	25	25.0	70	70.0
No	16	16.0	9	9.0	25	25.0
No response	3	3.0	2	2.0	5	5.0
Total	64	64.0	36	36.0	100	100.0

Although 70% of the respondents reported to be engaged in an income generating activity, it is noteworthy that a significant chunk of them (25%) were found to be idle (Table 2). Further, as shown in Table 3 below, an alarming 62.9% of the respondents who have an income generating activity were involved in unlicensed business. Very few of the respondents were engaged in legitimate or licensed business (37.1%).

Table 3: Distribution of respondents by sex and status of income generating activity

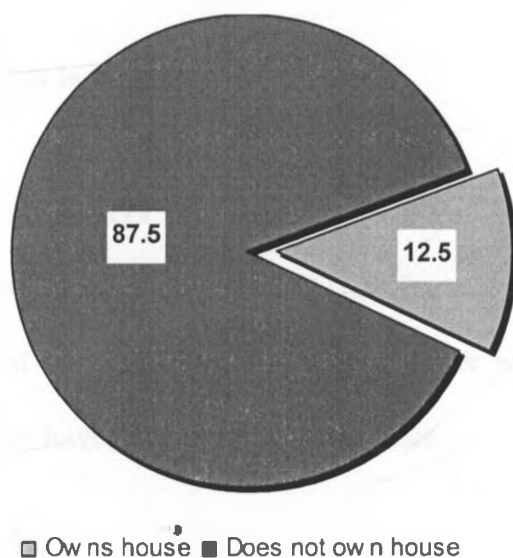
<i>Status of income generating activity</i>	<i>Sex</i>		<i>Female</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Male</i>					
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Licensed business	20	28.6	6	8.6	26	37.1
Unlicensed business	25	35.7	19	27.1	44	62.9
Total	45	64.3	25	35.7	70	100.0

Table 4: Distribution of unemployed respondents by sex and source of livelihood

<i>Earn living</i>	<i>Sex</i>		<i>Female</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Male</i>					
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Self employed	45	51.1	25	28.4	70	79.5
Do nothing	12	13.6	6	6.8	18	20.5
Total	57	64.8	31	35.2	88	100.0

79.5% of the unemployed respondents were self-employed whereas 20.5% do absolutely nothing to earn a living. 51.1% of the males were self-employed while 13.6% do nothing. 28.4% of the female respondents were self-employed compared to 6.8% who do nothing.

Figure 3: Distribution of respondents by ownership of housing structure



As shown in the pie chart (Figure2), only 12.5% of the respondents interviewed claimed to be the owners of the houses where they stay. 87.5% of the respondents said they rented the houses in which they stay.

Table 5: Distribution of respondents residing in rented structures by opinion on rent paid

Rent paid	Happy		Not happy		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Below 500	0	0.0	4	4.8	4	4.8
Btw 500-1500	7	8.4	58	69.9	65	78.3
Above 1500	2	2.4	12	14.5	14	16.9
Total	9	10.8	74	89.2	83	100.0

Only 8.4% of the respondents who pay between 500-1500 respectively were happy with the rent they are paying for the structures they live in. 69.9% of the respondents who pay between 500 and 1500 said they were unhappy with the rent they pay while 14.5% of those who pay over 1500 concurred with them. Interestingly, respondents paying less than 500 shillings were all unhappy with the rent they pay.

5.2 Violence and conflict in Kibera

5.2.1 Witness of violence in Kibera

As Table 7 below indicates, more males (62.2%) than females (32.3%) reported to have witnessed violence. 2.2% of the females said they have never witnessed violence while a 3.3% males claimed that they have never witnessed violence.

Table 6: Distribution of respondents by number of times witnessed violence.

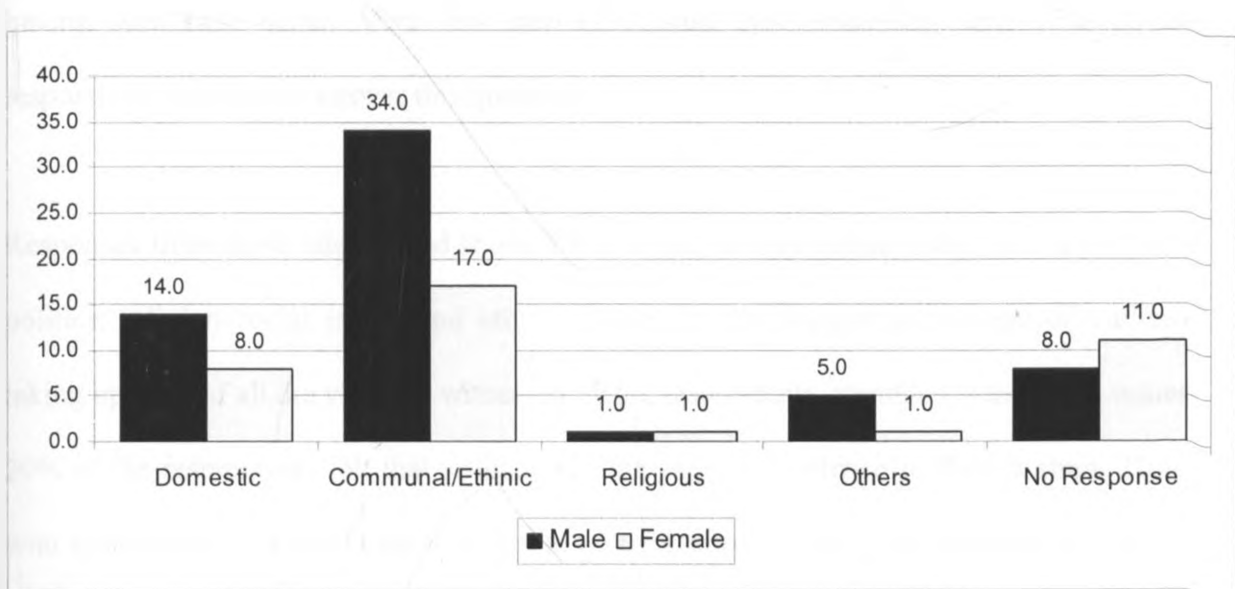
<i>No. of times witnessed violence</i>	<i>Sex</i>				<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>			
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Never	3	3.3	2	2.2	5	5.6
Once	11	12.2	8	8.9	19	21.1
Twice	7	7.8	5	5.6	12	13.3
Thrice	1	1.1	1	1.1	2	2.2
Many times	37	41.1	15	16.7	52	57.8
No response	4	4.4	6	6.7	10	11.1
Total	59	65.6	31	34.4	90	100.0

Comparatively, it is glaringly obvious that many people in Kibera have witnessed violence take place and very few have not. (Table7).

5.2.2 Violence/conflict types, causes, and sources

The study revealed that communal/ethnic violence has the highest incidence exhibiting 34% as witnessed by males and 17% as witnessed by females. Another serious type of violence that came to the fore in this study is domestic violence (See Figure 4). It covered 22% of the violence witnessed by the respondents interviewed. Concurrently, 14% of the males who witnessed violence said it was domestic in nature while a slightly lower percentage (8%) of the females claimed the violence they witnessed was domestic. Only 2% of the respondents interviewed said they saw religious violence. In fact only 1% of the males and 1% of the females reported having witnessed violence of the religious type. All other types not specifically asked for took up 6% of all violence witnessed by respondents in Kibera. 19% of those interviewed did not respond to this question.

Figure 4: Distribution of respondents by type of violence witnessed



As depicted in Table 8, when asked to describe what events occurred during the violence witnessed, 35% of the respondents said they saw killing take place; 28% witnessed maiming of victims of violence, 18% saw people fighting while only 2% admitted to witnessing rape.

Table 6: Distribution of respondents by events that occurred during violence

<i>Event</i>	<i>Sex</i>		<i>Female</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>			
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Killing	23	23.0	12	12.0	35	35.0
Maiming	18	18.0	10	10.0	28	28.0
Rape	2	2.0	0	0.0	2	2.0
Fighting	12	12.0	6	6.0	18	18.0
No response	8	8.0	9	9.0	17	17.0
Total	55	55.0	28	28.0	100	100.0

Comparatively, 23% of the male respondents and a slightly lower percentage (12%) of females reported high incidence of killing during violence (Table 8). More of the males (18%) and a lesser percentage (10%) of the females admitted to having seen maiming take place during violent conflict. 12% of the males saw fighting occur while a lesser percentage

of the females (6%) saw fighting take place. Surprisingly, none of the women admitted to having seen rape occur. Very few men (2%) said they witnessed rape. 17% of the respondents declined to answer this question.

Responses from those interviewed showed that the causes of violence and/ or conflict were politics, religion social issues and others (Table 7). The biggest percentage of violence taking up 44% of all the violence witnessed by the respondents, stemmed from social issues. 20% of the respondents felt that politics was the cause of violence in Kibera slum. Those who attributed the causes of the violence to other reasons that were not necessarily political or social made up 18%. Very few respondents (1%) cited religion as a cause of violence. 29% of the men and 15% of the women felt that social issues cause violence.

More of the men (13%), thought violence causes were largely political and 7% of the women concurred with them. 13% of the males felt there are other reasons why violence takes place apart from politics, religion and social issues. A smaller percentage of the women (5%) supported this view. Where as 1% of the women said religion causes violence, none of the men were of the same opinion. 17% of respondents declined to respond to this question.

Table 7: Distribution of respondents by perceived causes of violence

<i>Cause of violence</i>	<i>Sex</i>		<i>Female</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Male</i>					
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Politics	13	13.0	7	7.0	20	20.0
Religion	0	0.0	1	1.0	1	1.0
Social	29	29.0	15	15.0	44	44.0
Others	13	13.0	5	5.0	18	18.0
No response	9	9.0	8	8.0	17	17.0
Total	55	55.0	28	28.0	100	100.0

5.2.3 Crime

Table 8: Distribution of respondents by No. of times heard gun shots

<i>No. of times heard gun shots</i>	<i>Sex</i>				<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>			
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Once	16	16.0	16	16.0	32	32.0
Twice	3	3.0	3	3.0	6	6.0
Thrice	8	8.0	1	1.0	9	9.0
Many times	21	21.0	5	5.0	26	26.0
Never	9	9.0	6	6.0	15	15.0
No response	4	4.0	8	8.0	12	12.0
Total	58	58.0	33	33.0	100	100.0

32% of the respondents said they have heard gunshots once while 6% have heard them twice. A further 9% have heard gunshots thrice and 26% have heard them many times. However, 15% of the respondents reported not having heard any gunshots. Of those who heard gunshots once, 16% were males while 16% were females. 3 % of the males heard gunshot twice and 8% heard them thrice. 3% of the females heard the gunshots twice and while 1% of them heard three times. 21% of the males said they heard gunshots many times where as 5% of the females also reported the same. 9% of the males and 6% of the females said they have never heard gunshots.

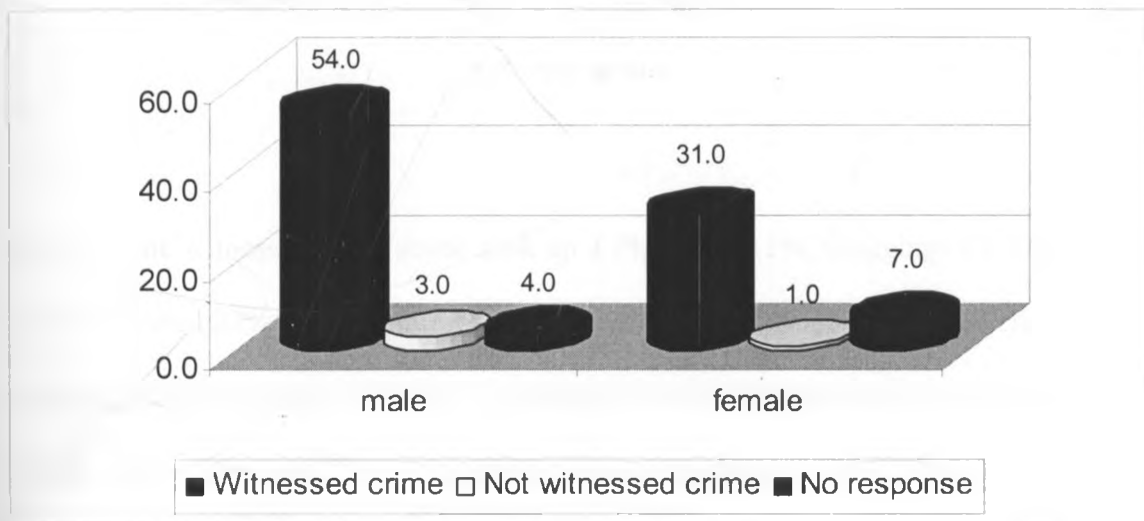
Table 9: Distribution of respondents by source of gunshots

<i>Source gun shots</i>	<i>Sex</i>				<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>			
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Riots	11	14.7	2	2.7	13	17.4
Theft	21	28.0	13	17.3	34	45.3
Unknown	17	22.7	11	14.7	28	37.3
Total	49	65.3	26	34.7	75	100.0

The response from those interviewed revealed that in many of the cases the gunshots heard were as a result of theft (45.3%), a few others (17.4%) from riots while a significant 37.3%

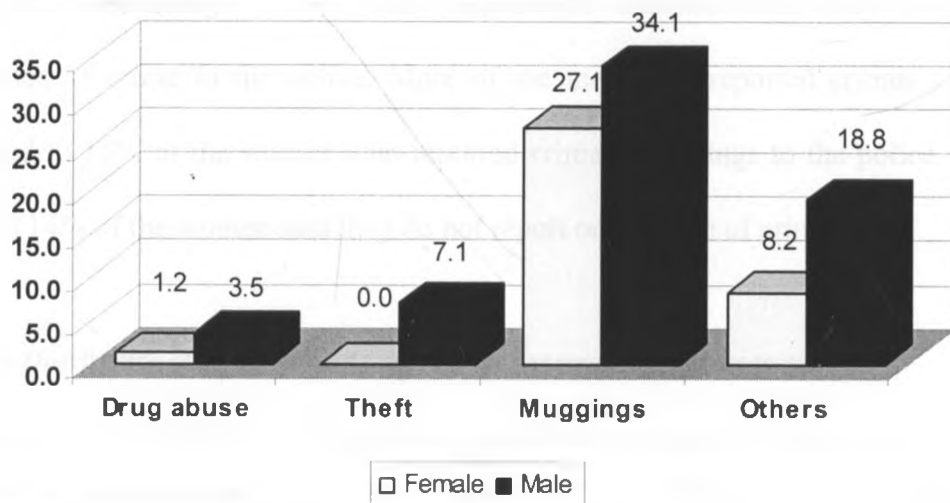
of the respondents did not know the source of the gunshots. 14.7% of the males and 2.7% of the females felt that the gunshots they heard were from riots. A big percentage of the males (28%) and a lower percentage of females (17.3%) said the gunshots were from theft scenes. Another significant 22.7% of the males and 14.7% of the female respondents had no idea of the source of the gunshots.

Figure 5: Distribution of respondents by witness of crime in Kibera



As shown in figure 5 above, only 3% males and 1% females said they have not witnessed crime in Kibera. Almost all the respondents (85%) claimed to have witnessed crime. A high percentage of both males (54%) and females (31%) had seen crime take place. 4% males and 7% females did not respond to this question.

Figure 6: Distribution of respondents by type of crime witnessed



Of the crime witnessed, drug abuse took up 4.7%, theft 7.1%, muggings 61.2% while other crimes covered 27%. Of the males 3.5% and 1.2% of the females witnessed crime in Kibera resulting from drug abuse. 7.1% of the males, 0% of the females have witnessed theft while 34.1% of the males and 27.1% females have seen muggings occur. 18.8% of the males and 8.2% of the females have witnessed other types of crime.

5.2.4 Reporting crime/violence

Table 10: Distribution of respondents by reporting status of crimes

Report crime to police	Sex		Female		Total	
	Male					
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Yes	33	33.0	15	15.0	48	48
No	21	21.0	14	14.0	35	35
No response	9	9.0	8	8.0	17	17
Total	63	63.0	37	37.0	100	100

A big percentage 48% of the respondents said they report crime to the police. However, a considerable percentage 35% of the respondents admitted that they did not report occurrence of crime to the police. More of the men 33% reported crimes to the police compared to 15% of the women who reported crime happenings to the police. 21% of the men and 14% of the women said they do not report occurrence of crime.

Table 11: Distribution of respondents by reasons for not reporting crimes to police

<i>Reason for not reporting crime</i>	<i>Sex</i>				<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>		<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>		
Police hostile \slow to respond	4	11.4	2	5.7	6	17.1
Fear of victimization	13	37.1	8	22.9	21	60.0
None of their business	3	8.6	1	2.9	4	11.4
Happens at night	1	2.9	3	8.6	4	11.4
Total	21	60.0	14	40.0	35	100.0

When interviewed over why they do not report crime, 17.1% of the respondents cited police hostility and slow speed. 11.4% felt it was none of their business to report crimes that took place in the neighbourhood while another 11.4% said they failed to report because these crimes occurred at night. The biggest percentage of the respondents 60% did not report for fear of victimization. 11.4% of the men and 5.7% of the women said police were hostile and slow to respond, prompting them to fail to report crime occurrence. The greatest majority of both males (37.1%) and females (22.9%) cited fear of victimization as their reason for not reporting crimes to the police. More of the males (8.6%) than the females (2.9%) said it was none of their business to report occurrence of crime. A significant percentage of females (8.5%) said they do not report crimes because they happen at night while a lesser percentage (2.9%) of the men cited the same reason.

Table 12: Distribution of respondents by mode of communicating crimes to police

<i>Mode of communicating crime</i>	<i>Sex</i>				<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>			
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Telephone	8	8.0	1	1.0	9	9.0
Face to face	29	29.0	16	16.0	45	45.0
Never report	20	20.0	14	14.0	34	34.0
No response	8	8.0	4	4.0	12	12.0
Total	65	65.0	35	35.0	100	100.0

The mode of communicating crimes for almost half of the respondents (45%) was face-to-face communication. 9% of the respondents said they used the telephone to call the police about crime. A considerable number (34%) admitted that they never report crimes. 8% of the males interviewed used the telephone to report crimes as compared to only 1% of the females. Worthy to note is the 29% men and 16% women who said they used face-to-face communication. More of the men (20%) failed to report crime compared to 14% of the females who did not do so.

Table 13: Distribution of respondents by police action taking status on security concerns raised

<i>Police took action</i>	<i>Sex</i>				<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>			
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Yes	23	45.1	13	25.5	36	70.6
No	11	21.6	4	7.8	15	29.4
Total	34	66.7	17	33.3	51	100.0

Most respondents (70.6%) said police took action on security concerns raised. 29.4% of the respondents claimed police had not taken any action. Of those who felt police took action on concerns raised, 45.1% were males while 25.5% were females. The group that said that police did not take any action comprised of 21.6% males and 7.8% females.

Table 14: Distribution of respondents by police action taken on security concerns raised

<i>Action taken by police</i>	<i>Sex</i>				<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>			
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Arrested	7	19.4	5	13.9	12	33.3
Jailed	7	19.4	3	8.3	10	27.8
Set free	8	22.2	4	11.1	12	33.3
Police patrols	1	2.8	1	2.8	2	5.6
Total	23	63.9	13	36.1	36	100.0

On enquiring what action police took concerning security matters, 33.3% of the respondents said the police arrested the culprits while a similar 33.3% said the police set the culprits free. 27.8% of the respondents said the police jailed the culprits and 5.6% said police carried out routine patrols.

Table 15: Distribution of respondents by their opinion on action taken by police on security concerns that were raised

<i>Happy with action of police</i>	<i>Sex</i>				<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>			
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Yes	16	44.4	10	27.8	26	72.2
No	7	19.4	3	8.3	10	27.8
Total	23	63.9	13	36.1	36	100.0

A good percentage (72.2%) of the respondents expressed satisfaction or happiness with the action of the police. However, 27.8% were not happy about the action taken by the police. In terms of sex, 69.6% of the males were happy with police action while a significant 30.4% were not. More of the women (76.9%) were happy with police action but 23.1% were not impressed with the police.

Table 16: Distribution of respondents by community's action on crime and insecurity

<i>Community action on crime</i>	<i>Sex</i>				<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>			
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Form vigilante groups	14	14.0	9	9.0	23	23.0
Community watch dogs	1	1.0	3	3.0	4	4.0
Share their concern	25	25.0	10	10.0	35	35.0
Community policing	8	8.0	5	5.0	13	13.0
Others	10	10.0	3	3.0	13	13.0
No response	7	7.0	5	5.0	12	12.0
Total	65	65.0	35	35.0	100	100.0

To counter crime and insecurity, 4% of the respondents said they use community watch-dogs. 35% share their concerns while 23% form vigilante groups. 13% said they engage in community policing while another 13% use other actions to counter crime and insecurity. The action most favoured by both males 25% and females 15% is sharing concerns about crime and insecurity.

Table 17: Distribution of respondents by whether they attribute increasing cases of conflict to poor communication skills or not

<i>Attribute conflict to poor communication</i>	<i>Sex</i>				<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>			
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Yes	30	30.0	22	22.0	52	52.0
No	23	23.0	6	6.0	29	29.0
No response	8	8.0	11	11.0	19	19.0
Total	61	61.0	39	39.0	100	100.0

Many of the respondents (52%) attributed conflict to poor communication skills. Only 29% of the respondents said they did not think the increasing cases of conflict were as a result or a consequence of poor communication skills. More of the men (30%) compared to 22% of the women attributed increasing cases of conflict to poor communication skills. More of the men (23%) compared to 6% of the women thought there were other reasons for increasing cases of conflict. 19% of the respondents declined to answer this question.

Table 18: Distribution of respondents by how violence issues are communicated in the community

<i>Mode of communication of violence issues</i>	<i>Sex</i>				<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>			
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Share	32	32.0	16	16.0	48	48
Media reports through other channels	1	1.0	3	3.0	4	4
Residents report to the police	10	10.0	1	1.0	11	11
Vigilante groups	0	0.0	1	1.0	1	1
Do nothing	8	8.0	5	5.0	13	13
Don't know	3	3.0	5	5.0	8	8
No response	7	7.0	8	8.0	15	15
Total	61	61.0	39	39.0	100	100

When asked about the mode of communication of violence issues, 48% of the respondents said they share these issues amongst themselves. 13% said they do nothing while 11% said they report to the police. A further 4% said they use media reports and other channels while 1% reported that they form vigilante groups. 8% claimed that they did not know and 15% gave no response.

5.2.5 Communication Efforts

Table 19: Distribution of respondents by communication efforts employed by various groups to deal with conflict

<i>Communication efforts employed by various groups to deal with conflict</i>		<i>Sex</i>		<i>Female</i>		<i>Total</i>	
		<i>Male</i>					
		<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Religious organisations	Arbitrate	18	30.0	6	10.0	24	40.0
	Counsel warring parties	12	20.0	8	13.3	20	33.3
	Do nothing	13	21.7	3	5.0	16	26.7
	Total	43	71.7	17	28.3	60	100.0
Media	They report	36	48.0	15	20.0	51	68.0
	Keep quite about them	14	18.7	10	13.3	24	32.0
	Total	50	66.7	25	33.3	75	100.0
NGO	Help create awareness	3	4.6	2	3.1	5	7.7
	No response	41	63.1	19	29.2	60	92.3
	Total	44	67.7	21	32.3	65	100.0
Government and police	Not enough	26	35.1	8	10.8	34	45.9
	They help create awareness	21	28.4	10	13.5	31	41.9
	Barazas	5	6.8	2	2.7	7	9.5
	Do nothing	1	1.4	1	1.4	2	2.7
	Total	53	71.6	21	28.4	74	100.0
Women group	Create awareness	5	10.9	3	6.5	8	17.4
	Do nothing	29	63.0	9	19.6	38	82.6
	Total	34	73.9	12	26.1	46	100.0
Youth	Do nothing	19	45.2	6	14.3	25	59.5
	They help create awareness	12	28.6	5	11.9	17	40.5
	Total	31	73.8	11	26.2	42	100.0

On communication efforts employed by various groups to deal with conflict, 40% of the respondents said religious organizations arbitrate. 33.3% said that religious organizations counsel warring parties while 26.7% claimed that religious organizations do nothing.

68% of the respondents said media reports incidences of violence while 32% claimed the media keeps quiet about the same issues. More of the men (48%) thought the media is doing a great job of reporting violence while a lesser percentage of the women (20%) concurred

with this. A significant percentage of the men (18.7%) felt media keeps quiet about violence issues in society compared to 13.3% of the women whom agreed with this view.

The majority of the respondents (92.3%) said NGO's show no response towards issues of violence in society. Only 7.7% of them admitted that NGO's help create awareness about issues of violence. These views ran across the sexes. 63.1% of the males and 29.2% of the females said NGO's show no real response towards violence issues while 4.6% of the males and 3.1% of the females felt they help create awareness.

Concerning government and police, 45.9 % of the respondents said government and police do not do enough concerning communication efforts on issues of violence in Kibera. However, a significant percentage (41.9 %) of the respondents reported that the government and police help create awareness on issues of violence. 9.5% of the respondents said the government and police organize and participate in barazas to discuss issues of violence in Kibera. 2.7 % of the respondents were of the opinion that government and police do nothing about communicating issues of violence.

A whopping 82.6 % of the respondents claimed that women groups do nothing to communicate issues of violence. Only 17.4 % of the respondents admitted that women groups create awareness about violence. 10.9 % of the males said Women Groups help create awareness about violence as compared to 8 % of females. More men (63%) than women (38%) were of the view that these groups did nothing to communicate about violence.

Turning to the youth, more of the respondents (59.5%) felt that the youth do not contribute to communicating issues of violence in the community. However, a significant 40.5 % of the respondents lauded the efforts of the youth in helping to create awareness about incidences of violence and crime. 45.2 % males and 4.3 % females felt the young people do nothing about communication efforts on the vice. On the other hand, more men, 28.6 % in comparison to 11.9 % of women said the youth helped to create awareness on violence.

Table 20: Distribution of respondents by communication efforts employed by various groups to deal with conflict

<i>How successful communication has been</i>	<i>Sex</i>				<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>			
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Slightly successful	6	6.0	1	1.0	7	7.0
Not successful	43	43.0	22	22.0	65	65.0
Don't know	4	4.0	6	6.0	10	10.0
No response	7	7.0	11	11.0	18	18.0
Total	49	49.0	23	23.0	100	100.0

Very few respondents assented that the communication efforts employed by various groups and organizations to deal with conflicts have been slightly successful. An alarming 65 % of those interviewed declared that these communication efforts have not been successful at all. More males (6 %) than women (1 %) said that communication efforts employed by various groups to deal with conflicts have been slightly successful. Many females that is, 22 % and 43 % of the males all agreed that communication efforts have failed.

Table 21: Distribution of respondents by reasons why peace efforts have not succeeded

<i>Peace effort</i>	<i>Sex</i>				<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>			
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Police not done their best	20	20.0	5	5.0	25	25.0
Comm. Efforts e.g. Advocacy have not been put in place	6	6.0	2	2.0	8	8.0
Hostility over rent still thrives	8	8.0	7	7.0	15	15.0
Poverty	17	17.0	13	13.0	30	30.0
Don't know	2	2.0	6	6.0	8	8.0
No response	5	5.0	9	9.0	14	14.0
Total	58	58.0	42	42.0	100	100.0

The biggest percentage (30 %) of the respondents gave poverty as the reason why peace efforts have not succeeded. An equally significant percentage (25 %) pointed out that police have not done their best. 15 % of the respondents revealed that peace is elusive because of hostility over rent issues. A further 8 % of the respondents said that peace efforts have not succeeded because communication efforts such as advocacy have not been put in place. 8% of the respondents had no idea why these efforts have not succeeded. Those who gave no answer to this question comprised 14% of the respondents. More men (20%) than women (5%) blamed the police for not doing their best. Fewer females (2%) than males (6 %) were of the view that communication efforts are lacking in the bid to achieve peace. 8% of the males and 7 % of the females said that hostility over rent still thrives in Kibera. Significant percentages of both males (17 %) and females (13 %) said that poverty was to blame for lack of peace in the region.

Table 22: Distribution of respondents by their recommended communication strategies

<i>Recommendation</i>	<i>Sex</i>				<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>			
	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>%</i>
Litigation	18	18.0	10	10.0	28	28.0
Negotiation	2	2.0	0	0.0	2	2.0
Community initiatives	7	7.0	8	8.0	15	15.0
Problem solving workshops	2	2.0	0	0.0	2	2.0
Media interventions	1	1.0	0	0.0	1	1.0
Religious communication approach	4	4.0	2	2.0	6	6.0
Others	19	19.0	9	9.0	28	28.0
Don't know	4	4.0	6	6.0	10	10.0
No response	2	2.0	6	6.0	8	8.0
Total	53	53.0	29	29.0	100	100.0

Of the respondents interviewed in Kibera 28% said that litigation was the best communication strategy to combat crime and violence and thereby achieve peace in the region. A significant 15 % felt that community initiatives would serve best as communication strategies. Only 6% of the respondents recommended religious communication approach as a communication strategy. A minimal 2 % of the respondents suggested that negotiation be used as a communication strategy to counter crime and violence. Similarly, 2 % recommended problem-solving workshops as the ideal communication strategy. A paltry 1 % wanted media interventions used. 28 % were of the view that other alternative strategies apart from the above be used. Those who did not know comprised of 10% of the respondents while 8% did not respond to the question.

Compared to other communication strategies, a large number of males (18 %) and females (10 %) felt that litigation be used as a communication strategy to deal with conflict. More females (8 %) than males (7 %) were for community initiatives as the effective communication strategy. None of the females interviewed suggested negotiation as a

communication strategy compared to 2 % males that suggested it. Similarly, none of the female respondents compared to 2 % of the males recommended problem-solving workshops as an apt communication strategy. Shockingly none of the female respondents viewed media interventions as a communication strategy. 4 % of the males and 2 % of the females said that religious communication approaches be used. Significantly, 19 % of the males and 9 % of the females suggested other communication strategies apart from those discussed above.

CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

6.1 Characteristics of the study population

The sample size consisted of 100 respondents purposively drawn from Kibera slum. More males than females in the 20 years category accepted to be interviewed. This shows that the younger women are not exposed to issues or activities affecting the community and thus their opinions are not used in making decisions. Almost half of the respondents were older (above 30 years). In this particular age bracket, the study shows that older men and women are more inclined to being aware of what is happening in their environment than the younger population.

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Most residents of Kibera are not in gainful employment. In fact 94.6% have no jobs at all. Many of those who are not employed are engaged in self-employment or some form of income generating activity. More males are self-employed in small businesses compared to women of whom a significant number do nothing. An alarmingly big portion of the population is idle, giving rise to a mushrooming of illicit or unlicensed business to make ends meet.

Most people in Kibera live from hand to mouth with all of them below the poverty line. Three quarters of the residents stay in uninhabitable structures made of mud and mabati. The few who happen to live in houses with concrete walls are in an environment that lacks basic hygiene and proper sanitation. Additionally, most residents are only tenants and not the owners of the houses or structures in which they live. Further, these poor housing

structures are beyond the reach of most residents who find the rent prohibitive and uncalled for given the condition in which the houses are.

6.2 Witness of violence/conflict in Kibera

It is glaringly obvious that far too many people have come face to face with violence and the frequency of this is noteworthy. Very few people claimed never to have seen violence take place. The study also reveals that violence cuts across the genders and is on the increase. This concurs with other studies (Together: A World Vision Journal, 2000), which explains that as a result of social connectiveness, violence inside and outside the home has increased. The reason why more males have witnessed violence can be explained by the fact that males are in most case the perpetrators or in the company of those who carry out these acts. Another explanation is that women are afraid of acknowledging that they have been privy to violence or any action responsible for rocking the peace in the home.

6.3 Violence/Conflict Types, Causes, and Sources

The study identified several types of violence/conflict. These included communal/ethnic violence, domestic violence, violence stemming from religion and other types of violence. In the Kibera area, communal or ethnic conflict had the highest incidence (51%). The various villages in Kibera can as a result of the tribal groupings and affiliations evidence this. Due to the common sense of belonging it is easy to mobilize these people for good or bad. The second most serious type of violence witnessed by the respondents interviewed is domestic violence. An almost equal number of both men and women of a portion of the population felt that of all the forms of violence they have witnessed the worst form was domestic violence. This tallies with other studies that champion respect for human values

worldwide (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Document 8, Article 5,1948). According to the tenets of this document, it is universally wrong to subject other persons to torture, to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

A significant portion of the population of both males and females (22%) viewed domestic violence as a serious type of violence occurring within and outside the home. A negligible percentage of the population cited religious violence. It is also quite obvious that there are other types of violence (6%) witnessed by Kibera residents. During violent conflict, the study revealed that killing, maiming, fighting and rape took place. Almost half of the population have seen killing take place and a third witnessed maiming during violent conflict.

However, it emerged in the study that the violent crime of rape is shrouded in a cloak of silence and many such crimes go unreported. Absolutely none of the women interviewed admitted to witnessing rape. An acutely small percentage of the men (2%) admitted to having seen rape occur. This may be due to the fact that rape takes place away from the public eye and the social stigma attached to the act and the fear of further violence from the perpetrators prevents the victims from speaking out.

The main causes of violence and / or conflict were politics, religion, and social issues. More than half of the sample population attributed the violence they have witnessed to social issues. This points to underlying issues within the social set up or societal fabric such as poverty, unemployment, family problems and ethnicity that actually cause violence. Other

forces such as politics are only triggers. In fact fewer respondents thought politics (20%) or religion (1%) is a cause or source of violence.

6.4 Crime

The study shows that there is high incidence of crime in Kibera. More than three quarters of those interviewed have heard gunshots in their vicinity. It means crime of a violent nature is committed very often here. Only 15% of the respondents were found not to have heard the sound of a gunshot. Respondents attributed the source of gunshots to riots, theft and unknown sources. When questioned about whether or not they have witnessed crime, it emerged that almost everyone (85%) has seen a crime take place. Respondents reported crime witnessed to be in the form of drug abuse, theft, muggings and others. However the most common crime is muggings. This high incidence of crime agrees with the findings of other scholars of conflict (Mwagiru Makumi et al, Study of Political Violence in Nairobi, 2001) who cite Kibera as one of the prime sources for identification and recruitment of political thugs.

6.5 Communicating crime/violence

Though many people report crime to the police, almost a third of those interviewed did not report occurrence of crime. More men (33%) than women (15%) report crime to the police. On investigating reasons why people do not report crime to the police, it emerged that majority (60%) of both males and females fear victimization. Others felt police are hostile and slow to respond to issues even if they bothered to report incidents of crime. Further people do not report crimes that take place at night. 11.4% of the respondents failed to report crime because it happened at night. Still others do not care and feel it is none of their business to report crime.

Most people report crime via the face-to-face mode while others telephone. Noteworthy is the big numbers who never report (34%). Generally it is felt that police take some action by arresting culprits and carrying out patrols after crime is reported and people were happy with them. Some were however of the opinion that police do not do much since they set the criminals free even after having arrested them. More people (48%) share issues of violence amongst themselves compared to those who report to the police (11%), form vigilante groups (1%) or use media (4%). Communicating and talking about violence/conflict is an important step towards understanding and eventually resolving it.

Additionally, the community takes action to counter crime and insecurity. Mostly, they share concerns regarding crime and insecurity. Some form vigilante groups, while others are in favour of community policing. However only very few people (4%) were using community watch-dogs to deal with crime and insecurity in Kibera. This study has proved that although there are other underlying root causes, increasing cases of conflict are attributed to lack of effective communication skills among the people.

6.6 Communication efforts

Communication efforts by various groups such as religious organizations, media, NGO's, government and police, women groups and youth groups as reported by respondents were examined. Many respondents recognized that the government and police make an attempt to communicate issues of violence in Kibera through barazas. There are very many women groups in Kibera yet these groups do not include communication of issues of violence in their activities. Youth help in creating awareness but from the percentage of the respondents who felt they do not do enough (59.5), it is obvious that, like the rest of the other sectors,

they need to do more. The study discovered that communication efforts employed by the various groups in a bid to deal with conflict have only been slightly successful. Further, various reasons why peace efforts have not succeeded emerged. The main problem is poverty, which makes it hard for harmony to be maintained in the face of scarcity of resources and the accompanying scramble that leads to conflict. Police have also not done their best to keep law and order in the area. Additionally, hostility over rent matters still thrives and communication efforts that employ a high level of advocacy have not been put in place.

Several communication strategies to counter conflict/violence emerged from the study namely: Litigation, Negotiation, community initiatives such as community policing, problem solving workshops, media interventions and religious communication approaches. Though the results of the study point to Litigation as the most effective strategy, 28% is too small a percentage to be deemed as sufficient to deal with the issues of conflict. The need for an integrated approach to communicate and resolve conflict is paramount. Every sector and stakeholder has to be involved if conflict is to be positively and effectively managed.

CHAPTER SEVEN CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Conclusion

Society, especially that of Kibera slum which the study set out to investigate, is steeped in conflict and violence. Of course a certain amount of conflict is vital in order to create the necessary impetus for humanity to thrust forth into civilization. Life without any sort of conflict would be devoid of challenges that are crucial to a person's social and psychological development. If positively and effectively managed, conflict can be beneficial. On the rare occasions when this has happened, it has resulted in the creation of internationally recognized states such as Bangladesh (1971), Slovenia (1991), Croatia (1991) and Eritrea (1993).

The study has shown that the answer to the conflict problem in Kibera lies in the social structure and central to this is communication. Communication is key to creating or resolving any kind of conflict. A community centered communication oriented approach is the best strategy for rooting out or effectively dealing with conflict/violence in Kibera and elsewhere. Earlier studies (www.c-r.org/pubs/occ_papers/occ_af_conf.htm) echo the fact that information is a key component of power-power to change social political and economic conditions for good or ill.

The results of this study agree with the Agenda Setting theory, which has it that media and other entities do influence perceptions. With a capacity to reach large or influential segments of a given population in the shortest time possible and to provide factual

information, analysis and opinion, the mass media in deed helps shape thought systems of communities and Kibera is no exception.

Additionally, all NGOs, CBOs, FBOs, Women Groups, Youth Groups, Religious Groups and other stakeholders working in Kibera have to take a more proactive all inclusive multi-sectoral approach and employ the unique power of communication if they are going to make the slum not only developed and self-reliant but peaceful.

7.2 Recommendations

There is need to strengthen the existing community based approach in communicating issues of conflict. This community-based approach should be all-inclusive and be designed to consist of community leaders, women, youth, teachers and CBOs. Special groups representatives should all be considered part of this. In this regard it will be beneficial to make community capacity building in peace matters a going concern. Further, formation of an inter-sectoral committee composed of local government leaders as well as NGOs and CBOs at the operational level will be paramount. Stakeholders involved in the communication campaigns and development projects have to come together to share responsibilities and complement each other.

Efforts to broker peace or resolve conflict must of necessity hinge on reconciliation. Though most respondents did not favour reconciliation as a viable communication strategy to deal with conflict, it is a very major part of the peace process. The intricate delicate mechanisms only found in communication, can make peace achievable. This will be more lasting if reconciliation is considered to be part of that process.

Otherwise regardless of litigation or justice, the absence of reconciliation makes sure the vicious cycle of violence/conflict rewinds itself over and over in unending circle of spirals. Other studies (TOGETHER: Journal of World Vision Partnership, 2000) concur with this and point out that cessation of conflict without serious reconciliation will only be a pause. Of all conflicts in the world today, none is a new conflict- they are all continuations, other chapters in unreconciled disputes.

There is need for the government to put in place intervention programs targeting and prioritizing conflict as a real threat and determinant of the social-economic stability of Kibera residents. Social problems facing Kibera residents such as poor housing and sanitation, lack of employment opportunities and low or no income can be addressed by introducing, emphasizing community Income Generating Activities, helping the community to manage them and even through subsidies such as government loans and grants. This will stem conflict arising as a result of scarcity of resources.

The Kenyan government must systematically study ethnic and political conflict comprehensively and address it through resettling Kenya's own internally displaced people. It will also be helpful if the suppression of the Terrorism Bill is addressed and a responsible leadership role taken in the national constitution making process. There is need to note, examine and address the serious linkages of conflict/ violence to HIV/AIDS and Gender disparities in Kenya especially in urban slum settlements such as Kibera.

Organizations working in this community should design programs aimed at improving not only the living conditions of people in Kibera but also their security. This security must

stretch to all the genders and to children. For instance gender needs for women must of necessity be considered during crisis. Gender parity in these organizations must mean participation and visibility of women in programs in order to strengthen their voice and participation in access to and control of local resources.

Poverty eradication within the broad remit and mandate of the Country Strategy Paper (Strategy Paper, 2001-2004) is the way forward if the underlying root causes of conflict are to be effectively dealt with. To successfully do this, there is need to tackle issues that undermine opportunities for economic growth, social stability, structural reforms and accountable social development. Kibera residents, the government, NGO's, FBO's, CBO's, Women Groups, Youth Groups, policy makers and donors should all contribute towards this goal.

Community initiatives embedded in the traditions and social structures that are positive should be encouraged and practiced. The concept of respect for elders, communal discipline, hospitality and sharing, care for the aged, the orphans, the widows and widowers have to be encouraged while outdated harmful practices such as FGM, wife inheritance in the face of HIV should be discarded. There is need to eliminate community practices and socialization that predispose to sexual and gender based violence. It is noteworthy that there has emerged the challenge of the 'battered man' which crusaders of peace and of gender equity are faced with. Communication strategies employed have to cater for this.

There is need for funding. Donor attention has shifted to Somalia and Sudan. Focus has to be brought back to Kenya. Kenya would do well to help to develop communication or IEC

oriented programs in Kibera IEC oriented programs in Kibera that would then partner with development partners such as World Vision, ICRC, UNDP, UNIFEM, USAID, DFID and the global fund among others. Currently UNIFEM, The Royal Norwegian Embassy, The Consortium of Donor Groups, DFID, STDA, CIDA and a few others provide support of gender sensitive programs. However the government has to be proactive and transparent in management of resources.

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CHAPTER NINE ANNEXTURE

9.1 Annex.1 Questionnaire

I am a Master of Arts Student at the School of Journalism, University of Nairobi. I am carrying out a research to find out the communication strategies used in conflict resolution and management among communities living in Kibera, Nairobi – Kenya.

Instructions:

For each of the following questions, please tick.....in the box which best describes your answers. You do not need to write your name.

1. Sex

- a) Male b) Female

2. Age

- a) Below 20
b) 20 – 30
c) 30 and above

3. Nationality

- a) Kenyan b) Others (Please Specify)

4. In which village in Kibera do you stay?

- | | |
|--|---|
| a) <input type="checkbox"/> Silanga | 1. <input type="checkbox"/> Kianda |
| b) <input type="checkbox"/> Laini Saba | 2. <input type="checkbox"/> Makini |
| c) <input type="checkbox"/> Lindi | 3. <input type="checkbox"/> Ayany |
| d) <input type="checkbox"/> Mashimoni | 4. <input type="checkbox"/> Raila |
| e) <input type="checkbox"/> Kisumu Ndogo | 5. <input type="checkbox"/> Kichinjio |
| f) <input type="checkbox"/> Katwekera | 6. <input type="checkbox"/> Soweto |
| g) <input type="checkbox"/> Kware | 7. <input type="checkbox"/> Others (Please Specify) |

5. What language do you speak?

- a) Dholuo
b) Kamba
c) Luhya
d) Nubian
e) Kikuyu
f) Other (Please Specify).....

6. Are you employed?

- a) Yes b) No

8. If your answer to Q6. Above is Yes, what is your average earnings?

- a) Below 1,000/=
b) Between 1,000/= and 3,000/=

c) Above 3,000/=

9. Do you engage in income generating activities?

a) Yes

b) No

10. If your answer to Q8 above is Yes what type of income generating activity do you engage in?

a) Licensed business

b) Unlicensed

11. How much income do you get from Q9 above per month?

a) Below 1,000/=

b) Between 1,000/= and 3,000/=

c) Above 3,000/=

12. If your answer to question (6) above is 'NO' how do you earn your living? (Please explain)

a) Self-employed

b) Nothing

13. What kind of structure / house do you live in?

a. Mud Wall

c. Wooden Wall

b. Tinned /Mabati Wall

d. Others (Please specify).....

14. Do you own a structure / house?

a) Yes

b) No

15. How many rooms does your structure have?

a. 1 room

c. 3 rooms

b. 2 rooms

d. Others (please specify).....

16. How much money do you pay as rent for your room / structure (if rented)

a) Below 500

b) Below 500 to 1500

c) Above 1,500

17. Are you happy about the rent you are paying for the house?

a) Yes

b) No

18. If the answer to Q16 above is no, explain why you are not happy?

a) It is too expensive

b) The house is not worth the rent

c) Others (Please explain).....

19. How many children do you have?

a. One

c. Three

b. Two

d. Over three

20. How many go to school?

21. How many do not go to school?

22. What do those who don't go to school do?

- a) House work
- b) Help in family business
- c) Others (please specify).....

23. How many times have you witnessed violent actions take place?

- a) Once
- b) Twice
- c) Thrice
- d) Others (Please specify the circumstances).....

24. What kind of violence or conflict was it?

- a. Domestic
- b. Communal / ethics
- c. Religious
- d. Other (Please specify)

25. What occurred during the violence / disagreement?

- a. Killing
- b. Maiming
- c. Rape
- d. Other (Please specify)

26. What was the cause of the violence?

- a. Politics
- b. Religion
- c. Social
- d. Other (Please specify)

27. How many times have you heard gun-shots?

- a. Once
- b. Twice
- c. Thrice
- d. Many times
- e. Others (Please specify).....

28. What was the source of the gunshot(s)?

- a. Riots
- b. Theft
- c. Others (Please specify).....

29. Have you witnessed any criminal activities in Kibera?

- a) Yes
- b) No

30. What criminal activities have you witnessed?

- a. Drug abuse
- b. Theft
- c. Muggings
- d. Others (Please specify)

31. Do you report this to the police?

- a) Yes
- b) No

32. If no why? Please explain.

- a) Police are either hostile or too slow to respond
- b) Those who report are victimized therefore there's year
- c) It is none of my business

33. How do you communicate to the police about conflict, crime?

- a. Drop in box
- b. Telephone
- c. Face to face

34. How many times have you talked to the police about security fears?

- a. Never
- b. Once
- c. Twice
- d. Other (Please specify)

35. Did the police take any action?

- a) The perpetrators arrested
- b) The perpetrators were jailed
- c) The perpetrators set free
- d) Other (please specify)

36. Were you happy about the police action?

- a) Yes
- b) No

37. What does the community do about the crime and insecurity?

- a) They form vigilante groups
- b) There are community watch dogs
- c) They share their concerns
- d) Inter-religious dialogue
- e) Community policing
- f) Others (specify)

38. Can you attribute poor communication skills to escalating cases of conflict?

- a) Yes
- b) No

39. How are violence related issues communicated in your community?

- a) Share
- b) Media reports through the various channels
- c) Residents report to the police
- d) Vigilante groups

40. What communication efforts have been employed by the following groups in a bid to deal with conflict?

a. Religious Groups

- a) They arbitrate
- b) They counsel the warring parties
- c) They do nothing

b. Media

- a) They report
- b) They keep quiet about it

c. NGO's

- a) They help to create awareness of the problems
- b) No response

d. Government (police, public administration)

- a) They do nothing
- b) They help to create awareness

e. Women groups

- a) They create awareness about the conflict
- b) They do nothing

f. Youth Groups

- a) They create awareness
- b) They do nothing

41. To what extent do you think the communication efforts have been fruitful?

- a) - Very successful
- b) Successful
- c) Slightly successful
- d) Not successful

42. Why do you think efforts for peace have not been successful?

Please explain.

- a) Police have not done their best
- b) Communication efforts, such advocacy have not been put in place
- c) Hostilities over rent issues still thrive
- d) Women groups & NGO's not interested

43. What would you recommend to be the best communication strategies for handling conflicts and crimes?

- a) Litigation
- b) Arbitration
- c) Negotiation
- d) Community initiatives e.g. Community policing
- e) Meditation
- f) Problem solving workshops
- g) Religious solving workshops
- h) Others (please specify)