

The Influence of Ethnically-Laced Media Messages in the Spread of Ethno-Biases:
Perspectives from Development Communicators

By

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10-1429

A thesis presented to the School of Communication, Language and Performing Arts of

Daystar University
Nairobi, Kenya

In partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS
in Communication

February 2015

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In accordance with Daystar University policies, this thesis is accepted in partial fulfillment of requirements for the Master of Arts degree.

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I declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been submitted to any
other college or university for academic credit

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Acknowledgements

The writing of this thesis has been one of the most significant academic challenges I have ever had to face. Without the support, patience and guidance of my supervisor, Dr. Clayton Peel, this study would not have been completed. It is to him I owe my deepest gratitude. I would also like to thank Dr. Paul Mbutu for his wisdom, knowledge and commitment to the completion and critic of this document. I would also like to sincerely appreciate the help and support from development agencies and organizations listed on pages vii and viii of this study. Their perspectives led to the completion of this study. Lastly, I would like to thank my parents and my siblings who always supported me and encouraged me with their best wishes.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables and Figures.....	vii
List of Abbreviations and Acronyms	viii
Abstract	x
Dedication	xii
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY	1
Introduction.....	1
Background to the Study.....	3
Statement of the Problem.....	5
Purpose of the Study	6
Objectives of the Study.....	6
Research Questions	6
Rationale	6
Significance of the Study	7
Assumptions.....	8
Scope of the Study	8
Limitations and Delimitations.....	8
Definition of Terms.....	9
Summary	11
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	12
Introduction.....	12
Theoretical Framework.....	12
i. Media Priming Theory	13
ii. The Development Communication Methodological Framework	15
General Literature Review	19
i. Empirical Literature Review.....	19
ii. General Literature Review.....	21
Conceptual Framework	25
Summary	27
CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	28
Introduction.....	28
Research Designs	28
Population	29
Study Site/Target Population.....	29
Sample Size.....	29
Sampling Technique.....	30
Data Collection Instruments.....	31
Questionnaires.....	32
Interview Schedules	33
Data Collection Procedures.....	32
Pretesting.....	33
Validity and Reliability	34
Data Analysis Plan	34
Ethical Considerations.....	35

Summary	36
CHAPTER 4: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION	37
Introduction	37
Analysis and interpretation.....	37
i. Questionnaires.....	38
ii. Interview Schedules	46
Summary of Key Findings	53
Summary	55
CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	57
Introduction	57
Discussions.....	57
Conclusion	62
Recommendations	62
Recommendations for Further Research	66
References	69
APPENDICES	
APPENDIX A: Time table	78
APPENDIX B: Budget.....	80
APPENDIX C: Questionnaire.....	81
APPENDIX D: Interview Schedule	85
APPENDIX E: Letter of Introduction	87

List of Tables and Figures

List of Tables

Table 1 Likert scale representing views from development communicators who responded to the questionnaires.

List of Figures

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework highlighting how the media messages spread ethno biases. The diagram was created by the study to illustrate the priming process that occurs when development communicators consume media messages.

Figure 2 Pie-Chart highlighting perceptions on whether people are generally biased along ethnic lines

Figure 3: Pie-Chart showing the perceptions of 40 development communicators on the analysis of media is the source of ethnic biases.

Figure 4: Line-graph representing 80% of the total number of development communicators who participated in this study.

Figure 5: Line-graph representing perspectives from 80% of the total number of development communicators who participated in this study.

Figure 6: Conceptual framework explaining how the priming effect contributed to ethno-nationalism. The diagram was created by the study to illustrate the priming process that occurs when development communicators consume media messages.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AGRA-Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa

CAQDAS: Computer Assisted and Aided Qualitative Data Analysis Software

CBA: Communication Based Assessment

CBO: Community Based Organization

CSA-Centre for the Study of Adolescence

DCMFAM: Development Communication Methodological Framework and Application Module

DESI Dell Social Innovation Challenge

IFAW -International Fund for Animal Welfare

IRDO Impact Research and Development Organization

IHW Inter Health Worldwide

IOM International Organization for Migration

KMFA Kenyan Ministry of Foreign affairs

KMRIP Kenyan Ministry of Registration and Immigration of Persons

KNHRC- Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR)

NGO- Non-governmental Organizations

UN WFP- United Nations World Food Programme

UNDP SGP: United Nations Development Programme Small Grants Programme Project

UNEP-United Nations Environment Programme

UNESCO- United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization

UN-Habitat- United Nations Human Settlements Programme

UNICAO-United Nations International Civil Aviation Organization

UNICEF-United Nations Children's Fund

UNIDO - United Nations Industrial Development Organization

UNILO- United Nations International Labour Office

UNOPS-United Nations Office for Project Services

UNV-United Nations Volunteers

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Abstract

This study focused on finding out the extent to which ethno-nationalist messages, in particular those cascaded by media, influenced development communicators. From the evidence adduced in this research, media messages that elicited ethno-bias elements influenced the perceptions of development communicators. The findings reveal that development communicators responded to ethno-bias messages from the media. The findings also show that when negative ethnicity was broadcasted, development communicators picked up on such, to the extent that 90 % of those canvassed admitted that their practice and professionalism was influenced by ethno-biased views which were diffused through media messages. The health or otherwise of this level of influence was interrogated by applying the standards of Mefalopulos' (2008) Development Communication Methodological Framework and Application Module (DCMFAM), which says the development communicator is supposed to be a consensus-builder, bridging the aspirations of all sides, and generating, collating, and disseminating relevant information to all parties, including the media, in a way that promotes positive social change. The priming theory (Fiske & Taylor, 1991) was also operationalized to tease out media influences on the exercise of development communicators' consensus-building mandates. Through the use of questionnaires and interview schedules, the perspectives of development communicators were drawn from various development agencies and organizations. The study found that due to the influence of media messages in the spread of ethno-nationalism, 90 % of the development communicators who shared their perspectives acknowledged the influence of negative ethnicity via messages diffused through the media. The other 10 % admitted that, in most cases, they were influenced by media messages but were determined to be objective in their professionalism. The permutations of this for the professional practice of development communicators answered the inherent

question in the research topic: ethno-biased media messages do have a substantial influence, including on development communicators.

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Dedication

This piece of work is dedicated to the Almighty God for his provision of grace, intellect, health and scholarship. I also dedicate it to my loving parents who took care of me and helped me financially and psychologically during my postgraduate tenure in Daystar University. Lastly, I dedicate this thesis to development communicators, political scientists and international relations scholars who seek to understand the myriad issues that are mired in the politics of ethno-nationalism and its influence in development.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Introduction

This study sought to investigate how media messages influence ethno-nationalism by integrating insights from development communicators. Informed by the observations of Lumumba (2008), Kagwanja and Southall (2009), , and other scholars who conclude that ethnic identification has fundamentally transformed the practice of development communication, I sought to research media messages' influence on all this, and particularly through evaluating perspectives from development communicators. The rationale for engaging development communicators was because they are mandated with consensus-building (Mefalopulos, 2008) in interventions which are supposed to lead to social change. Whether this social change is objective or not is dependent on the values that development communicators have and exhibit in their profession.

Politicized ethnicity and its quest for power has over time influenced the political, economic, and social environments (Kagwanja & Southall, 2009), but whether development communication was affected by this has not been asked. Furthermore, politicized ethnicity is diffused through media messages: hence, the messages have the power to interfere with the planning and articulating of development goals (Ochieng, 2013). According to Ugangu (2012), the media is credited with the duty of cascading information and hence performs a mediation role between the source and the audience. In the same vein, Melladu, Orhewere, and Kur (2013, p.134) expand on this “mandated mediating role” of the media, pointing out that:

...[the media] serves as an interpreter (where messages explain and make sense of otherwise fragmentary or puzzling goals), as a sign post (where messages actively pointing the way, give guidance or instructions), as a filter

(where messages select out parts of experience for special attention and close off other aspects of experience whether deliberately and systematically or not), as a mirror (which reflect an image of society to itself, usually with some distortion by accentuating what people want to see of their own society or sometimes what they want to punish or suppress), and as a window on experience (where messages extend to our vision, enabling us to see what is going on for ourselves).

If the media is credited with this tradition, then the media messages must also have the ability to influence their audiences, especially when they are referred to as the interpreters of information. Furthermore, if the media is described as a filter source (where messages are selective and are tailored for special attention), then, the media messages must have an influential ability which has to be evaluated especially when there is a probability for ethnic biases. McDonald (2009) states that mass media can affect knowledge, attitudes, opinions and behavior of individuals. These effects according to McDonald can be immediate or delayed, of short duration or long-lasting.

It is these effects that determine whether the audience (development communicators, in this case) is ethno-nationalistic or not. This study therefore goes beyond highlighting the influence of media messages by incorporating the priming effects stimulated from the ethno-biased media messages. Through investigating the effect of media messages, the study examined the extent to which development communicators were exposed to ethnically-laced messages. Secondly, the study explored the extent to which development communicators were conscious of ethno-biases integrated within the messages, and finally, the study extends the research on inference by exploring the extent to which ethno-bias influences development communicators

Media critics such as Lando (2012) believe that the Kenyan media has unethical traits which influence mass communication in the country, to the extent of increasing prejudice (Lumumba, 2008). Similarly, Manwelo and Tarimo (2009) point to discontentment over national development issues and the politics of ethnicity, which stem from the influence of media messages. The said sources of discontentment over national development issues relate to factors such as disrespect of cultural identity (Smith, 1996), political discrimination (Lumumba, 2008), repression (Blagojevic, 2009), and economic deprivation (Connor, 2004).

This study attempted to systematically put all these into perspective. Hence, Chapter One defined the problem statement, purpose, objectives, rationale, significance, assumptions, scope, and the limitations of this study. Chapter Two engaged the views from scholarly and other sources that described the effect of ethnic consciousness of material gain and power on the progress of development communication. To address development without considering media influence and its contribution to ethno-bias would be dismissive of a key ingredient in the politics of development communication, as Kagwanja (2005) avers:

...Like ethnicity, generational identities have been manipulated and instrumentalized by Africa's patrimonial elite (which includes the media). Africa's young people are very poorly equipped to make their opposition effective...they cannot draw a line between 'political tribalism' and 'moral ethnicity'... (Kagwanja, 2005, pp. 53-54)

It is these kinds of observations among many others that create a need for studies like this one. As a result, there are concerns among some development scholars, including Kagwanja and Southall (2009) and Lumumba (2008), that a harmful effect of tribalism on development priorities may owe its genesis to the ethnic-biased media and their messages, and the influence they have on development communicators.

Background to the Study

Ethno-nationalism is explained by Lumumba (2008), Mwakikagile (2007), Manwelo and Tarimo (2009), as a tendency of manipulating ethnic identities for private interests, and endorsing discrimination on ethnic grounds in national development issues. Perceptions of biases in mainstream media messages in Kenya have underlined this concern (BBC Trust, 2007 Lumumba, 2008; Ochieng, 2013). Indeed as Lumumba notes, elements of bias, including ethno-bias, have become acceptable in media messages:

...It is tragic that virtually everybody has accepted this rot as the dignified thing to do. Local media rolls over itself as journalists carry out pre-election analysis of who is likely to win...There is no single journalist who questions... tribalism... (Lumumba, 2008, pp. xiv-xv)

The spread of such media messages, and their evolving forms of dissemination particularly in areas of development, make the evaluation of ethno-nationalism's influence among development communicators more critical. The Kenyan Non-governmental Organization Coordination Board (2009) registered over 6,000 non-governmental organizations in Kenya, most of which claim to be practicing development communication. This hypothetically means that there is a huge number of development communicators in Kenya. As such, development communication practice by government and NGOs is in evidence in most, if not all of Kenya's counties. Development communication, according to Manyonzo (2006), is a process of strategic intervention towards social change, initiated and engaged by organizations and communities that include individuals. This means that it is a continuous process that includes organizations and communities. This strategic intervention cannot be effected without development communicators. That is why development communicators are supposed to be objective, in the sense that they ought not to subscribe to

views that may influence biases in their profession and practice (Mefalopulos, 2008). They are not supposed to preoccupy themselves in issue-based politics (Kumar, 2011).

Hall (1976) and Kumar (2011) argue that development stems from a primary source of information. The content and general messages of the primary source may either popularize or de-popularize certain ideologies and concepts for development. In the same vein, Allahar (2008) notes that new challenges in managing national problems and leadership in particular. The politics of ethnicity and nationalism, extremism and conflict, have impinged on national development issues to the extent that development communication has in one way or another been affected by ethnicity (Smith, 1996, 1999).

According to Blagojevic (2009), there is a particular social trend that ethno-nationalizes communities and states. This ethno-nationalism characterizes media discourses and audiences in the developing world (Kagwanja & Southall, 2009; Lumumba, 2008), with Lumumba in particular describing some media as agents of diffusion of ethnic biases. The significance of this is in how the media affects the way people reason and respond (Bell & Coicaud, 2007), particularly the changes in people's behavior and outlook as a result of media messages.

Statement of the Problem

The Kenyan media is known to be bias in transmitting messages that promote negative ethnicity (Kagwanja, 2005; Lumumba, 2008). These messages have the potential to influence the audience, including development communicators. Development communicators exposed to these messages may be influenced in their practice and professionalism. The permutation of this for their professional practice deserves attention because in the long run it affects the development progress. To test those permutations, and especially whether ethnically-laced messages have a bearing on the conduct and levels of professionalism, was a

key concern in this study. This study tested perspectives from development communicators, and assessed the contribution to development work of ethnically-laced media messages.

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to investigate whether ethnically-laced messages influence the spread of ethno-bias in development communication practice by evaluating perspectives from development communicators.

Objectives

The following are the objectives that guided this study:

1. To examine the extent to which development communicators were exposed to ethnically-laced messages.
2. To find out the extent to which development communicators were conscious of the ethno-bias of some media messages which they consume.
3. To explore the extent to which ethno-bias messages influenced development communicators.

Research Questions

The above research objectives correspond to the following questions:

1. To what extent were development communicators exposed to ethnically-laced messages in the media?
2. To what extent were development communicators conscious of the media messages which they consume?
3. To what extent did ethno-biased messages influence development communicators?

Significance of the Study

The position of this thesis was that through consuming ethnically-laced media messages, development communicators were at risk of being influenced by dominant ethno-biases while discharging their duties. For this reason, this study hypothetically considered the presupposition that dominant ethnic biases had the potential of affecting the credibility and effectiveness of development communicators, thereby negatively affecting the development communication profession. Development communicators and their practice are therefore the subjects and possible beneficiaries of the findings of this review. Also, media platforms and their practitioners (journalists, bloggers, Twitter users, etc.) are influencers of development communication practice and should be aware of the importance of these linkages, and how they affect development. Kenya's political leaders should also be informed by the thrust of this study: it updates the powerful influence of ethnicity on popular perceptions of identity, where identity remains among the most effective instruments needed by the Kenyan government to mobilize the nation. And lastly, scholars of communication and development will find in this study a fresh exploration of the linkages between the media, development communication, and ethnicity.

Rationale

The influence and potential spread of ethno-nationalism among development communicators in Kenya problematized the profession of development communication and also created barriers that hindered the national development process (Hechter & Okamoto, 2011). Some of the concerns that were highlighted in studies on national development by Kagwanja (2005) Manwelo and Tarimo (2009) Hamisi (2011), and Kaberia (2013), pointed out that negative ethnicity and ethnic biases that are experienced in any democratic state have serious implications that could compromise political stability and economic development. This study therefore evaluated the spread of ethno-nationalism among development

communicators and the contribution of media messages to this influence. The findings of this study reveal professional gaps that may affect the credibility and professionalism of development communication in Kenya. The recommendations made suggest ways that could arrest the influence of such bias.

Limitations and Delimitations

One obstacle that challenged this study was obtaining feedback from development communicators because of the nature of their jobs. Most of them travel a lot and hence it was challenging to get feedback via questionnaires and interview schedules. For this reason, the researcher sought to disseminate questions via email addresses after exhaustively explaining the purpose of the study via telephone conversations. In addition, the study obtained an introductory letter from the School of Communications, Languages and Performing Arts for scheduling interview sessions with development communicators. The second limitation was attributed to the fact that there were few publications on how media messages influence the spread of ethno-nationalism. This limitation was resolved through borrowing views from newspaper writings, online journals and short articles that were publicized during the 2013 Kenyan presidential election period.

Assumptions of the Study

This study was based on the following assumptions:

1. Development communicators in Kenya were consumers of media messages.
2. Media messages in Kenya had ethno-nationalistic views, to a lesser or greater degree.

Scope of the Study

This study particularly sought to obtain perspectives from development communicators. The study used interview schedules and questionnaires to structure the

research questions that would help in contextualising the concept of ethno-nationalism. The questionnaires and interview schedules were effective in the data collection process because the targeted audience were able to respond in good time. The study sought to interview development communicators who were willing and able to spare their time. Both research instruments retrieved findings through the snowballing technique whereby development communicators were asked to recommend other candidates for this study. The technique proved to be quite effective because it was hard to establish where the development communicators were.

Definition of Terms

The following are operational terms that were in this research. They emanate from different authors and provide the meaning of the key words used in the study.

1. *Development Communication*: According to Kumar (2011), development communication is a process of the strategic intervention towards social change, initiated and engaged by organizations and/ or groups of people. This definition is what this study has assumed as the explanation of development communication.
2. *Development communicators*: According to Mefalopulos (2008), these are individuals who are employed or charged with the responsibility of endorsing and implementing strategic intervention towards social change. They work for international organizations, public and private sectors and their duties revolve round programs and projects of development communication.
3. *Ethno-bias*: This term was defined in Mwakikagile's (2007) analysis of Kenya as a nation. He defines it as the process in which certain ethnic groups marginalize others. The tendency of favouring certain ethnic groups over others in a way that influences what would otherwise be an objective judgement; this is the operational definition for this research.

4. *Ethno-bias-ism*: This term, according to Blagojevic (2009) is the behavior of assuming an ethno-bias position. This study uses this definition as discussed in the above definition.
5. *Ethno-nationalism*: A particular strain of nationalism that is marked by the desire of an ethnic community to have absolute authority over its own political, economic, and social affairs. The term was borrowed from Taylor (2009), Mwakikagile (2007), and Norton (1993) and their views on ethnic-oriented nationalism. In this study, it refers to the tendency of manipulating ethnic identities for private interests, and endorsing discrimination in national development issues, based on ethnic identity.
6. *Ethnically laced messages*: These refer to information which contains bias views in favor of certain ethnic groups, to the detriment of others.
7. *Ethno-nationalist*: This is a compound term derived from the words 'ethnocentric' and 'nationalism'. 'Ethnocentric' according to Norton, (1993) is the belief that a people's identity stems from their own ethnic background, which is viewed as superior to others. The term nationalist has been introduced because in the context of ethno-nationalism, it denotes the individual who wants political independence for their country, with biases. In this study, an ethno-nationalist is an individual with a tendency of manipulating ethnic identities for private interests, and endorsing discrimination based on ethnic identity in national development issues.
8. *Influence*: According to Kecmanovic (1996), this is the capacity to have an effect on the character, development, or behaviour of an individual, collective, or institution. This study uses this definition to explain how media messages influence the character, development, or behaviour of development communicator towards biases.

9. *Media messages*: This refers to messages cascaded by media outlets, which comprise of television, radio, pamphlets, broadcast spots (town centred digital large screens for broadcasts), newspapers and magazines, social media (Face book pages and twitter accounts).
10. *Perspectives*: This refers to the views, perceptions, observations, opinions and sentiments that were shared by development communicators.
11. *Spread*: This term, according to Farrar, Straus, and Giroux (2009), means to reach or have an effect on a wider scale. It is the continuity of an effect within an area (public domain).

Summary

This chapter has set the agenda for investigating whether development communicators in Kenya have been influenced by ethno-nationalist messages. The degree to which ethnically-laced messages affect the conduct and professionalism of development communication in Kenya warranted this attention, in a country context where ethnicity has been politicized. The research agenda comprises the related variables of media and their ethno-biased messages; and the possible influence of these messages on development communicators and their social change agenda. The background and protocol for this investigation has been segmented in this chapter into: introduction, background to the study, statement of the problem, purpose, objectives, research questions, rationale, significance of the study, limitations and delimitations, assumptions, scope of the study and definition of terms.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter examined literature on the influence of media messages and ethno-nationalism. It integrated the media priming theory as the core theoretical framework and the Development Communication Methodological Framework and Application Module by Mefalopulos (2008). The module delivers a blueprint for developing an effective development communication strategy; the media priming theory by Fiske and Taylor (2008) and a conceptual framework illustrate how ethno-nationalism is conceptualized. The literature discusses the influence of media messages and how they have contributed to the spread of ethno-nationalism. The following therefore entails analogies and reviews from social science experts who have debated on the influence of media, and how the concept of ethno-nationalism occurs.

Theoretical Framework

The study of ethno-nationalism remains inter-disciplinary because it encapsulates a vast range of factors. It cuts across cultural studies (Smith, 1996), development (Wee, 2010), political science (Lapidus, 1984), contemporary tools of communication (Shah, 2013), and mass media (Blagojevic, 2009). All these are sub-areas of development communication, and yet, to theorize them for the purposes of this research requires a multi-disciplinary evaluation of the literature – for instance, media influence on perception and conduct, but also on the standards of intervention by professional development communicators. This study explained the influence of media messages through the use of priming effects that occur when development communicators consume media messages. This process is explained through the broader implications found within the media priming effects, and conceptual distinctions of framing which are traced back to cognitive psychology.

i. Media Priming Theory

The priming theory was first introduced by Iyengar and Kinder (1987), and later popularized by Fiske and Taylor (2008) as the media priming theory. As mentioned above, the theoretical framework for this study is devoted to the media priming theory i.e. priming concept and the priming effect. The theory explains how effects of the media messages affect the mental constructs of audiences, whether of television, radio or newspapers. The mental constructs refer to the way people interpret information and form their own judgment (priming effect). Noar (2006) notes that mass media messages are intervention tools that address attitude and behavior changes within groups of people and communities; hence they are priming agents of communication.

Priming (as used in this context) refers to the activation of stereotypic cognitions in the mind which have already been rationalized in the mental constructs (Power, Murphy, & Coover, 1996). It is a process by which activated mental constructs can influence how individuals evaluate concepts and ideas. Grounded in cognitive psychology, the theory of media priming is derived from the associative network model of human memory, in which an idea or concept is stored as a node in the network and is related to other ideas or concepts by semantic paths (VanHavermaet, Kennette, & Lin, 2012). The activation of a node in this perceived network, serves as a filter, an interpretive frame, or a premise for further information processing and judgment formation.

Relating the theory to this thesis, when an idea that carries with it elements of ethno-bias is stored in a node which is the mental framework of a development communicator, it can serve as a filter, an interpretive frame, or a premise for further information processing and judgment formation. In this way, the development communicator can be influenced to make decisions and value judgments on the basis of influence from messages conveying ethno-bias. Priming is based on the assumption that the frequency or features of the

(cognitive) stimulus activate previously registered information (Noar, 2006). This means that when an individual is cumulatively presented with information, the mental construct quickly represents a judgment which takes place because of the exposure to the stimulus, in this case media messages.

While there have been studies that evaluate the effects of how mass media messages have an agenda-setting effect, there has been less attention given to the spread of activation among related cognitions (Roskos-Ewoldsen, Roskos-Ewoldsen, & Carpentier, 2002). For this reason, this study evaluates how media messages have primed development communicators particularly in relation to ethno-bias. Ethnic bias in the media is likely to prompt negative evaluative thoughts about certain ethnic groups, especially where news reports commonly contain elements that have a negative ethnic connotation about those groups (Schemer, 2012).

Once biased thoughts are activated by media depictions of certain ethnic groups, the impressions become more accessible for subsequent judgments as activation spreads through individuals' cognitive networks (Higgins & Kruglanski, 1996). Additionally, since intergroup attitudes can be considered to be the weighted average of a whole community, the spread of a certain concept is easily primed via continuous dissemination of information cascaded as media message. Priming thus means activating information stored in long-term memory, which takes place after being exposed to a stimulus (media messages). For example, if development communicators (who are the primary subjects of this study) continuously read press articles that carry ethno-bias, they are likely to believe in the biases and can be influenced in their professional work.

Drawing from the research interests, this study argued that media priming of issues in moral or ethical terms can prime development communicators to make attributions about ethno-nationalism. To examine these relationships, this research used the same experimental

design with two research instruments i.e. questionnaires and interview schedules on two sub-populations of development communicators who work in non-governmental institutions and community based organizations respectively. The results presented in Chapter Five of this study conceptualize priming more broadly to include considerations of both the accessibility of cognitions in short-term memory and the pathways among information in long-term memory.

ii. The Development Communication Methodological Framework

The definition of development communication as “an integral part of operations” in “communicating information about projects and programs and by promoting their objectives” in the thrust for social change, makes development communication practice a significant factor in the cohesiveness of social development (Mefalopulos 2008, p. 83). Mefalopulos advances the Development Communication Methodological Framework and Application module as a World Bank approach model that provides a clear understanding of the competencies needed to provide a cohesiveness of implementations and outcomes of development communication processes. He says that development communication “explores and assesses operational situations, building wider consensus among stakeholders and using communication approaches, methods, and media to promote change and enhance project effectiveness and sustainability” (Mefalopulos, 2008, p. 83).

In the Development Communication Methodological framework, the development communicator is supposed to be a consensus-builder, bridging the aspirations of all sides, and gathering, collating, and disseminating relevant information to all parties, including the media, in a way that promotes positive social change, effectiveness and sustainability. However, when the communicator is exposed to media messages that are punctuated with ethno-nationalistic information they become biased? If so, is the bias exhibited in the

occupation? Could ethno-nationalism be to the detriment of their roles as consensus-builders and agents of social progress? These questions revert to the research problem (as stated in the previous chapter, where ethno-nationalistic agendas in Kenya are thought to have the potential of impinging on development communication).

Mefalopulos module addresses a wide range of methodological and practical applications of development Communication which are categorized into four phases, namely: communication based assessment (CBA), communication strategy design, implementation, and monitoring and evaluation. In this study the four phases are used to assess the influence of media messages in the spread of ethno-nationalism by evaluating the perceptions that were retrieved via questionnaires and interview schedules. This module evaluates the third objective and research question of this study, which sought to explore how the perception ethno-nationalized messages among development communicators. The four phases as discussed by Mefalopulos, maintain that development communicators ought to use their skills and competencies as follows:

1. Communication based assessment (CBA):

Development communicators are supposed to select and use appropriate communication research methods and techniques. In practice, they are mandated with the responsibility of examining specific technical issues within a sociopolitical context such as equality and fairness. The CBA helps development communicators to identify, refine, or validate both project and communication objectives. The definition of specific objectives is usually the main output of this phase according to Mefalopulos (2008, p. 86). Communication among development communicators is important in building trust, and minimizing socio-political risks. As Mefalopulos (2008, p. 85) states,

“Given its interdisciplinary and cross-cutting nature, communication-based assessment is of particular value in exploring and assessing the overall circumstances, building trust, and minimizing socio-political risks. CBA addresses what, who, and why of each situation investigated by involving all relevant stakeholders.”

Pegged on Mefalopulos (2008) presuppositions, CBA models the principles for development communicators hence creating the tools for the Development Communication methodological framework, by facilitating dialogue, building trust, analyzing political risk, and assessing conditions to identify entry points for a communication strategy. These steps minimize possible risks and enhance projects' success and sustainability.

2. Communication strategy design:

According to the module, development communicators ought to continuously transform the findings from the communication based assessments into valuable inputs for the strategy design. In relating to the second objective of the study which aimed at finding out if the practice of development communication is influenced by ethno-nationalism, the module explains how practitioners should manage the expectations of different communities in facilitating dialog, building trust, analyzing political risk, and assessing conditions to identify entry points for the communication strategy. The communication strategy design as proposed by Mefalopulos (2008) refers to the problem solving in which there is no bias. The process of problem solving is also referred to as strategic thinking that designs the best way to achieve objectives for a project. In development communication, strategy design defines the type of change needed and helps communicators to select the most appropriate communication approach for each initiative, such as social marketing, advocacy, diffusion of information, or capacity building. These approaches are not mutually exclusive and can stand alone or in

combination with each other. The planning done in strategy design emphasizes the strategic selection and application of methods, techniques, and media resulting from research-based findings and objectives.

3. Implementation:

Mefalopulos (2008) notes the importance of why development communicators develop action plans. He reiterates that the plans help to organize and monitor the implementation of their activities. For implementation to be effective, development communicators are cautioned to be involved from the onset of a development initiative. In relating to the first objective of this study, which seeks to explore examine the type of media messages development communicators are subscribed to, the implementation phase of this framework advises development communication practitioners to be objective in carrying out their duties. This phase of the module notes that development communicators should pre-test their material regardless of whether they subscribe to its implications or not. This phase also includes the activities needed to produce and to ensure that the results of the strategic design, such as writing of scripts for social change, are strengthened by capacity building and continuous training of the relevant staff.

4. Monitoring and evaluation:

While carrying out duties related to monitoring and evaluation, development communicators are expected to regularly observe and gauge the quality of the communication interventions before disseminating information. Mefalopulos (2008) advises that the monitoring process in development communication is important because it helps communicators to be effective in observing the success of communication activities. By monitoring social change interventions closely, development communicators can make (any) adjustment needed to support the overall success of the initiative.

All these stages of the module ought to be devoid of any biases to avoid circumstances that may minimize success. Mefalopulos is alive to the fact that, in effecting and making use of the methodological framework, development communicators must be aware of the causes and differences in the positions and perceptions of the groups relevant to the development initiative. This approach, if adopted by all development communicators, can address and prevent possible problems, and diffuse potential crises through appropriate channels, messages, or methods contributing to social outcomes (Mefalopulos 2008, p. 86). It can eliminate influence from ethno bias.

In concert to this view, Mefalopulos (2008) opines that the Development Communication Methodological Framework offers an alternative means in the conduct of development communicators while discharging duties. Given its interdisciplinary and cross-cutting nature, the methodological framework assesses the overall circumstances practitioners should focus on, the norm of building trust, and the essence of minimizing sociopolitical risks. According to Onwumechili and Ndolo (2012), this model provides communication guidelines which are supported by the World Bank and ought to be considered by African development communicators. These are attributes that helped this study develop recommendations in chapter five.

Literature Review

i. Empirical Literature Review

Scholars have shown, through scientific experiments, that by making some issues more salient in people's minds, media can influence what people take into account "when making judgments about political candidates or issues"—a classic example of media priming (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007, p. 11). For example, Iyengar and Kinder (2010) conducted a series of empirical studies on how media in the United States of America influenced people's

assessments of the President's performance, depending on whether the focus was on national security, the economy, or even the President's character. Their experiments found that:

When primed by television news stories that focus on national defence, citizens judge the President by largely how well he has provided, as they see it, for the nation's defence; when primed by stories about inflation, citizens evaluate the President by how well he has managed, in their view, to keep prices down; and so on, (Iyengar & Kinder, 2010, p. 5).

Thus the media could elicit certain emphases in public assessments of the President, simply by focusing on specific areas as important, which then affect how the public views the President, guided by reference to those specific areas. Iyengar and Kinder concluded from their research that the media's focus influenced "changes in the standards that people use to make political evaluations" (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987, p. 63) In the same way, it is suggested in this thesis that the potential for Kenyan development communicators to be influenced by the cascading of ethno-biased media messages, such that even their professional practice may be influenced, could constitute a form of media priming, whose possible effects on development communicators and their practice must be investigated. This research seeks to carry out such an investigation.

A study by Clayman (1992), as cited by Cowper (2003), assessed random extracts from a series of news interview materials, and concluded that a form of priming, which he called "footing", occurred through the interviewer infusing his or her perspective into the line of questioning, such that the interviewee very easily adopted the suggestive cues which reflected the perspective of the person conducting the interview. In the same way, suggestive messages of ethno-bias, when cascaded through the mass media and social media outlets, convey powerful ethno-political "evaluations" which, given the Kenyan preoccupation with ethnicity (Gemson, 2013), could possibly influence development and development

practitioners – as is the fear of commentators Manwelo and Tarimo (2009) and Lumumba (2008).

Perhaps this is a reason why there are studies that attempt to tackle the question of negative ethnicity. According to Lindgren (2014), the methodologies in these studies range from hiring coders to manually gather and record data, to the use of computer programs that can detect how frequently certain topics and words associated with bias appear in the coverage (Soroka, 2011a). In some cases, headlines alone are analyzed (Trimble & Sampert, 2004); in other cases, complete articles are examined (Benoit, Hansen, & Stein, 2004). Most studies focus on news coverage by a single news outlet or type of news media (television networks or newspapers, for example), but researchers have also undertaken meta-analyses that combine the results of multiple studies (D'Alessio & Allen, 2000).

ii. General Literature Review

The influence of media messages is important because the media has enormous power to influence behaviour and attitudes (Cottle, 2000; Van Dijk, 1995a). Van Dijk's work seeks to show that this power is not restricted to the influence of media messages on the audiences, but also involves the role of the media within the broader framework of the social, cultural, political, or economic power structures of society He notes,

“Media power is generally symbolic and persuasive, in the sense that the media primarily has the potential to control to some extent the minds of readers or viewers... the ultimate aim of the exercise of power, is generally indirect, whereas the control of intentions, plans, knowledge, beliefs, or opinions that is, mental representations that monitor overt activities is presupposed...” (Van Dijk, 1995a, p. 10)

This observations testifies that media messages have a priming effect, whereby there is potential to control. As Van Dijk (1995a) highlights, the ultimate aim of exercising media power needs to be monitored and evaluated according to standards, norms, and regulations of media practice. He suggests that the social power of the media and its messages can be subjected to abuse, especially where checks and balances are not enacted and adhered to. The summary objective of this study, informed by the three research objectives stated in Chapter One, amounts to a monitoring and evaluation of how the power of media messages is exercised.

Cottle (2000) shares a similar perspective with Van Dijk (1995a, 1999) on the influence of the media and its messages. According to Cottle, the media has the ability to persuade its audiences and control their attitudes, beliefs, knowledge, and sensibilities. In increasingly diverse societies, Cottle (2000, p. 2) notes that:

It is in and through representations, for example, that members of the media audience are variously invited to construct a sense of who 'we' are in relation to who 'we' are not, whether as 'us' and 'them', 'insider' and 'outsider', 'colonizer' and 'colonized', 'citizen' and 'foreigner', 'normal' and 'deviant', 'friend' and 'foe', 'the west' and 'the rest'. By such means, the social interests mobilized across society are marked out from each other, differentiated and often rendered vulnerable to discrimination.

These views confirm that indeed the media has the ability to control and influence its audience. In addition, media messages are often considered important (Karim, 1998; Robinson & Levy, 1986) because they perform critical roles in public representation of unequal social relations and cultural power. Since many politicians are aware of this – most of them have in one way or another manipulated the growing interest in ethnic media (Oriare, Orlale-Okello, & Ugangu, 2010) – the danger of lop-sided development patterns within

multi-ethnic states due to the negative influences of media messages could affect development communicators.

African countries are scarred by the physical and emotional consequences of ethnic violence (Blagojevic, 2009). The ethnically sponsored genocides in Rwanda and Darfur were fuelled by media messages which promoted ethno-nationalist and ethno-biased narratives Chalk (1999), Straus, (2005), and Shah (2006) have also argued that the Rwandan genocide stemmed from propaganda messages that were cascaded by the media with the intention of provoking hatred for ethnic Tutsis by the majority Hutu population (Shah, 2006). The effectiveness of media propaganda in provoking such hate on a national scale is an illustration of how wide ethno-biased sentiment can spread, and hence my interest in possible influence of such messages on development communicators in Kenya.

According to Shah (2006), the spread of ethno-nationalism and ethno-bias in Rwanda was effective enough to influence a lack of response, and even complicity, by sections of the then Rwandan government. It was the spread of the media messages that resulted in the belief of social, psychological, and political importance of ethnic identities relative to other identities (Blagojevic, 2009). Integral to these struggles are demands that relate specifically to the cultural-politics of representation based on calls for enhanced media access and recognition, whether in mainstream and/or via minority media and outlets. Scholarly analyses of election news coverage have identified the existence of partisan media bias in Kenya, including the “systematic favouring of one party or ideology resulting from the intentional or unconscious biases of reporters, editors, or organizations” (Schiffer, 2006, p. 24). Within the social, economic, and political landscapes, the practice of ethno-nationalism has characterized the spirit of Kenyan statehood and the media messages (Lumumba, 2008).

Additionally, Sungu (2013) opines that the pursuit of nationalism and patriotism have been reduced to a theoretical idea, because in Kenya ethnic identity seems to supersede

national identity. If the views issued by the Commission of Inquiry into the Post-election Violence (2008) and the National steering committee on media monitoring process conference (2013) have a bearing on the social conduct of Kenyans, then, there is a need for documentation and initiation of change from ethno-bias-ism. The commission of Inquiry into the post-election violence (2008) revealed that the media played an important role in convincing individuals that the country is ethnically polarized. The National steering committee conference echoed similar views by highlighting that the messages cascaded by some media sources were biased and aimed to elicit particular responses. The Commission of Inquiry into the post-election violence (2008) also noted that it was the ethno-biased messages that led the Kenyan public to believe a person from their own tribe must be in power, to secure benefits for their tribe, to ensure that there is an existing defensive strategy, and to keep other ethnic groups at bay, should they attempt to take over power, jobs, land and entitlements.

Kagwanja and Southland (2009), testify that the Kenyan media played a big role in cascading ethnic bias views. In their analysis, they highlight that there were messages which noted an ever-present risk of election dispute that would potentially degenerate into conflicts in the context of weak institutions, elite fragmentation, surging ethnic nationalism, authoritarian undertows, corruption, widening social economic inequalities, historically embedded injustices, grinding poverty, and a spillover effect contributed by reports of ethnic rape, among other grievous violations of human rights. Their argument is sustained by the suggestion by Lumumba (2008) which noted that the media messages diffused false optimism among scholars and policy-makers about Kenya's democratic transition prior to the 2007 election. The perceived media prejudice as noted predicted community attitudes that metamorphosed ethnic' slaughter, and plunder reminiscent of the 1994 Rwandan genocide, (Kagwanja & Southland, 2009).

Typically news organizations work towards an identifiable editorial position and in-house styles of cascading information (Cottle, 2000). Hence, media practitioners also reproduce distinctive news forms according to the perceived large audience of the media house they work for. These in turn impact on the selection and framing of news stories about ethnic minorities and dominant groups. According to Odwesso (2013) hooliganism and widespread violence is often broadcasted by media messages. It is these kinds of media messages that potentially influence audiences. Triche (2005) has warned that Kenya's current decentralized institutional arrangements are likely to manifest into moderate problems of inter-ethnic opportunism. It is this possibility that makes this study necessary because it aims to find out whether development communicators are influenced by ethnically laced messages disseminated by the media.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework in this study illustrates how the influence of ethno-bias is spread by media messages. It proposes that the priming effect occurs when media messages prime cognitive and affective components. The diagram below expounds on this:

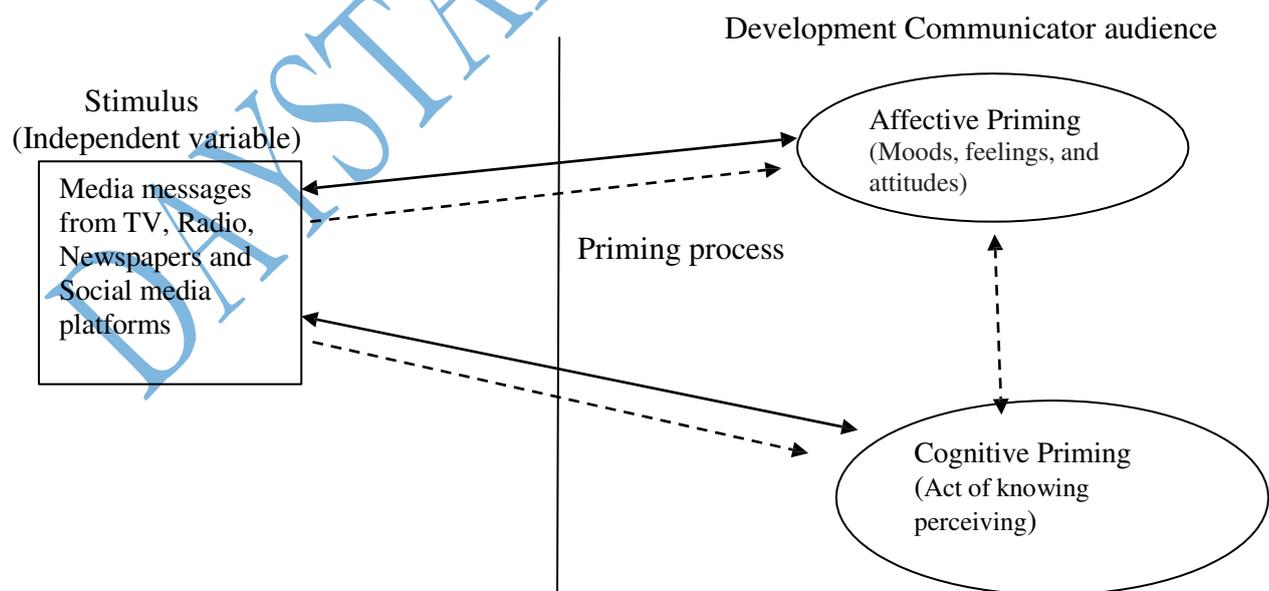


Figure 1 Conceptual Framework highlighting how the media messages spread ethno biases. The diagram was created by the study to illustrate the priming process that occurs when development communicators consume media messages.

The above diagram illustrates the priming process that occurs after development communicators consume media messages. These media messages are the stimulus of ethno-bias. The priming effect is the spreading process and it occurs among development communicators. The media messages provoke the interests of development communicators and eventually influence them as described above i.e. affective priming (this influences moods, feelings, and attitudes) and cognitive priming (this is the process of knowing perceiving). The affective priming and cognitive priming are dependent variables and are stimulated by the media messages which have ethno-biased views.

The bold lines as shown in the diagram represent the dependence on media messages. They represent the communication process where development communicators consciously consume media messages. Whenever a development communicator consumes media messages that are ethnically-laced, they become influenced by ethno-bias, with subjective impressions influenced by media ethno-bias determining their disposition towards other ethnic groups. The theoretical premises of the priming effects as exhibited above show how the media messages spread and consequently influence ethno-nationalism among development communicators. The ethno-biases that highlight how development communicators think, feel, react and behave towards information are part of the data-gathering in the next chapters, and a summary of the evidence of the influence is discussed in Chapter Five.

Summary

This chapter has discussed the theoretical and philosophical assumptions underlying this study of media influence and its effects on ethno-nationalism through analogies and reviews from social science experts who have debated on both issues. This chapter has also discussed the third module of the Development Communication Methodological Framework

and Application by Mefalopulos (2008) as a reference manual for development communicators. It has also discussed the constructs of the media priming theory in explaining the social thrusts that prevail in subjective norms of evaluating the concept of ethno-nationalism. The subsequent chapter discusses the methodologies that were used to gather information from development communicators.

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CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

According to Teddlie and Tashakkori (2011) research methodology is a systematic way to solve a research problem. In this thesis, the research problem was investigating the influence of ethnically-laced media messages through evaluating perspectives from development communicators. The study utilized in-depth interview schedules and questionnaires to systematically resolve this problem. In seeking corroboration of results from different methods and designs studying the same phenomenon, the research instruments complemented each other and were tailored to give views that emanated from the objectives of this study. The views obtained from the research tools further the discussion of how people think about situations, diversity of human responses, and complexities of ethno-nationalism. The tools used accommodated various elements that aided the interpretation of the assumptions that were noted in Chapter One. The research methodology included: research design, data required to address the research problem, population sample and sampling methods, tools and procedure of data collection, and data analysis process.

Research Design

This was an evaluative and a descriptive study. It was descriptive in its process of investigating whether media messages influence the spread of ethno-bias cues, seeking to describe any such manifestation in the sentiments of development communicators who were interviewed or who responded to the survey. The descriptive nature of this study is reflected in the measurement objectives of the questionnaire and interview schedules, and in the perspectives that were retrieved using them. The evaluative nature of the research was in probing the influence on development communicators, as mentioned by the communicators

themselves, of media messages which convey ethno-bias. The use of questionnaires and interview schedules was effective in this study because it furthered the process of retrieving perspectives from development communicators. The assessment of the responses in light of the topic has been interpreted and discussed in Chapter Five.

Population

Study Site/Target Population

The research population for this study was selected from registered non-governmental organizations in Kenya (where the communicators largely contribute towards social change). Since the Kenyan Non-governmental Organization Coordination Board (2009) has registered over 6,000 non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and community based organizations (CBOs), the study chose to select organizations and agencies that are actively involved in social change and have worked with the United Nations. The study rationalized this decision because of the huge number of organizations and also because of the need to obtain views from professionals. The study was keen to select NGOs that have worked with the UN because the study wanted to obtain credible information. In addition the Kenyan NGO coordination board report had warned of many organizations and movements that claim to be practicing development communication but do not have a clear mandate to do so. With the interest of obtaining perspectives from development communicators, the study chose to systematically select organizations that have worked or are affiliated to the United Nations. The study considered feedback from development communicators who were actively involved with social change, bearing in mind that development communication is practice by intergovernmental agencies, CBOs and NGOs.

Sample Size

The study noted that there were 6,000 organizations that were available and were in one way or another contributing towards social change. To obtain a sample from all these organizations, the study chose to select a group of development communicators who have worked directly with the United Nations. This was achieved by gaining information from the United Nations Information Centre (UNIC). After evaluating the consistency of these organizations and their joint programmes with the UN, the study aimed at obtaining views from 70 development communicators. However, the nature and sensitivity of the study made some of the development communicators reconsider their willingness to be informants. The research did not get any feedback from 50 of the development communicators who had been earlier recommended for the research, and also obtained 50 regret responses after successfully contacting a total of 150 potential respondents from the UNIC. The study had intentionally contacted 150 participants so as to meet at least 70 responses who would then be short-listed for interviews.

Even though some development communicators shied away from the data collection process, the study managed to retrieve feedback from 50 development communicators i.e. 40 through questionnaires and 10 through interview sessions. The 50 respondents comprised of development communicators who work in development oriented organizations and agencies i.e. AGRA-Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa, the Canadian embassy, the CARE International Kenya, the Centre for the Study of Adolescence, representatives from Dell Social Innovation Challenge, the Impact Research and Development Organization, the International Fund for Animal Welfare, the International Organization for Migration, Inter Health Worldwide, the Kenyan Ministry of Foreign affairs, the Kenyan Ministry of Registration and Immigration of Persons, the Embassy of the State of Israel, the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR), the United Nations Office for Project

Services, the UNDP SGP Project: CORDIO East Africa, the United Nations Environment Programme, the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, the United Nations Human Settlements Programme, the United Nations International Civil Aviation Organization, the United Nations Children's Fund, the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, the United Nations International Labour Office (ILO), the United Nations Volunteers and the United Nations World Food Programme. This sample of the communicators was deemed sufficient for this study, because the responses had diverse views and shared different experiences in as far as social change is concerned.

Sampling Techniques

From the onset, the study employed systematic sampling which involved first selecting a fixed starting point. In this case the starting point was a list of development communicators that was retrieved from the United Nations Information Centre. Thereafter, the study adopted the snowballing technique as detailed by Bailey (1994). Snowballing is a non-probability form of sampling where respondents are selected from the population in the same non-random manner. According to Teddlie and Tashakkori (2011), this sampling technique is often used in cases where a sampling frame is hard to establish. The snowballing sampling assumes that the targeted audience is affiliated through links that can be exploited through referrals from other respondents.

The snowballing sample procedure was judged as the most appropriate procedure because of the nature of this study. That is, the study needed to identify a specific type of respondents within development organizations and agencies. Snowballing exploited the presumed social networks that exist between members of a target population. Since it was not easy to tell if targeted personnel were all development communicators, each questionnaire's

preamble served as a filter by giving a thorough brief to the would-be informant of what the purpose of the study was, and who should answer it (See Appendix C).

Data Collection Instruments

The data for this research was collected through in-depth interviews and questionnaires. The questions in each research instrument were developed from the research questions articulated in Chapter One, i.e.

1. To what extent were development communicators exposed to ethnically-laced messages in the media?
2. To what extent were development communicators conscious of the media messages which they consume?
3. To what extent did o ethno-biased messages influence development communicators?

i. Questionnaires

The process of data collection mostly involved self-administered, drop-and-pick questionnaires distributed to management and employees, except for in some cases where the respondents requested for the questionnaires to be mailed because they had travelled out of Nairobi County and others had travelled on assignment out of the country. In such cases, the questionnaires were emailed to the respondents. Other cases where email was used included in some intergovernmental agencies, where some development communicators cited security protocols and policies. It took well over five months to identify and reach development communicators who were willing to be interviewed, and one month to retrieve feedback via questionnaires.

ii. Interview schedules

The interviews were conducted on a one-on-one basis and each respondent and their views were assigned a numerical number (e.g. respondent # 1) for purposes of confidentiality. The interviews were conducted at locations convenient to the respondents, and had no time limits. The questions consisted of a series of open-ended enquiries which are similar to the research questions in Chapter One of this study. The unstructured questions were used to understand the way development practitioners think and feel about media messages and the spread of ethno-nationalism (See Appendix E).

Data Collection Procedures

The study employed a simpler version of Computer Assisted and Aided Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) to facilitate organization of the data retrieved from the questionnaires and interview schedules. CAQDAS was preferred because it could easily retrieve the file needed to evaluate the findings that were retrieved via the likert scale. Furthermore, Lewins and Silver, (2007) note that studies that use CAQDAS increase the researcher's closeness to the data. The main functionality of CAQDAS in this study was based on code and retrieve commands. These commands helped in the analysis of information retrieved in this study; once the textual content was coded into the software, the tabulation analysis was automatically calculated and thus easily retrieved. Since previous ethnographic researchers have used this software (Coffey, Holbrook, & Atkinson, 1996), this study chose to follow suit. The data collection procedure is therefore reliable in its credibility of promoting convergence of information. The use of CAQDAS also promoted the validity of the findings by aligning data towards a uniform mode of data collection, analysis and representation. This is presented in the next chapter.

Pre-testing of the Research Instruments

To test the effectiveness of the research instruments, whether the questions were well understood, and whether the language and the line of questioning could in any way be refined, the study found it necessary to conduct a pilot study. For this reason, the researcher approached 10 development communicators who were randomly selected. Those selected included six development communicators from the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC), and four from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The first group was used to test the questionnaires and the second the interview questions. In the process, some errors in the wording of the questions in the questionnaires were detected: these were corrected and the corrected questionnaire sent back to the same group of respondents. The feedback thereafter showed that the questions were easy to answer but that the respondents insisted that the study had to give a definition of ethno-nationalism and include an introduction letter from the university. Both of these recommendations were taken into consideration and the questionnaires were amended. The second group noted that the questions in the interview schedules were easy to answer. However, some of them were repetitive because the responses were the same. The study corrected the errors and adjusted the interview schedules to what is currently in the Appendix D. The respondents selected for the pre-test were not included in the main research sample.

Validity and Reliability of the Research Instruments

Validity is the judgement obtained from research instruments that are capable of measuring information logically while connecting questions and objectives of a given study (Kumar, 2011), whereas, reliability refers to the degree to which an assessment tool produces stable and consistent results (Teddle & Tashakkori, 2011). The responses from the participants were able to connect the questions and objectives of the study because the

feedback showed that the questions posed could be answered. In evaluating reliability, the study measured the feedback obtained by administering the questionnaire twice. In both instances the feedback produced stable and consistent results which were correlated and this made the study to conclude that the research tools were reliable.

Data Analysis Plan

The data analysis plan for retrieving, analysing, and interpreting the feedback from development communicators follows the descriptive and evaluative tradition, in seeking to extract the most relevant details for the research objectives and highlight the validity of the findings. The findings were gleaned from the data generated by the research tools. The descriptive information that was retrieved from the research instruments is presented in Chapter Four. The analysis is discussed according to the questions that were asked in the research instruments. All the information generated from the data collection tools was further analysed within the framework of the media priming theory and the Development Communication Methodological Framework and Application Module (DCMFAM) to connect the findings to trends in communication research, thereby validating the importance of this study in adding to knowledge and updating existing scholarship. The interrogation of the findings through the theoretical framework is engaged in the last chapter of this study.

Ethical Considerations

Ethical research practice is grounded in the moral principles of respect for persons, beneficence and justice (Rossman & Marshall, 2011). Ethnicity is a sensitive subject in Kenya, and respondents needed to be fully briefed of the aims of the study, as well as the usefulness of the information they would give, and how they would be protected from possible repercussions if their insights were included in the research. They also needed to

understand how their practice might benefit from the conduct of the study. The undertaking I gave was not to identify respondents by name. Respect for their confidentiality would be observed by using only data that was retrieved in the field and not the names of persons.

All the necessary information for this research was obtained through the research instruments. Prior to disseminating questionnaires, and conducting interviews, I ensured that all participants had a complete understanding of the purpose of the study: investigate whether ethnically-laced messages promote the spread of ethno-bias in development communication practice. The findings would possibly help individual practitioners to avoid contamination of their professional planning and prerogatives, by being more discerning of media messages and distinguishing objectively reported facts from biased opinions.

The study was alive to the idea that some development communicators would be sceptical of the research and thus used the letter from the School of Communication and Languages in Appendix E. In addition, the respondents all signed a consent form, indicating that they were well acquainted with methods to be used in the study, the risks involved (if any), and the demands placed upon them as participants. There was a consent clause at the end of the questionnaire as shown below:

The Information given in the above has been given voluntarily without any compulsion or favour. Signature & Date...

Summary

This chapter has provided the research methods that were used in this thesis. The aforementioned methodologies were judged appropriate because they helped the study to collate and evaluate the data in accordance to the purpose of the study. This chapter highlighted the expected response of the study, the sampling technique, the instrument to be used, the validation of the instruments, and the administration of the instruments. The type of

data required and appropriate sources of data, in turn, determined the method and procedure of data collection as a method of analysis. The subsequent chapter expounds on the information retrieved from the research tools.

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CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis and interpretation of information gathered from the data collection instruments. The information presented addresses the problem statement and the research questions of the study. The results of the study are presented in narrative form as well as in numerical tables and graphs with all the results originating from the questionnaires and interview sessions that were carried out during the fieldwork.

Response rate

This study targeted 70 respondents who work as development communicators' i.e. 70% were to respond via questionnaires and 30% via interviews. The respondents were systematically contacted through a list obtained from the United Nations Information Centre. The study contacted the development communicators and those who were willing to participate in the study were invited to either avail themselves for interviews or to respond to questionnaires. Out of 150 who were contacted, the research managed to retrieve feedback from 100 (66.67%). Out of the 100, 50 (i.e. 50%) sent regret mails and short messages, this notwithstanding the study managed to secure 50 willing participants. Among the 50 willing participants, 40 requested for the questionnaires to be send via mail and 10 agreed to be interviewed.

Analysis and Interpretation

The analysis in this chapter evaluates all the information proceeding from the research instruments. The position of this thesis is that through the use of questionnaires and interviews, the perspectives of development communicators drawn from various development

organizations and agencies could provide answers to the research questions posed at the start of this research.

i. Questionnaires

1. How often do you receive information from media messages?

Out of 40 respondents, 55 % noted that their consumption of media was on an ongoing process and occurred throughout the day. At the other end of the scale, 17.5 % of the respondents stated that they consumed media messages only once. 10 % stated that they consumed media messages thrice per day, another 10 % stated that they consumed the media messages twice-daily, 5 % said that they consumed an hourly basis, and 2.5 % chose the option that reflected that they engaged with media messages every 30 minutes. How practitioners of development communication conceptualize their practice when exposed to media messages eliciting bias is related to the frequency they interact with those messages. With evidence from this research, more than half of those sampled engaged with media messages “on an on-going basis throughout the day”. This shows that the participants were influenced by media messages hence the continuity of tuning in. Some of the media messages might be tainted by ethno-bias and this has a tendency of influencing development communicator’s frame of mind. If those media messages are influenced by negative ethnicity – which Lumumba (2008) and Gemson (2013) argue, is the case in Kenya – then the influence of negative ethnicity among development communicators’ is perceivably inevitable. I interrogated in greater depth the influence of media messages on development communicators in sections 3-6 below.

2. Which is your preferred source of information?

When asked to state their preferred source of information, 65 % of the respondents preferred television. 32.5 % said they consumed newspapers, press

releases and media messages interchangeably, and 2.5 % noted that they consumed all forms of media. The dominance of television as a preferred source of information for development communicators is an indication of the critical role this medium plays in informing national actors in Kenya. Development communicators have TV access, as well as access to other media, but it is the audio-visual effect and more detailed coverage of news and current affairs on Kenyan television stations that attracts people of influence. In this regard, Obonyo and Nyamboga (2011, p. 91), write that “due to its capacity to combine visuals, motion and sound, the television is not just hugely influential, but also emotional. Audiences are able to relate to the content in an emotional way than they would other media”.

However, the statistics in response to this question also noted that all the respondents preferred more than one source of media messages. In summary, development communicators, by the nature of their role as consensus builders and communicators in institutions are among the people of influence who turn to television, and other media sources, for information. The next question explored whether this exposure gave these media outlets and their messages influence over development communicators.

3. In your opinion do you think media messages influence development communicators?

Briefly explain:

Out of 40 respondents, 87.5 % of the respondents out rightly admitted that they thought that the media influenced development communicators. Here are their explanations:

One respondent said that the media was the source of ethnic biases among development communicators. The respondent explained that initially Kenyans lived together in harmony with their neighbors and they used to help

each other but bias views from the media have made them think otherwise. The respondents also stated that this is the same case among development communicators and noted that media messages have aired views that made them re-think about peaceful co-existence.

Another respondent noted that the media had a way of spreading stereotypes (e.g. through advertisements) that “stick” in the mental framework of the audiences and thereafter support negative ethnicity. Another respondent noted that media messages had a great impact in changing, perceptions and attitudes of the public, while another noted that the media messages influenced development communicators particularly those championing tribal-centered issues like Ramogi FM. The respondent explained that because development communicators often consumed media messages, it was inevitable for them not to be influenced

Another documented that development communicators could not work in isolation hence the reason why they continuously referred to the media messages. The respondent explained that the media was a tool which provided a wave length for the encoded messages to be decoded by the recipient, hence they were influenced. On the contrary, one respondent said that the media messages could not influence development communicators because they were professional and not emotional. While the other respondents simply noted that development communicators could not be influenced by media messages but did not explain further.

The statistic emanating from this response shows a larger percentage of development communicators thought media messages influenced other development communicators. Their perceptions further highlighted that the

media messages were a source of ethnic biases adding to the inquiry to the next question.

4. Do you think the media is the source of ethnic biases? Briefly explain why you think so.

Of the 40 questionnaire respondents, all (100%) believed that the media was the source of ethnic biases. One respondent explained that the media influenced people's perceptions, because it indirectly challenged their values, beliefs, and mindsets through cascading recurring messages. Another respondent explained, "The public depends on the media for information and whatever the media presents to the public is the reality, even if it's not true it plays something on people's mind." Another respondent noted that the problem lies with the media," She also noted that the media always tries to create illusions that do not exist and this is the reason why people always confine to tribal lines. The respondent noted that the Kenyan political parties are tribally affiliated and this is intentionally crafted for political mileage. Finally, the respondent noted that the Media messages like the ones cascaded via KTN (Kenya Television Network) portray a very bad image of our country in as far as ethnicity is concerned.

These perceptions show that development communicators perceived the media as a source of ethnic biases. The above also demonstrates why development communicators justified their positions on how ethnic bias was spread by the media.

5. Do you think people are generally bias along ethnic lines? Briefly explain

Out of 40 respondents, 80 % believed that people in general were bias and group themselves along ethnic lines. Their views could best be summarised as follows:

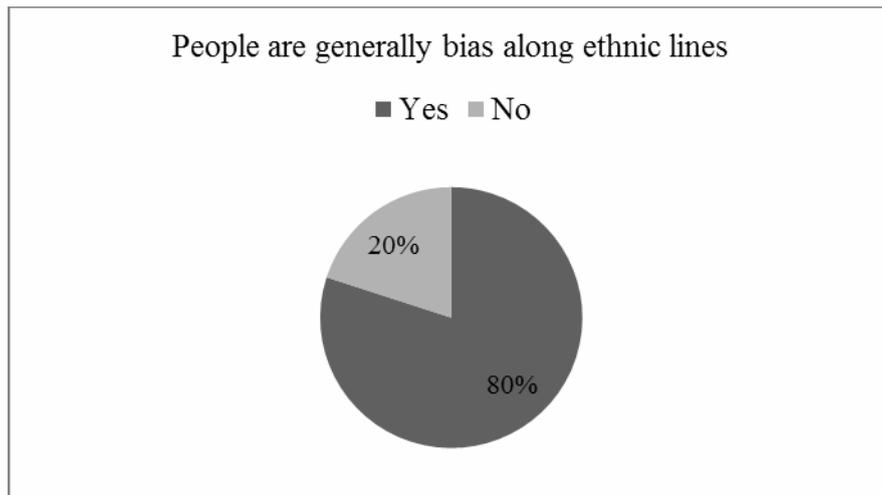


Figure 2 Pie-Chart highlighting perceptions on whether people are generally biased along ethnic lines.

One respondent noted that people were generally bias because the media messages often projected provocative information which attracted bias interpretation and stereotypical reasoning. The respondent also explained that majority of Kenyans consume bias messages and hence they are generally bias. Adding to this view are remarks by Oriare, Orlale-Okello, and Ugangu, (2010, pp. 7, 14) which underscore that issues like ethnicity and politics are a sure way of attracting focus to media and their products in Kenya, and as another respondent noted, there were media stations that showed absolute bias on political allegiances and this often intrigues a majority of people who also make up a considerable number of the audience.

Added to this view another respondent noted that people are generally bias along ethnic lines because of the perceived political loyalty development seems to undertake. Political loyalty in this case is likened to tribal allegiances: in the 2007-8 election violence, research revealed that people were bias because "politicians co-opted most of the ethnic language radios to campaign for their political parties and themselves. This co-option took a

tribal and regional twist and had a negative impact on the political environment” (Oriare, Orlale-Okello, & Ugangu, 2010, p.53).

Another respondent lamented that people are generally bias along ethnic lines because they are victims of ethnically laced messages which are as a result of shortcomings from the absence of media regulations in Kenya. Another respondent noted that people are generally biased along ethnic lines because media is just the mirror reflection of who Kenyans really are – a nation that views reality through the prism of ethnicity.

On the contrary, the remaining eight respondents (represented as 20 %) to the question believe the contrary to be true: they said that people are not generally biased along ethnic lines particularly because ethnic biases lies in what they are exposed to. Their perceptions established that 80 % of the respondents believe that people are generally biased along ethnic lines

6. The following are the responses in percentage that were retrieved from the likert scale. The percentages were tabulated from the information that was keyed in the Computer Assisted and Aided Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS):

Table 1 Likert scale representing views from development communicators who responded to the questionnaires

No	Perceptions from the Questionnaire	SA	A	U	D
i.	Development communicators in Kenya are influenced by media messages	75%	15%	7.5%	2.5%
ii.	Media messages have subjective ethno-nationalist views which lead to ethno-bias.	90%	2.5%	5%	2.5%
iii.	Media messages influence how development communicators carry out their professional tasks	65%	12.5%	17.5%	5%
iv.	The practice of development communication is influenced by ethno-nationalism, leading to ethno-bias.	70%	25%	2.5%	2.5%

v.	Media messages contribute to the spread of ethno-nationalism, leading to ethno-bias among development communicators	75%	17.5%	5%	2.5%
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Key explaining acronyms on the Likert scale

SA= strongly agree

A= Agree

U=Undecided

D=Disagree

From the responses to the Likert scale questions, ethno-biased messages influence development communicators. This is the overwhelming majority view from among the 40 participants in the survey. The participants were all development communicators.

Their perspectives show that 75% strongly agree that “development communicators in Kenya are influenced by media messages”, in addition to 15% who agree. That makes an overwhelming 90% of the respondents’ affirmative of the fact that media messages influence development communicators in Kenya and this comes from a field of respondents who are themselves development communicators. This ties in with what was said in the responses to Question 2 above: that multiple sources, but principally television, are engaged by the development communicators as sources of information for national actors. Development communicators are included in the description of national actors, for as an industry, they engage in community upliftment, social change, and consensus building (Mefalopulos, 2008).

The results show that 90% of the respondents strongly agree, and another 2.5% agree, that “media messages have subjective ethno-nationalist views which lead to ethno-bias”. What this means is that the development communicators who constituted the research understand

the nature of the ethnically-laced media messages to which they, and the whole of Kenya, are exposed.

The results also show that 65% strongly agree, and 12.5 % agree, that “media messages influence how development communicators carry out their professional tasks”. Given that all but 8% found, in response to the previous point, that there was subjective ethno-bias in the media, the lower but significant 77% who agree and strongly agree that there is influence on development communicators and their practice confirms that the known ethno-bias conveyed by the media is influential on the practitioners and how they do their work. And indeed, the next statistics prove as much: 70% strongly agree, and 25% agree, that “the practice of development communication is influenced by ethno-nationalism, leading to ethno-bias”. This is the core of the thesis. If the ethnic preoccupations of media outlets is found by the development communicators themselves (for they are the respondents) to have a bearing on how they conduct their social initiatives, then it is credible to conclude that ethno-bias channeled by media outlets has permeated even the practice of professionals like development communicators. And this, like Lumumba (2008) warned, has made Kenya and its development communication practice susceptible to the ethno-political rivalries that dominate the country’s social and political discourses, in and out of election time.

Lastly in the Likert scale presented in Table 1 is the evaluation by 75% (strongly agree) and 17.5% (agree) of the development communicators surveyed that the “media messages contribute to the spread of ethno-nationalism, leading to ethno-bias among development communicators”. That 92.5% of the respondents, all practitioners, feel this way about the central question that defines this research, underscores the conviction that it is true, as the Problem Statement says, that “there are messages transmitted through the media that promote ethno-nationalism in Kenya” (Kagwanja, 2005, Lumumba, 2008).

ii. Interview Schedules

The questions that were asked during the interview sessions emanated from the research questions. The study benefited from feedback from 10 development communicators who work in Community Based Organizations, and managed to carry out interviews with each. The questions that were asked were as follows:

1. In your understanding, do you think ethno-biases exist in your profession?
2. Do you think ethnically laced messages are spread by media messages?
3. In your opinion, is there a particular type of media that contributes to the spread of ethno-nationalism? Briefly explain:
4. In your opinion do you think that development communicators are influenced by ethnically laced messages from media sources Briefly explain:
5. Do you think that the ethnically laced messages contribute to the spread of ethno-biases among development communication practice?
6. Do you think that development communicators can be biased in delivering their duties in as far as ethnicity is concerned? If so, explain.

Informants were met at different times and at different venues: six were met in their offices three were met in restaurants and one was interviewed online via Skype. The reason why the informants were met in different places was purely because of convenience. All had very demanding jobs and others worked outside Nairobi County. Nevertheless those who took part were willing to avail themselves. The interview sessions were not time-bound because, being open-ended; there was need for flexibility to allow further probing, based on what came out of the informants' initial responses to the questions. Some sessions took 50 minutes while others took more than an hour

1. In your own understanding, do you think ethno-biases exist in your profession?

All 10 informants said that they believed that ethno-biases exist in the development communication profession, but some differed with the definition of the study. Three of the respondents said that ethno-bias should not just involve ethnicity but also include racism. One of them commented that in intergovernmental organizations, one's ethnicity is always inquired of especially when it comes to promotion or new recruitment. Another respondent said that there was mild ethno-bias compared to xenophobia in the profession of development communication. The respondent explained that ethno-bias existed in her profession because she noticed that there were certain ethnic groups that had special privileges over others. The respondent also said that the ethno-bias in Kenya is generally irrational or unreasoned because of fear that cannot be explained and this has traits of xenophobia, the only difference is that professionals are civilized. Another said that ethno-bias exists and it cuts across all East African states notably, Kenya and South Sudan. Another respondent said that ethno-bias exist in their profession however, the bias is synonymous with ethnocentrism which is lacking acceptance of cultural diversity and intolerance for out groups.

In all these explanation, the study was able to establish that development communicators believe that ethno-bias exists within their profession. What this means is that development communicators endorse ethno-nationalism because there is a visible tendency of discriminating ethnic identities for certain interests. This tendency is seen when one is asked of their ethnicity in a professional setting. This also means that there is a discriminatory endorsement that is based on ethnic identity because there are special privileges that are given to specific development communicators that are not given to others.

2. Do you think ethnically laced messages are spread by media messages?

All 10 informants said that the media contributes a lot in as far as ethnically laced messaging is concerned. One respondent said that ethno-bias is spread through politically oriented news coverage that labels candidates who control the *Kikuyu* vote, the *Kalenjin* vote, the *Luhya* vote and so on. Another informant said that the media often assumes that people cannot reason for themselves, and hence it gives convoluted information regarding issues that touch on ethnicity. Yet another interviewee blamed excess coverage of political rallies that are often subjective in nature, saying this led to ethnic mobilization that encouraged ethno-bias. Further, the same respondents said that some of the discussions that are broadcast by the media in the name of a debate or panel end up antagonizing listeners and entrenching in them the ethno-bias.

What this means is that, in both the interviews and questionnaire responses, a real concern has been expressed that antagonisms are being fuelled by media messages, in a way that exacerbates ethno-bias.

3. In your opinion, is there a particular type of media that contributes to the spread of ethno-bias? Briefly explain:

The informants had different responses to this inquiry. Two respondents stated that all forms of media have a role to play when it comes to spreading biases that promote negative ethnicity. One respondent stated that the vernacular radio stations contribute to the spread of ethno-bias. The respondent explained that presenters from in specific Kass FM were pioneering of ethnic hatred by their views. The respondent expounded by saying that the station gave a platform for people to discuss their views against other ethnic groups without evaluating the standardized process of disseminating information. 80% of respondents said that the radio and social media (i.e. Facebook and Twitter) had a large role to play in spreading ethno-nationalism.

One of them specifically said that the radio presenters present disrespectful messages of ethnic groups they dislike and this creates biases. Another respondent said that the television contributed largely to the spread of negative ethnicity because the messages are stereotypical in nature and so are the presenters.

Drawing from these perceptions and adding to the views from the questionnaires, the study can conclusively underscore that media messages from the newspapers, television, radio and social media platforms contribute towards spreading ethno-bias views.

4. In your opinion do you think that development communicators are influenced by ethnically laced messages from media sources? Briefly explain:

The data generated in response to this question responds directly to the third research objective, which was to ascertain whether, and to what extent, ethno-biased messages influence development communicators. It was also a question at the core of the research topic; thus the indicators from the responses would be useful in addressing a key aspect of the research problem: the contribution to development work of ethnically-laced media messages.

All interviewees were of the view that development communicators were in one way or another influenced by ethnically laced messages, though one of the informants said the fact that development communicators worked in multi-cultural contexts limited the operationalization of any ethnic biases a practitioner might have. Ethno-nationalism, one interviewee said, is “a rhetoric question to ask in Kenya because it is obvious”. The informant cited cases where job opportunities are given to specific ethnic groups. Another said, “When you look at ethno-nationalism logically, it is the only problem that is ailing Africa and Kenya as a whole.”

Further, in looking at the extent to which development communicators are conscious of the media messages, 90% of those who responded to the likert scale strongly consented to the view that media messages have subjective ethno-nationalist views. An additional 2.5% also agreed to this view and only 5% were undecided and another 2.5% disagreed with this view. This means that development communicators are not only influenced by ethnically laced messages from media sources but also believe that media messages have subjective ethno-nationalist views which lead to ethno-bias. The following summarizes this view:

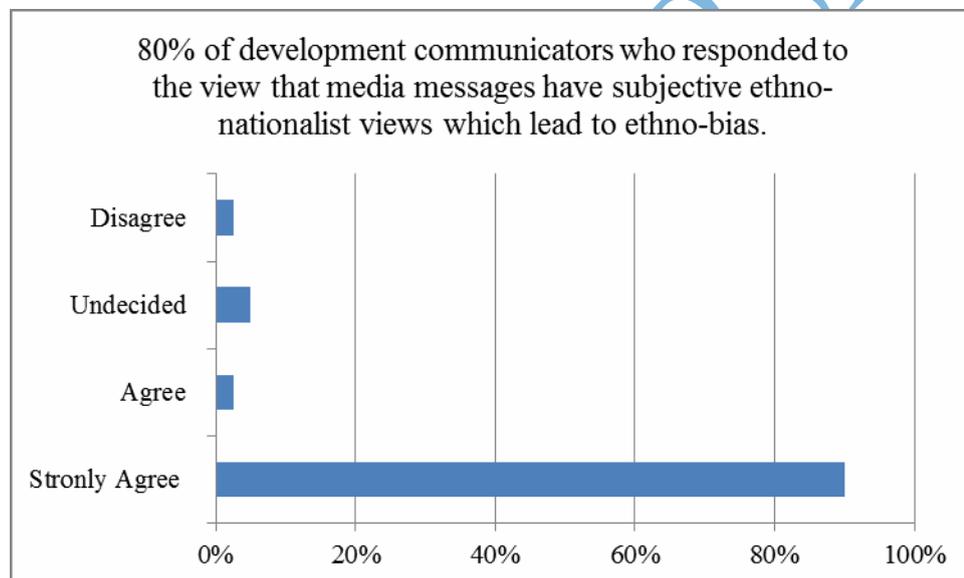


Figure 3 Line-graph representing 80% of the total number of development communicators who participated in this study.

5. Do you think that the ethnically laced messages contribute to the spread of ethno-biases among development communication practice?

All the interviewees (100%) said that the media messages have the ability to affect the actions of development communicators. 60% out rightly agreed that media messages spread ethno-nationalism. One of the respondents said that individuals are influenced by their own volition and this does not necessarily stem from the media messages. This respondent said that as a development communicator, professionalism

is the guiding principle-but in response to further questioning, the practitioner went on to say that this professionalism is often jeopardized among Kenyan practitioners when it comes to election time. Broadly, the responses from informants in the interviews dovetail with the responses from the questionnaires addressing parallel questions, and presented in Table 1 above, in which: (i) 77.5% of those surveyed agreed or strongly agreed that “media messages influence how development communicators carry out their professional tasks”; (ii) 95% agree or strongly agree that “the practice of development communication is influenced by ethno-nationalism, leading to ethno-bias”; and (iii) 92.5% said that “media messages contribute to the spread of ethno-nationalism, leading to ethno-bias among development communicators”.

The following summarizes the perspectives of development communicators in answering the extent to which ethno-bias messages influence development communicators.

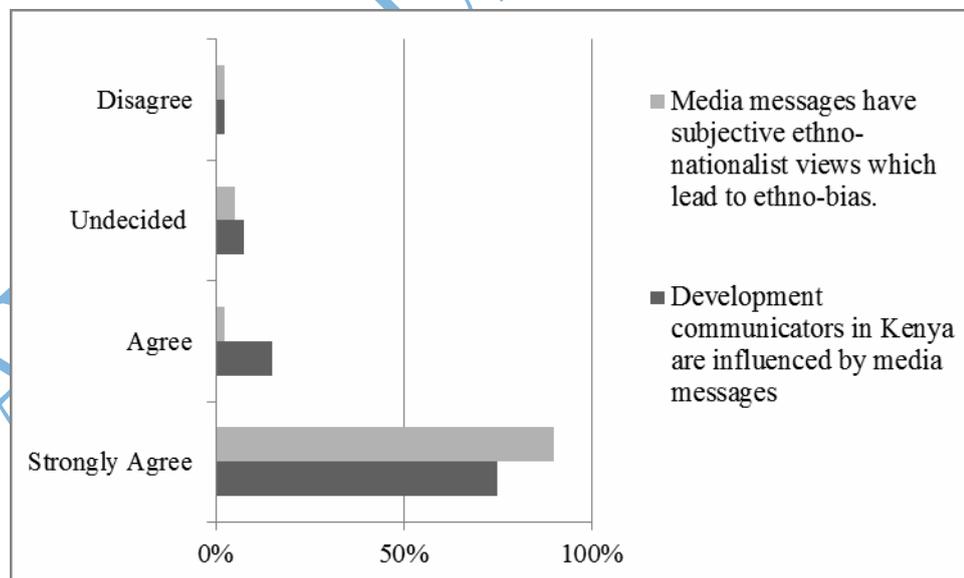


Figure 4 Fig. 3 Line-graph representing perspectives from 80% of the total number of development communicators who participated in this study.

6. Do you think that development communicators can be biased in delivering their duties in as far as ethnicity is concerned? If so explain:

All of the 10 respondents agreed that it was possible for communicators to demonstrate bias in discharging their duties, although this sort of influence was not expected, neither was it considered professional. One respondent suggested that in some cases where the development communicator might not be aware of the code of conduct, biases could emerge. Such practitioners should be sent for further training. But another respondent disagreed that the spread of ethno-bias among communicators was the exception: such to biases happened several times among development communicators, who are not immune from the preoccupation with ethnicity that afflicts many Kenyans. This informant explained that these biases among colleagues often emerged during election periods, where favours are exchanged among people from certain communities.

In as far as the findings of the likert scale are concerned, 40 out of 50 of the respondents which is equivalent 80% of the total responses noted that development communicators are influence by media messages. Out of the 80%, 75% strongly agreed that development communicators in Kenya are influenced by media messages. 15% agreed while 7.5% were undecided and 2.5% disagreed. The interpretation of this can be summarised as follows:

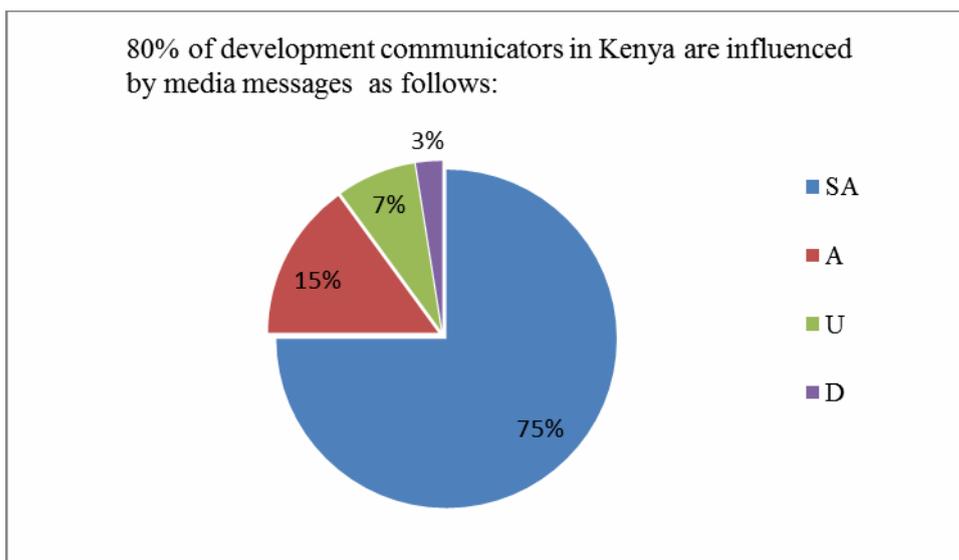


Figure 5 Pie-Chart presenting 80% of development communicators who participated in the study.

The feedback from the interviews also shows that all the 10 development communicators are exposed to media messages. Arguably media messages according to Oriare, Orlale-Okello, and Ugangu, (2010) and Kagwanja and Southland, (2009) the Kenyan media is known to be ethnically inspired. For this reason, this study has established that development communicators are indeed exposed to ethnically-laced messages. Drawing from this perspectives and summing up the information from the research tools, 42 development communicators consented to the view that development communicators exposed to ethnically-laced messages in the media.

Summary of key findings

The findings are pegged on the purpose of this study which sought to investigate whether ethnically-laced messages promote the spread of ethno-bias-ism in development communication practice. The priming effects of media were drawn from the perspectives from development communicators who responded to questionnaires and interviews. The findings show that out of 50 respondents, 84% of development communicators consented to

the view that they are exposed to ethnically-laced media messages. The study also established that 84% of development communicators were conscious of ethnically laced media messages and 94% of believed that ethno-bias messages influence them. Deducing from these perspectives, development communicators consume ethnically laced messages which in turn influence them. To put this into a broader perspective, this study has used the media priming theory by Fiske and Taylor (2008).

The media priming theory by Fiske and Taylor (2008) consists of two constructs, the priming concept (activation of stereotypic cognitions in the mind) and the priming effect (the process by which activated mental constructs can influence). The priming concept in this study referees to the activation of ethnically laced messages in the minds of development communicators. The priming effect is how the development communicators evaluate other the ethnically laced messages. According to Kagwanja (2005) ethnically laced messages continue to be among the most debated topics in contemporary Kenya. For this reason, this study sought to find out if development communicators consume or subscribe to media.

The aim for this was driven under the intuition that if development communicators consume ethnically laced information and are bound to be bias. To rationalize this sentiment as a fact, the study embarked on collecting perspectives from development communicators and evaluating whether indeed ethno-bias-ism is visible and whether it has permeated into their profession. The perspectives revealed that indeed the media messages had a priming effect among development communicators. When asked about the extent to which development communicators were influenced by the media messages, 84% of respondents testified that they are exposed to ethnically-laced messages in the media.

The study also established that the effect of negative ethnic stereotyping as described by one of the development communicators is prevalent. Hence there is a visible priming effect of ethnically laced messages. This study has therefore established that media messages

are responsible in priming (spreading) ethnically laced information. This claim was made after unveiling that 94% of development communicators believed that ethno-bias messages influence development communicators. This revelation, coupled by the fact that mass media has significant influence (Wallack, 2000), has made this study conclude that the media messages prime and create the activation of ethnically laced messages.

Taken together, these priming effects clearly indicate the potential for media depictions of negative ethnicity. Of additional interest to this study was whether development communication profession was influenced by ethno-bias-ism. Pegged on the perceptions of development communicators, the study can conclude that if the agents of development communication (who are development communicators) are influenced by ethnically laced information, then, it means their profession is also influenced. This notwithstanding, there are some development communicators who stated that they practice professionalism regardless of their ethnic oriented positions.

While this is noteworthy, how these responses later translate into ethnically bias views led to the understanding that development communicators are ethno-bias. The findings from this study corroborate this assertion, indicating that development communicators' are influenced in ethnically laced information. This revelation also means that the media messages have a priming effect because they spread ethnically laced views which influence the consumers. The pattern of results found in this study suggests that development communicators are ethno-bias.

Summary

This chapter has analysed the data from the fieldwork, and its main findings have addressed the research objectives and questions that were raised in Chapter One. The presentation of development communicators' perspectives show that for the most part,

ethnically laced messages influence development communicators and their practice. The implications of these findings and how they correspond with the purpose and problem statement of this study are addressed in Chapter Five.

DAYSTAR UNIVERSITY

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of the study by discussing the key findings, conclusions drawn from the study and recommendations. It also employs the media priming theory by Fiske and Taylor (2008) and the development communication methodological framework in the assessment of the information retrieved in the previous chapter bearing in mind that the purpose of this study was to find out whether media messages promote the spread of ethno-biases among development communicators.

Discussions

The aim for this study was to investigate whether ethnically-laced messages promote the spread of ethno-bias in development communication practice by evaluating perspectives from development communicators. The study used interviews and questionnaires to obtain perspectives from development communicators. The main findings derived from the analysis demonstrate that ethnically laced media messages influence development communicators. To add depth and breadth to the purpose and essence of the study, the following discusses the findings from the previous chapter by using the objectives of the study.

1. To examine the extent to which development communicators are exposed to ethnically-laced messages.

In examining this objective, the study sought to find out how often development communicators retrieved information from media messages, whether they thought ethnically laced messages are spread by media and whether they thought development communicators were influenced by ethnically laced messages

The findings show that 55% of those who gave feedback via questionnaires were exposed to media messages on an ongoing process. This means that these development communicators over-exposed to ethnically laced information and hence are susceptible to a bias views that emanate from the media. In seeking to establish whether ethnically laced messages were spread by media, the study reviewed the response from Question 5 (form Questionnaire) which asked whether the media is the source of ethnic biases.

The feedback showed that all 40 the respondents believed that the media is the source of ethnic biases. The study also established that all the 10 interviewees thought that the media is the source of ethnic biases. Put together all 50 development communicators believe that the media is the source of ethnic biases. Drawing from the answers that were retrieved, the study established that there was a concern from development communicators that ethnically laced media messages contained ethnic antagonism that exacerbates ethno-bias.

2. To find out the extent to which development communicators are conscious of the ethno-bias of some media messages which they consume.

In assessing the extent to which development communicators are conscious of the ethno-bias of some media messages; the study asked whether the communicators thought the media was the source of ethnic biases and whether media messages have subjective ethno-nationalist views which lead to ethno-bias.

The findings retrieved from the research instruments established that 84% of development communicators are conscious of the media messages they consume. In addition views from the questionnaire revealed that 87.5% of the respondents out rightly admitted that they thought that the media influenced development communicators. Concurring to this view are the findings from the interview sessions

which highlight that all the respondents said that the media contributes a lot in as far as ethno-bias is concerned. In specific, 90 % of respondents said that they were aware of the biases media messages have and the rate of consumption.

In view of these perspectives the study concludes that development communicators are alive to the fact that some media messages they consume are ethno-bias. Deducing from this view is the fact that development communicators are influenced in four ways i.e. attitudes, beliefs, knowledge, and sensibilities. This view is pegged on Cottle, (2000) and Van Dijk (1995a;1999) argument which highlights that the media has the ability to persuade its audiences and control their attitudes, beliefs, knowledge, and sensibilities. If 87.5% of the respondents out rightly admitted that they thought that the media influenced development communicators, it means that development communicators' attitudes, beliefs, knowledge, and sensibilities can be easily manipulated by media messages.

3. To explore the extent to which ethno-bias influences development communicators.

In exploring this objective, the study asked whether development communicators are influenced by ethnically laced messages, whether ethnically laced messages contribute to the spread of ethno-biases and whether development communicators are biased in delivering their duties.

The responses from these inquiries revealed that all the respondents consented to the view that they are influenced by ethnically laced messages. The statics from the likert scale showed that 77.5% of those surveyed agreed or strongly agreed that “media messages influence how development communicators carry out their professional tasks”; 95% strongly agreed that “the practice of development communication is influenced by ethno-nationalism, leading to ethno-bias”; and 92.5%

said that “media messages contribute to the spread of ethno-nationalism, leading to ethno-bias among development communicators”.

These findings raise a concern in the profession of development communication. If development communicators out rightly admit that they are influenced by ethno-bias messages and continue to subscribe to ethnically laced information, then, the study can only conclude that ethno-nationalism is practiced by professionals. McDonald (2009) argued that mass media can affect knowledge, attitudes, opinions and behavior of individuals. This means that when there is continued consumption of messages the likelihood of attitudes, opinions and behavior to be influenced is high. This view could also mean that if ethnically laced messages are continuously cascaded over time, then, the negative influence that emanate from the biases could be inculcated in the behavior and attitudes of the consumers of the messages. These effects according to McDonald (2009) can be immediate or delayed, of short duration or long-lasting.

Bearing this in mind, attitudes and opinions that are inspired by ethnically laced messages could overtime yield to political discrimination (Smith, 1996) and repression (this is unacceptable views to the conscious of an individual) (Blagojevic, 2009) (Lumumba, 2008). Put simply, the continuous spread of ethnically laced messages could result to political discrimination which involves discriminating against anyone in the workplace because of their actual or assumed political beliefs or activities. Blagojevic, (2009) warns that over consumption of ethnically laced messages have the potential of evoking emotions such as fear, resentment, and hate towards the other ethnic groups. This combined with a series of entertaining unacceptable views against other ethnic groups can result into promoting ethnic intolerance.

Pegged on the conceptual framework that was used to explain the affective and cognitive priming, the study has diagramed a framework that further explains the permeation of ethno-nationalism. The following puts into perspective the conceptual framework in Chapter three to expound on the spread of ethno-nationalism. The priming effect of ethno-nationalism occurs when media messages prime cognitive and affective components. The diagram below explains the priming process:

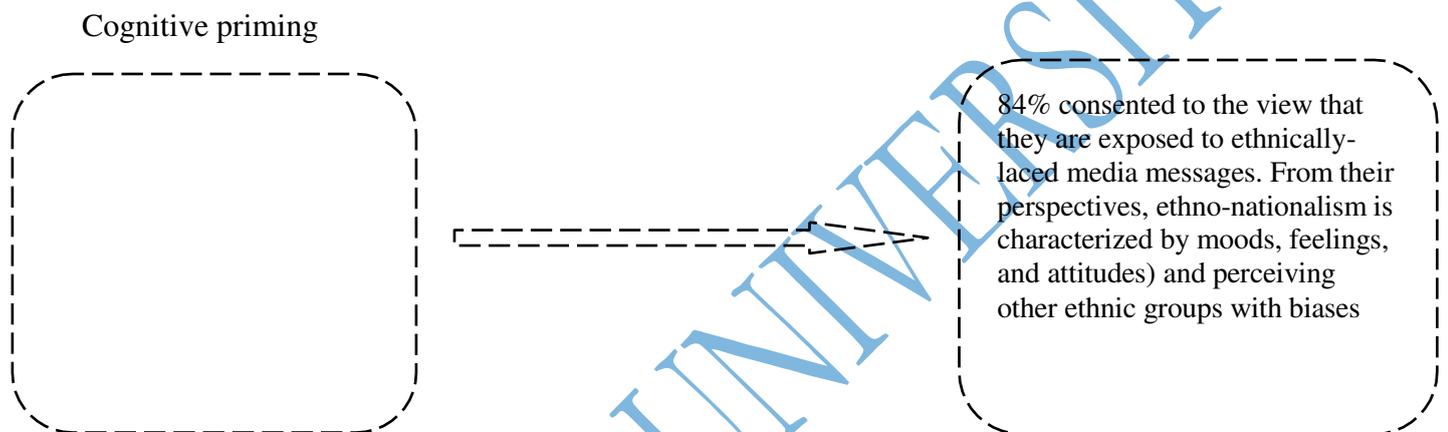


Figure 6 Conceptual framework explaining how the priming effect contributed to ethno-nationalism. The diagram was created by the study to illustrate the priming process that occurs when development communicators consume media messages

As illustrated above, the priming effects of media were drawn from the perspectives from development communicators who responded to questionnaires and interviews. According to their views, 65% are influenced by television, 32.% by Newspapers, and press releases interchangeably, 2.5% by all forms of media. The findings revealed that out of all respondents, 84% of development communicators consented to the view that they are exposed to ethnically-laced media messages. The said 84% stated that they are conscious of ethnically laced media messages and 94% of believed that ethno-bias messages influence them. Deducing from these perspectives, development communicators consume ethnically laced messages which in turn influence them to become ethno-nationalistic as shown above.

Conclusion

The overriding purpose of this study was to investigate whether media messages promote the spread of ethno-bias-ism which subsequently results into ethno-nationalism. The perceptions of development communicators have shown that ethnically-laced messages influence people. The perceptions also reveal that media messages influence the mental constructs i.e. how people think. Determining and expounding on the extent to which development communicators endorse ethno-nationalism needed the input from the DCMFAM module has been used to explain recommendations that can help development communicators. Related to the same effort, this chapter proposed recommendations for future research which if implemented can deconstruct a growing practice of ethno-nationalism. Thus, the recommendations for further research shed light on the way forward in development communication practise.

Recommendations from the Study

In discussing the findings, which are pegged on perspectives from development communicators, this study uses the Development Communication Methodological Framework and Application module (DCMFAM) by Mefalopulos, (2008) to shed light on the professional expectations of development communicators and give recommendations that were derived from the study. The DCMFAM model involves four phases namely: communication based assessment (CBA), communication strategy design (CCD), implementation and monitoring and evaluation (M&E) which explain the norms development communicators ought to observe.

The first phase points out that development communicators are expected to select and use appropriate communication research methods and techniques, as well as engage with information before examining specific technical issues within a sociopolitical context. This norm if applied would help development communicators to guard against ethno-bias agendas and consistently examine specific issues within a sociopolitical context before adapting to a particular behavior or way of thinking.

The second phase of the model recommends development communicators to continuously transform the findings from the communication based assessments into valuable inputs in as far as implementing strategies are concerned. Should the development communicators who participated in this study follow this norm, they would cease from discussing ethno-bias views because they would be able to focus on effective strategy implementation rather than engaging in ethno-bias and ethnic oriented assessments.

The third phase of the model advocates for development communicators to develop action plans so as to organize and monitor the implementation of their activities. Should development communicators decide to intentionally determine to follow this policy, they would be less concerned with ethnically laced media messages because development action plans would supersede their ethnic opinions. The fourth phase recommends that development communicators are to regularly observe and gauge the impact of the communication interventions before disseminating information. If this is followed by development communicators then, the chances of them being influenced by media messages would not be high.

This study chose to highlight this model because it is regarded by the World Bank, as a necessary component in the division of development communication. It is also used in ensuring that the communication activities are carried out in a logical pattern which has propered planning and sequence (Mefalopulos, 2008). The module has proven to help

development communicators in other developing countries to adjust their skills and support the overall success of the initiative. For this reason it was judged suitable for acting development communicators in Kenya.

The endorsements of ethno-bias-ism divide people because it engineers patterns that revolve around tribal cocoons (Hamisi, 2011). To come up with remedies for action against ethno-biases, requires an evaluation of the subjects involved (Blagojevic, 2009). In this study, the subjects were development communicators, 50 of them gave their perceptions via research instruments. Most of them stated that their perceptions towards other ethnic groups were shaped by ethnically laced media messages. Given the contemporary plethora of perceptions in the field of ethno-nationalism, the ethno-bias perceptions found in this study only sketch a fraction of the Kenyan professional social setting.

To emancipate the fraction of development communicators from biases, the study suggests the need for each respondent to evaluate the content they consume regularly. This process requires attention and is intentional because it is pegged on individuals desire to act. It must be noted that being ethno-bias is an individual choice and not being ethno-bias is also an individual choice. Ethno-bias-ism results to ethno-nationalism and its practise has proven catastrophic (Blagojevic, 2009). Therefore the study calls for every development communicator to discern the former so as to objectively work towards social change.

It is praiseworthy that the Media Council of Kenya and the National Cohesion and Integration Commission have enacted guidelines for disseminating information (Oriare, Orlale-Okello, & Ugangu, 2010). However, the continuous impact of these guidelines will be determined by the ability of the Media Council of Kenya and the National Cohesion and Integration Commission to enforce the legal norms. The Media Council has already summoned a few journalists and media firms in the attempt of streamlining the cascading of ethno-bias views. This has somewhat decreased the ethnic bias diction in some media

messages, however, whenever elections are reviewed the spread of ethno-bias analysis and ethno-nationalistic positions are visible (Lumumba, 2008). There are some media messages that out rightly support certain ethnic cues and this often cause reactions (Kaberia, 2013).

In this regard, the review of use of internet platforms, in particular social media and blogs is crucial as it is commendable in emancipating the public from ethno-bias perceptions. Eriksen, (2007) argued that the use of internet (social media messaging) has to some degree contributed to the fragmentation and unprecedented cultural differentiation. This has made it difficult to uphold a collective sense of national identity. The use of internet should therefore have checks and balances which should be included in the Kenyan school curricular so that its users are made to understand that it is instrumental to avoid biases in creating and re-creating a shared, collective past. Most of the messages relayed by Kenyans during the 2013 election period were ethnically-laced. Kaberia (2013) noted that the messages had a deteriorating nationalistic agenda because they categorized people through their ethnic background. This adds weight to the need for implementing a curricular for using the internet and in particular social media networks.

A review of people's culture as opposed to media messages could probably go a long way in halting ethno-bias-ism because the culture plays an instrumental role in shaping people's attitude. In as much as the media is blamed for spreading ethno nationalism, culture also plays an immense role. The perceptions from the investigation can only be deconstructed if development communicators and people in general learn about other cultures, so that there is a change from negative attitude and mind sets. These mind sets as proposed by Eriksen, (2007), can be transformed into reasonable mechanisms that can be put in place so that the spread of ethno-nationalism is evaluated. It is therefore important for the government to put in place events where Kenyans are enlightened about other cultures.

Eriksen (2007) argues that people should consider examining ethnic oriented boundaries that are maintained through endogamy. Endogamy in this context refers to a custom of marrying within a limit of a local community. Although contemporary Kenyan citizens have slowly challenged this practice, three of the interviewed development communicators perceived that it was inappropriate to marry from other communities. To move ethno-nationalism from this level means to flesh out the ways in which ethnic boundaries can persist in the face of cultural communication and demographic assimilation (Manwelo & Tarimo, 2009). The Kenyan government should therefore encourage citizens to work in foreign counties, districts and location so as to better understand other communities. This will encourage intercultural communication that could potentially emancipate Kenyans from negative ethnicity.

The spread of ethno-nationalism in Kenya brews not only among development communicators but also in other sectors. Ochieng (2013) notes that the spread of ethno-nationalism has the potential to create ethnic economic functions that have the potential to further politicize issues of national development and states. It is therefore crucial for human resource managers to create a balance in their recruitment process and procedures so as to give a fair chance for economic prosperity for all ethnic groups. Whenever people interact with each other based on ethnic background, they tamper with national development because they unconsciously adopt imaginary disciplinary perspectives of protecting their own people (Kagwanja & Southland, 2009). When all is said and done it is up to individuals in their own private capacities to choose not to be ethno-nationalistic. The spectrum of a rising above ethno-nationalism throws the future of the next generation into doubt.

Recommendations for Further Research

This study sought to find out whether ethnically-laced messages promote the spread of ethno-bias which leads to ethno-nationalism in development communication practice. As explained by the development communicators' in the previous chapter, ethnically laced messages have a bearing and influence on their audiences. Hence development communicators among other audiences are not immune from the influence of ethnically laced information. In as much as this study has highlighted how ethno-bias views affect development communicators, there are gaps that can be reviewed by future studies on ethno-nationalism.

To begin with is the ability of ethno-bias views to affect the economy. This study has only focused on the social and political implications of ethno-bias views; however, the economy is also dependent on the sanity of social and political sphere, (Waki, McFadyen, & Kambale, 2008). This study therefore calls for future studies to evaluate the level of influence ethnic bias has in the stability of the economy. Further, the study also recommends for the same study to evaluate whether ethno-bias can create a system where the dominant ethnic groups control the economy at the expense of the weaker ethnic group. This will help policy makers to come up with effective resolutions.

Secondly, the study recommends a comparative study on the influence of mainstream media and social media. It is the intuition of this study that both forms of media have a substantial number of subscribers because of their capacity to influence. Perhaps having a distinction of the level of influence could facilitate the Media Council of Kenya and the National Cohesion of Integration Commission to know where to invest civic education among other strategies that can be used to monitor and also curb hate speech.

Having evaluated how media messages prime ethno-bias messages, this study recommends that the entrepreneurs of media content should inculcate ethnic objectivity in relaying information. As noted by some development communicators, there are some media

messages which out rightly admonish some ethnic groups. This very act does not only evoke emotions as McDonald (2009) argues, but also creates a room for unnecessary criticism which overtime can lead to ethnic intolerance towards a specific group. This study therefore calls for a study that will evaluate the influence of media content entrepreneurs and their role in Kenya's social constructions.

This study also proposes the need for creating a framework for understanding the causes of ethnic biases in media messages. It is the intuition of this study that every message has an author and every author has an agenda. In order to recognize and address the multiple concerns that the author has, there needs to be an evaluation of extrinsic factors that persuade a person to create ethnic biases in media messages. Hence the study proposed an evaluation of the social, political and economic environment factors that influence ethnic bias authors are exposed to.

Lastly, the study recommends for a study that analysis the colonial effects of divide and rule system and if the system affects the contemporary youth. This proposed study will provide a comprehensive analysis on how the youth perceive the effect of divide and rule and potentially create an approach to peace building and post-conflict resolutions in ethnically divided societies.

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Appendix A: Time table

DURATION	LIST OF ACTIVITIES
15 th August 2012	A synopsis of the study is submitted to the school of communication and approval is granted.
29 th August 2012	The study is assigned a supervisor and the format for writing chapter one is advised to the student.
5 th September 2012	Chapter one completed in consultation with supervisor and is handed over to supervisor for further scrutiny
12 th September 2012	Corrections for Chapter one submitted to the supervisor and study is granted permission to proceed
29 th September 2012	Chapter two completed and submitted to supervisor for further scrutiny.
3 rd October 2012	Corrections for Chapter two submitted to the supervisor and study is granted permission to proceed.
26 th October 2012	Chapter three completed in consultation with supervisor and is handed over to supervisor for further scrutiny.
14 th November 2012	Corrections for Chapter three submitted to the supervisor and study is granted permission to proceed.
28 th November 2012	Chapter three completed and submitted to supervisor.
2 nd April 2013	Full proposal submitted to advisor, and proposal defense scheduled.
19 th April 2013	Proposal defense
22 nd April	Permission granted for going to the field.
23 rd April 2013	Seven focus group discussions FGDS with postgraduate students from daystar university, valley road campus.
May 2013	Questionnaires administered to the National Cohesion and Integration Commission, civic and educational department.
June 2013- July 2013	Interviews sessions with different development communicators.
August 2013	Findings submitted to the school of communication to be considered for 2 nd defense.
September 2013	Second defense is halted pegged on examiners recommendations to change the study.
October 2013	Field work i.e. evaluation of questionnaires and interview schedules.
November 2013	New questionnaires pretested administered to the National Cohesion and Integration Commission, civic and educational department.
December 2013- January 2014	Interviews carried out for the second time.

February 2014	Document ready for second defense.
March 2014	Second defense halted pegged on examiners recommendations.
March 2014	Administering questionnaires to development communicators.
April 2014	Assessment of data and development of Chapter 4 and Chapter 5.
April 2014	Research completed, with data collected, entered and coded.
April 2014	Presentation of findings presented to supervisor for review and critique.
May 2014	Chapter Four and Five completed and submitted to supervisor.
May 2014	Corrections made, and full thesis submitted to supervisor and advisor, and, with their approval, final defense scheduled.
2014	Final defense given before panel of faculty members.
2014	Error-free document submitted for signing and binding.

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Appendix B: Budget

THESIS BUDGET			
Item	Initial cost (Kshs)	Unit Cost (Kshs)	Total Cost (Kshs)
Purchase of Literature materials			
Contemporary articles on Ethno-nationalism from Hekima College	1,250	1	1,250
A Call For Hygiene in Kenyan Politics by PLO Lumumba	250	1	250.00
Research Tools and Instruments			
Monitored Focus Group discussions in groups of five	6.00	5	30.00
15 One on one interviews	6.00	15	90.00
15 Questionnaires	6.00	15	90.00
Evaluation, Tallying and Assessment Costs			
Evaluation of interviews	100	15	1,500.00
Evaluation of questionnaires	100	15	1,500.00
Evaluation of Focus Group Discussion materials	100	5	500.00
Transport (Public Transport)			
National Cohesion and Integration Commission	150	3	450.00
NGO Development communication practitioners	130	3	390.00
COST INCURRED PRIOR TO PRESENTING DATA FOUND			
Printing material for dissemination to the panel	800	3	2400.00
Printing the Final document to be presented to the school	3,500	6	21,000.00
Total Costs			29,450/=

Appendix C: Questionnaire

Dear Respondent,

My name is Ngusale Imali, a postgraduate student from Daystar University. My questionnaire is targeting development communicators: individuals who endorse and implement strategies for social change. I am carrying out research on the influence of popular media messages and the spread of ethno-nationalism. The study's main objective is to find out whether media messages promote the spread of ethno-nationalism leading to ethno-bias among Kenyans; and more specifically, whether development communicators in Kenya are influenced by media messages that have ethno-nationalist views, and/or are influenced by ethno-bias broadly.

Ethno-nationalism in this context refers to a particular strain of nationalism marked by the desire of an ethnic community to have absolute authority (via positions of power) over its own political, economic, and social affairs, in a manner which can lead to ethno-bias. Ethno-bias is the process in which ethnic groups marginalize others.

Kindly spare a few minutes to respond to the following questionnaire. Your feedback will aid the completion of this important research. Please be as honest as you can. Respondents will not be identified and all information generated will be treated in the strictest confidence. It is envisaged that the findings of this study will be informative to development communicators, by identifying influences which may have a bearing on effective development work. Thank you for your consideration and assistance in this exercise. The questionnaire is attached.

1. Title of Respondent (Optional): _____

Please tick your gender

Male

Female

2. How often do you receive information from media messages?

Once a day

Twice a day

Three times a day

Hourly

After every 30 minutes

On-going process (i.e. Text alerts, Email alerts)

3. Which is your preferred source of information :

Television

Radio

Pamphlets

Broadcast spots (town centred digital large screens for broadcasts)

Press releases i.e. newspapers and magazines

Social media

Other form of media (Please be specific) _____

4. In your opinion do you think media messages influence development communicators?

Briefly explain:

5. Do you think the media is the source of ethnic biases? Briefly explain why you think so:

6. Do you think people are generally biased along ethnic lines? Briefly explain:

7. In the following table, tick in the spaces provided (*please tick only one box in each row*) to indicate whether you:

SA= strongly agree

A= Agree

U=Undecided

D=Disagree

NO		SA	A	U	D
i.	Development communicators in Kenya are influenced by media messages				
ii.	Media messages have subjective ethno-nationalist views which lead to ethno-bias.				

iii.	Media messages influence how development communicators carry out their professional tasks				
iv.	The practice of development communication is more often than not influenced by ethno-nationalism, leading to ethno-bias.				
v.	The practice of development communication is only in a minority of cases influenced by ethno-nationalism leading to ethno-bias.				
vi.	Media messages contribute to the spread of ethno-nationalism, leading to ethno-bias among development communicators				

The Information given in the above has been given voluntarily without any compulsion or favor. Signature & Date or stamp

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Appendix D: Interview Schedule

Interview with _____

Brief Introduction

This interview is conducted with the primary purpose of investigating whether media messages promotes the spread of ethno-nationalism. Ethno-nationalism in this study is a particular strain of nationalism marked by the desire of an ethnic community to have absolute authority over its own political, economic, and social affairs. The feedback on the following will specifically be used for the research and all perspectives will be regarded discrete.

1. In your understanding, do you think ethno-biases exist in your profession?

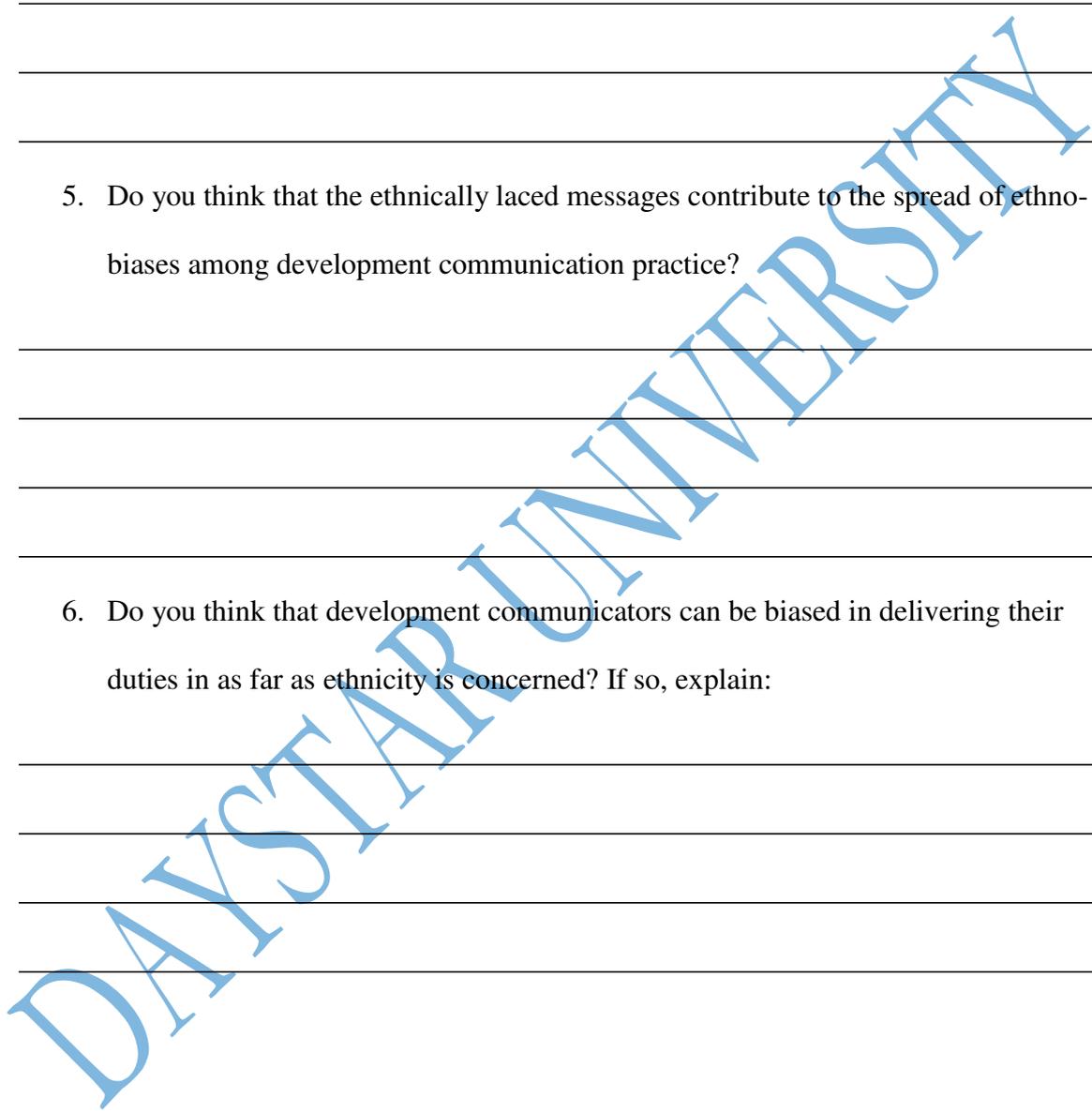
2. Do you think ethnically laced messages are spread by media messages?

3. In your opinion, is there a particular type of media that contributes to the spread of ethno-nationalism? Briefly explain:

4. In your opinion do you think that development communicators are influenced by ethnically laced messages from media sources? Briefly explain:

5. Do you think that the ethnically laced messages contribute to the spread of ethno-biases among development communication practice?

6. Do you think that development communicators can be biased in delivering their duties in as far as ethnicity is concerned? If so, explain:



Appendix E: Letter of Introduction



PO Box 44400
Nairobi 00100
Kenya

25 March 2014

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: NGUSALE HILDA IMALI: STUDENT No. 10-1429

The above-named is a fully registered student in the School of Communication, Language and Performing Arts at Daystar University. She has completed her course work towards a Master's degree in Communication. She is now working on the research for the thesis. Ngusale's thesis topic is '**An Investigation of the Influence of media messages in the spread of ethno-nationalism: Perspectives from development communicators**'.

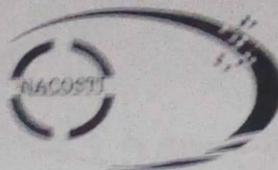
The purpose of my writing is to request that you give Ngusale any necessary assistance to enable her to complete this important academic exercise. We assure you that any information collected will be used strictly for academic purposes and will remain absolutely confidential. Upon completion of the research, Ngusale's thesis will be available at our library.

We appreciate your support for our student towards the successful completion of her thesis research. Should you require further information, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Yours Faithfully,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Clayton Peel". The signature is written in a cursive style and is positioned above a horizontal line of dots.

Clayton Peel, Thesis Co-ordinator
School of Communication, Language and Performing Arts



**NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE,
TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION**

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NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref No: **NACOSTI/P/16/9448/6818**

Date:

22nd February, 2014

Hilda Imali Ngusale
Daystar University
P.O Box 44400-00100
NAIROBI

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*The influence of ethnically-laced media messages in the spread of ethno-biases: perspectives from development communicators*" I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Nairobi County** for a period ending **22nd February, 2014**.

You are advised to report to the **County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Nairobi County** before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit **two hard copies and one soft copy in pdf** of the research report/thesis to our office.


DR. S. K. LANGAT, OGW
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
Nairobi County.

The County Director of Education
Nairobi County.